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University of Southampton
Faculty of Law, Arts and Social Sciences
School of Humanities

Multilingual South Asian English language teachers' attitudes
to English language varieties and the impact on their teaching
beliefs

By
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Thesis for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

October 2015

Abstract

Recent changes at a global level in terms of migration patterns and telecommunications have destabilised many pre-established concepts. The notion of diaspora has given way to trans-localism and communities can no longer be conceived of as discreet homogenous units. Other language related concepts such as multilingualism, code-mixing, speech communities and language itself have been scrutinised and undermined by research in translanguaging, superdiversity, English as a Lingua Franca, World Englishes and language ideologies.

In Britain new migrants from a myriad of different locations co-exist with older migrants and the local white British population in what has been termed as superdiversity. This study focuses on older migrants who interact with newer migrants within the classroom, in a teacher-student relationship, and also to a degree outside the classroom. It reports on the attitudes of multilingual English language teachers to varieties of English and how this influences their teaching practices. I interviewed and conducted focus group discussions with first and second generation migrants between January 2012 and February 2013. The participants are representative of two conflicting ideologies. On the one hand the participants have varying degrees of experience with indigenised non-native varieties of English through travel, from learning English in a context outside Britain, and through family and friendship networks. On the other hand they also have the responsibility to teach British Standard English to students who may already be speaking a fluent stable variety of English. The aim of the study was to understand how the participants reconciled conflicting attitudes about language and the extent to which this impacted on their teaching practices.

The main findings of the study are that while many of the teachers are aware of and open to different variation in spoken English, this predominantly related to pronunciation. However there were clear differences between first and second generation migrants which appear to be related to the participant's experience of different societal ideologies. This translated into different attitudes about correct language and their beliefs about their teaching practices. While first generation migrants' attitudes showed evidence of being influenced by dual ideologies, second generation migrants' attitudes more closely reflected societal ideologies in the UK.

Contents

Abstract	ii
List of Contents	iii-vi
List of figures	vii
Author's declaration	viii
Transcription conventions	ix
Acknowledgements	x
Acronyms	xi
1. Introduction	1-11
1.1 Background	1-3
1.2 The context of the study	3-7
1.3 Research aims and objectives	7-10
1.4 Overview of the structure	10-11
2. Immigration to the United Kingdom and Leicester	13-22
2.1 Introduction	13
2.2 Migration	13-15
2.3 Government policies in the British Education system	15-17
2.4 Government attempts to regulate ethnolinguistic identity	17-19
2.5 The ethnolinguistic environment in Leicester	19-21
2.6 Summary	22
3. Literature review	23-70
3.1 Introduction	23
3.2 Language attitudes and ideologies	23-39
3.2.1 Language attitudes	22-33
3.2.1.1 Attitude definition	24-25
3.2.1.2 Attitude components	25-30
3.2.1.3 Attitude stability	30-33
3.2.2 Language ideologies	33-39
3.2.2.1 Standardisation	34-35
3.2.2.2 Normative	35-36
3.2.2.3 (Re)-conceptualising language	37-39
3.2.3 Summary	39
3.3 World Englishes	40-48

3.3.1 Models of World English	40-43
3.3.2 Empirical studies of attitudes in World Englishes	43-47
3.3.3 Summary	48
3.4 Research into Multilingual Communities	48-60
3.4.1 Societal multilingualism	49-51
3.4.2 Ethnic Communities	52-54
3.4.3 Cultural identification	54-57
3.4.4 Minority language speaker's attitudes to language	57-59
3.4.5 Summary	59-60
3.5 The Institutional Context	60-72
3.5.1 Language management at state level	61-63
3.5.2 Teachers' attitudes	63-65
3.5.3 Teachers' professional identity	65-68
3.5.4 Teaching practices	68-71
3.5.4 Summary	72
3.6 Conclusion	72-73
4. Methodology	75-104
4.1 Introduction	75
4.2 Research questions	75-78
4.3 Qualitative research	78-80
4.4 A critical approach	81-83
4.5 Methodological approaches to studying language attitudes	83-85
4.6 The research context	86-97
4.6.1 Research setting	86-89
4.6.2 Participants	89-95
4.6.3 Role of the researcher	96-97
4.7 Data Collection and process	97-103
4.7.1 Interviews	97-100
4.7.2 Focus groups	101-103
4.8 Ethical considerations	103-104
5 Data Analysis: Personal Experience and Linguistic Background	105-147
5.1. Introduction	105
5.2 Analytical framework	106-108
5.3 Language, ethnicity and identity	109-135

5.3.1 Mother tongue or first language?	109-117
5.3.2 Participants' orientation towards native speakerism	117-123
5.3.3 Participants' perceptions of their ethnic identity	123-129
5.3.4 Participants' feeling of belonging	129-135
5.4 Experience of prejudice in the workplace	135-146
5.4.1 Perceived discrimination from work colleagues	135-141
5.4.2 Teachers' perception of students' prejudices	141-146
5.5 Summary	146-147
6 Data Analysis: Language attitudes and teaching beliefs	149-204
6.1 Introduction	149
6.2 Language attitudes	149-177
6.2.1 Heritage language maintenance	149-157
6.2.2 Participants' beliefs about the importance of Standard English	157-163
6.2.3 Attitudes to English language varieties	164-177
6.3 Teachers' beliefs about their classroom practices	177-204
6.3.1 Error correction	177-191
6.3.2 Teaching models and targets	191-196
6.3.3 Assessment	197-201
6.3.4 The 'English only' classroom	201-203
6.4 Summary	203-204
7 Conclusion	205-236
7.1 Research Questions	209-222
7.1.1 Sub-question 1: Influence of experience and background	209-212
7.1.2 Sub-question 2: Influence of language ideologies	212-216
7.1.3 Sub-question 3: Attitudes towards non-native Englishes	216-218
7.1.4 Main research question: The influence of language attitudes on teaching beliefs	218-222
7.2 Summary	222-224
7.3 Limitations	224-226
7.4 Implications for English language teaching pedagogy	226-235
7.5 Potential areas for further research	235-236
Appendix 1 Interview guide	237
Appendix 2 Focus Group prompts	238

Appendix 3 Transcript interview 1	239-277
Appendix 4 Transcript Focus Group 1	278-306
References	307-327

List of Figures

Fig. 3.1 Multicompetent model	p.26
Fig. 3.2 The position of folk linguistics and language attitudes in the general study of language	p.28

Authors Declaration

Academic Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

I Robert Weekly declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

Multilingual South East Asian English language teachers' attitudes to English language varieties and the impact on their teaching beliefs

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. Either none of this work has been published before submission, or parts of this work have been published as: [please list references below]:

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Transcription conventions

(xxxx)	Parentheses with xx indicate talk which is undecipherable for the transcriber
((Water))	Words in double parenthesis indicate noise from an external sound
(@ @ @ @)	Laughter: The length of the @ indicates the length of the laughter
.hhh	The letter h indicate noticeable aspiration, its length roughly proportional to the length of the aspiration. If preceded by a dot it indicates in-breath, if followed by a dot it indicates out-breath
[Left sided bracket indicate where overlapping speech occurs
◦	Indicates talk which is noticeably quieter than the surrounding talk
> <	‘Greater than’ and ‘less than’ symbols indicate talk which is noticeably faster than the surrounding talk
(parents)	Words in parentheses indicate transcriber’s comments not transcriptions
(1.5)	Numbers in parentheses indicate the periods of silence in tenths of second
(.)	Indicates a pause in talk of less than 0.2 seconds
Becas-	A hyphen indicates words which are incomplete because of abrupt cut off or self-interruption
<u>He</u> says	Underlined words indicate stress or emphasis
↑	An arrow pointing upwards indicate a marked pitch rise
=	Equal signs indicate latching with no noticeable silence between the talk of different people
:::	Colons indicate the sound was prolonged
WHAT I	Capital letter indicate an increased volume in talk
[...]	Parentheses with three dots indicate that there is a gap between the sections of the transcription which were not included
Think	Words in bold indicate phrases and words which the transcriber wishes to highlight

Adapted from Potter (1999) Clayman and Gill (2004) and the VOICE corpus (2013)

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Acronyms

AmE	American English
AAVE	African American Vernacular English
BrE	British English
CA	Conversation Analysis
CLT	Communicative Language Teaching
DA	Discourse Analysis
EGL	English as a Global language
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
ENL	English as a native language
ESOL	English for speakers of other languages
EVT	Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory
GAE	General American English
IE	Indian English
LM	Language Management
LPP	Language Planning and Policy
NEST	Native English speaking teachers
NNEST	Non-native English speaking teachers
NNESTA	Non-native English teaching speaking assistants
NNS	Non-native speaker
NS	Native Speaker
MGT	Matched Guise Test
RP	Received Pronunciation
SAE	Stylized Asian English
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
ST	Societal Treatment
VGT	Verbal Guise Test

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background

My interest in multilingualism and multiculturalism stems from two interrelated reasons. Firstly, coming from a small town in the south-east of England my experience of multiculturalism was very limited. During my time at school there was only one person with an Asian background, and this was little different in the working environment where most teachers were white. Even working abroad the teaching staffroom was predominantly white, albeit with teachers from other white majority societies such as America, Canada, Australia and Germany. Therefore it was quite enlightening when I inadvertently found myself living and working in Leicester, which gave me a truer sense of the multicultural Britain that was espoused in the media. It is enriching to walk down the ‘golden mile’ in Belgrave Leicester, where many Gujarati migrants initially settled, and find independent shops, supermarkets and restaurants selling different clothes and food, rather than the chain stores and take-aways that dominate most British high-streets. It is also satisfying to work in an environment with people of different races, cultures and religious backgrounds and listen to teachers’ stories and experiences that are far removed from my own. It is also interesting to observe the language practices of other teachers and administrative staff who code-switch, use different English language forms and speak Indian accented English. An interest in these experiences and language practices has encouraged me to find a deeper understanding of what it means to be a part of a multicultural country. I have deliberately avoided so far the use of some terms such as ‘authentic’, ‘ethnic’, ‘community’ ‘minority’ ‘non-native’ and ‘non-standard’, but I am as much acculturated to using these terms as those whom they are directed at are of accepting them. Consequently they will be used throughout this study, which is not to say that I do not recognise that these terms carry ideological baggage that casts people into particular groups that are viewed as different from, and outside, mainstream culture.

Secondly it is my experience as an English language teacher and studying an MA in Linguistics which has led me to question the philosophy that resides behind the practice of English language teaching. In training to be a teacher, we are encouraged to view language through the framework of second language learning and acquisition. The language spoken by

learners is an 'interlanguage' (Selinker 1972, 1992) on the journey towards the 'correct' model. Learners' 'errors' are 'interferences' from the L1 and should be 'corrected' as they are 'deficient' and do not 'conform' to the standard language used by native speakers from Britain, America, Canada, Australia, Ireland, New Zealand, and perhaps, if we are being particularly liberal in our view, South Africa. This theoretical orientation neglects the socio-linguistic reality that the way English is used by people does not necessarily conform to one that is modelled on an English native speaker from one of the above countries. It also discourages the notion that varieties of English, which have been created through contact between English and other languages, are valid alternatives to the standard model. Communication is the central purpose of language and if people are not using the language exactly as it is prescribed in grammar and phonetic reference books, then this is unimportant if the message is understood. The research in World Englishes which I studied on the MA course offered a realistic account of the use of language by people whose linguistic competence in English was 'native-like' but did not reach the prescribed standard. It is these two themes of multilingualism and World Englishes and the attitudes towards these issues which form the basis of this study.

The global spread of English and its indigenisation in different contexts has led to an examination of attitudes by both users and native English speakers. This is important when consideration is given to those who teach the language. Teachers' attitudes towards different varieties and the degree to which they ascribe to a standard language ideology and conform to the institutional requirements of the curriculum and testing will influence their classroom practices. There has been a considerable amount of research into non-native English speaking teachers (NNEST), and native English speaking teachers (NEST) attitudes towards different varieties of English (see Moussu and Llurda 2008). However there has been less research into the attitudes of multilingual teachers who are English dominant speakers (Ellis 2004), which this study aims to address. Ellis argues that the distinction between native English speakers (NES) and non-native English speakers (NNES), which is often emphasised in World Englishes research, is not as relevant as the distinction between monolingual and multilingual speakers. She suggests that the NNEST attitudes towards the English language have more in common with multilingual teachers than monolingual English teachers.

1.2 The context of the study

It is perhaps surprising that research in multilingualism and World Englishes has, until recently, remained in separate fields. Research in multilingualism has focused on border regions (Gal 1978), countries where there is a relatively stable diglossia (Heller 1992, Heller 1995, Mansour 1993), indigenous minority languages in developed countries (Cenoz 2012, Echeverria 2003, Giles 1970, Máté 1997) and in developed countries which have experienced an influx of migrants (Blackledge and Creese 2010, Drury 1991, Fought 2003, Ghuman 1999, Mills 2001, Modood, Berthoud, Lakey, Nazroo, Smith, Virdee and Beishon 1997, Stopes-Roe and Cochrane 1990, Zentella 1997). Attitudinal research in World Englishes has primarily been concerned with the attitudes of second language speakers of English (Alsagoff 2010, Bernaisch 2012, Joseph 2004, Kachru 1986, Kachru 2006, Rubdy, McKay, Alsagoff and Bokhorst-Heng 2008) and foreign language speakers of English (Bhatt 2008, Canagarajah 1999b, Chen 1996, Georgieva 2010, Jenkins 2009a, Pennycook 2003, Yihong, Ying, Yuan and Yan 2005). Research into the attitudes of native English speakers (NES) towards non-native varieties of English has been limited (Chand 2009, Jenkins 2009a). Other studies of NES attitudes have, instead, focused on ‘accented’ English rather than varieties of English (Bresnahan, Ohashi, Nebashi, Liu and Shearman 2002, Lindemann 2005, Rubin and Smith 1990, Scales, Wennerstrom, Richard and Wu 2006). However the perception of ‘folk’ as well as some academics is that accented English is the same as a variety of English. The participants in my study do not fit easily into any of these distinctions in World Englishes attitudinal research. To my knowledge there is no research of English dominant multilingual speakers’ attitudes towards different varieties of English. What ties research into multilingualism and World Englishes together is the pervasiveness of a native speaker (NS) ideology which influences the attitudes that individuals have towards different languages.

The use of the terms native and non-native has been the subject of considerable debate among scholars, primarily as a result of globalization and the global spread of English. There is no accepted definition of what a native speaker is, and definitions of non-native speakers are usually in relation to native speakers. Davies (1995, 2003, 2004) characterises a native speaker as having six attributes:

1. acquires L1 in childhood
2. has intuitions about his/her idiolectal grammar

3. has intuitions about the standard language and differences from his/her own grammar
4. is able to produce fluent spontaneous discourse and has a large stock of lexical items
5. has a unique capacity to write creatively
6. has a unique capacity to interpret and translate into the L1 of which he/she is a native speaker.

However Cook (1999: 187) argues that characteristics 2-6, and other non-developmental characteristics that native speakers share, mentioned by Stern (1983) and Johnson and Johnson (1998), relate to the quality of the language and are superfluous to a definition of a native speaker and that 'the indisputable element is the language learnt first'. While I would agree with Cook that the first language is the core element of defining a native speaker as Davies (2003) and Rampton (1990) argue, this places too much emphasis on biological factors in determining who is a native speaker, and not enough consideration to social aspects. Moreover these characteristic are clearly developmental and can be acquired to varying degrees by both native and non-native speakers. Davies (2003) places more emphasis on identity and the ability of an individual to define themselves as a native speaker, if they can be accepted by others. However this implies that non-native English speakers (NNES) have to claim native English speaker (NES) status in order to gain authenticity as English speakers. Many NNES perhaps do not want to define themselves as NES, but still want to command the same respect which is afforded to NES. Furthermore self-definition of NES status also becomes problematic because of the global spread of English.

On the one hand native speaker has become too narrow a description for the English language when there are nativized varieties of English, multilingual varieties of English, and NNES who exert linguistic competence in English equal to NES. This has led several authors, including Kachru (1985b), to argue that the dichotomy of NES and NNES seems to have become irrelevant. On the other hand the term NNES has become derogatory, particularly in regard to English language teachers who are discriminated against for 'non-nativeness', irrespective of proficiency in English (Holliday 2005, 2008). Canagarajah (1999a) notes the hypocrisy that exists within the profession which encourages and promotes the training of NNES to teach English, but who are then not considered desirable for employment in either native English speaking countries or non-native English speaking countries as English language teachers. The dominance of NES in training and curriculum development in English language teaching (ELT) and the discrimination of NNES are also evident in academia. International journals require western rhetorical styles and have to be written in

Standard English (Menezes Jordano 2014, Thomas 1999). Thomas also highlights the belief among British students that there is a separate grading system for foreign students, with the assumption that they could not be as accomplished as British students.

A recent study by Faez (2011) observed that the native/non-native distinction was a too simplistic categorization for the multilingual participants in his study, who represented six different linguistic identities:

1. Balanced bilingual
2. English first language speakers (who may or may not speak another language)
3. Second generation English speakers (with parents whose first language is not English)
4. English dominant speakers (who were not born in an English-speaking country, but after a long period of time in an English speaking country have become English dominant)
5. L1 dominant bilinguals (when English is not the dominant first language)
6. English variety speakers (who speak an indigenized variety of English) (Faez 2011: 245)

Although Faez's study shows that the native/non-native distinction is unable to sufficiently capture the different linguistic identities that exist among English speakers, as the author acknowledges, a six-level categorization is no more helpful. Moreover the author also notes that this categorisation is not exhaustive and there are other possible linguistic identities. It is worth noting at this point that being a NES or not for a multilingual speaker is in itself problematic. 'Mother tongue', 'native speaker', 'first language', 'primary language' and 'dominant language' are not necessarily synonyms. A person's mother tongue might for example be Gujarati, but after starting school the first language may become Hindi. Perhaps if they migrated to England later, it may result in English being their dominant language, while remaining a native speaker of Gujarati.

There are other terms which have been suggested, most notably by Cook (1999, 2008); multi-competent user, and by Rampton (1990) and Leung, Harris and Rampton (1997, 2009); language expert. However neither term has been successful in supplanting the native/non-native terminology either within the academic community or outside, largely because these terms are not synonymous with the native/non-native dichotomy. Cook argues that referring

to learners as multi-competent users gives emphasis to the multilingualism of the individual, rather than the term non-native which suggest a deficiency on the part of the speaker. However the multi-competent user and its binary opposite mono-competent user are simply alternative terminology for multilingual and monolingual, and do not indicate the ability to use a language to a level comparable to a native speaker. Likewise Rampton (1990) suggests displacing the terms native speaker and mother tongue, with language expertise, language affiliation and language inheritance. While inheritance and affiliation are beneficial in capturing the social group dimension of language, the notion of expertise is not an adequate replacement. The terms 'language expert', and its implied equivalent of 'language non-expert', does not distinguish between native speakers (NS) and non-native speakers (NNS), and instead emphasises the ability of NNS to use the language. The NS of any language would consider themselves an expert in their own language compared to NNS, even if they were limited in their capacity to communicate between different genres and styles.

Jenkins (1996, 2000) suggests terms which do have a direct correlation to the NS/NNS distinction. She suggests replacing NES with monolingual English speaker (MES), for L1 English speakers who are not fluent in another language. For L1 English speakers who speak another language and for L2 English speakers, she proposes they should be referred to as bilingual English speakers (BES). She also argues that a third term is required, non-bilingual English speaker (NBES), for L2 speakers of English who have reached a level of English that is adequate for their own circumstances, but is not comparable in terms of proficiency to MESs and BESs. However the problem of being able to identify at what point a NBES becomes a BES has led to Jenkins (2014b) discarding the third category. Perhaps more problematically, as Doerr (2009) argues, there is a risk that MES will simply be translated back as English native speaker, and also that these terms prioritise English over other languages. The problem is that the labels of native speaker and non-native speaker are so deeply embedded in the ideological roots of society that attempts to replace or displace them would seem futile. Moreover, while it may seem necessary to invent new terminology when current ones become inadequate or carry detrimental connotations, these new terms quickly acquire their own negative ideological associations. Within English language teaching particularly, it is not necessarily the terms which are problematic in themselves, but it is their semantic associations with Standard English, Received Pronunciation (RP), correct English, and indeed whiteness and the way that the terms are used which serves to maintain the authority of the NES.

With many countries now introducing English language learning to children as young as three years old, meaning a depth of exposure to the English language and knowledge about the language that is comparable to the NES, it will be necessary to reconceptualise what being a native speaker is. Jenkins (2000) speculates that perhaps, with the increasing number of NNES, and multilingualism becoming accepted as the norm, the term native will again become a derogatory label, as it was during the period of the British Empire when it was used to describe the ‘uncivilized’ indigenous people. Or perhaps, as Seidlhofer (2011) implies, the terms native and non-native will become obsolete in relation to English and people shall be defined as English speakers or non-English speakers at some point in the near future. However at present the supposed superiority of NES over NNES remains relatively intact and it might be hard to supplant, given its embeddedness not just in the ideological values of NES, but also NNES.

Although World Englishes research has been successful, to a certain extent, in promoting the awareness of non-native varieties in the wider society, the NES/NNES debate has largely remained within the academic community. It does not appear that outside academia people believe that there is a problem with distinguishing between NES and NNES, and more so appear to be oblivious that this matter is even debated. If it is the purpose of research to promote wider understanding, then it is necessary to move the debate beyond the confines of academia by engaging with the ideological values which reinforce the superior status of the NES. A further point worth mentioning in the NES/NNES debate is that, though scholars in the fields of Second language Acquisition (SLA) have tended to gloss over the significance of the emergence of Englishes that do not correspond with the speech of the idealized native speaker, researchers in World Englishes are equally susceptible of treating the NES as synonymous with a monolingual speaker, which is not always the case.

1.3 Research aims and objectives

The purpose of this study is to expand on the existing knowledge about ethnic communities and their attitudes towards language both inside and outside the UK, and how this has been formulated through language ideologies and multiple identities. Until recently the majority of research in multilingualism has tended to focus on attitudes to English as a National

Language (ENL), and how this affects attitudes towards their heritage languages, rather than examining language attitudes from the perspective of English as a Global Language (EGL). The need to consider the role of EGL in multilingualism research has become more important as different varieties of English are not as geographically constrained as they once were. It might be expected that wider familiarity with indigenised varieties of English, through the global media and the outsourcing of telecommunication services, has led to a reduction of the stigmatizing of accented English and English varieties. However this does not appear to be the situation with several studies indicating continued negative attitudes towards foreign accented English (Bresnahan *et al.* 2002, Eisenclas and Tsurutani 2011, Lindemann 2005). The multilingual community in Britain perhaps represent a reformulation of attitudes about language which resist standard language ideologies and are therefore key to understanding how attitudes towards language are changing, and how this is impacting on existing language ideologies. The attitudes of multilingual individuals, whose language ideological framework does not derive solely from a western perspective in notionally monolingual countries, may impact on existing language ideologies in political institutions, media, law and education. Therefore perhaps not enough consideration is given to the ways exo-normative attitudes influence ideologies, and instead there is an overt focus on how language ideologies frame attitudes.

The institutional setting of the study is a further education college in Leicester and the participants for this study are from the English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) department. There are about 80 English language tutors and the ethnic composition of the department reflects the ethnic composition of the city, with around 50% of the staff from an ethnic minority background and the other 50% from a white background. The department is also predominantly female with around 75% female English language tutors. The study examines the language attitudes and identities of participants as members of an ethnic community with particular reference to their position as English language teachers. The participants of the study are English language teachers who are either first or second generation migrants. There is a broad age range of the participants and some are parents. The participants speak a range of languages, with different participants speaking two, three, four, five or six different languages with varying degrees of competence. Some participants speak more than one closely related Indic or non-related Indic language or an African language, while some have limited literacy in languages other than English. Some participants make a distinction between their 'first language' and their 'mother tongue'.

Some consider themselves native English speakers and others do not, while others highlight their bilingual competence rather than being native speakers of English.

This study aims to examine the contribution that EGL and ENL has on the language attitudes of multilingual teachers living in Leicester. Leicester provides an ideal location for the examination of this issue, having a history of multilingualism and multiculturalism dating back to the 1950s with the arrival of migrants from the Caribbean, and later from India, Pakistan and Africa (Chessum 2000). The city also has distinctive and concentrated communities; not just the Gujarati speakers but also the Afro-Caribbean community, a growing Muslim community, and the recent arrivals from central and Eastern Europe, providing a counterweight to the predominant British culture and English language. The aims of this research are formulated in the following research question, and three research sub-questions.

Main research question

How do the attitudes of multilingual South-Asian English language teachers towards non-native varieties of English influence their beliefs about teaching?

Sub-questions

1. In what ways do multilingual South-Asian English language teachers' experiences and background influence their beliefs about language?
2. To what extent are multilingual South-Asian English language teachers' attitudes and beliefs about language influenced by language ideologies?
3. What are multilingual South-Asian English language teachers' attitudes towards non-native varieties of English?

I anticipate that providing answers to these questions will extend the existing knowledge of multilingual communities living in Britain and contribute to research in the field of global Englishes, multilingualism and English language teaching (ELT). The study examines how multiple identities and language ideologies have contributed to the language attitudes of first and second generation South-Asian multilingual English language teachers. Moreover I hope

that by answering these questions I will discover whether there has been a development of attitudes in recent years as a result of global structural changes and a wider acceptance of non-native varieties of English. The research questions are discussed in more detail on p.76, but it is necessary for me to highlight a point about the research questions and the title in relation to the identity of the participants. I have grouped the participants as South-Asian which refers to individuals whose heritage cultures derive from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. However, as will be discussed on p.124, it is important to note that none of the participants chose this as their identity and instead the participants chose other identities according to their own individual circumstances.

1.2 Overview of the structure

In this first chapter I have explained my personal motivation for this study and how this also relates to my profession as an English language teacher. Having established my personal reasons for investigating the attitudes that multilingual individuals have towards language, I then contextualised the study in the research fields of multilingualism, World Englishes and language ideologies. I also suggested the importance of undertaking research in these areas in that it will examine the attitudes of multilingual teachers towards language and how this contributes to their teaching practice beliefs. I also highlighted the importance of taking into consideration the native/non-native ideological debate when examining the attitudes that people have. I also argued that a different approach is required with regard to the terminology that is used in defining NES and NNES. I then outlined the institutional and situational context of the study and the reasons behind this choice, and introduced the research questions that will guide the literature review and the methodological approach taken by this study.

Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis will review the relevant literature in terms of migration, multilingualism and World Englishes, addressing and defining the key concepts important to the study. Chapters 4-8 turn to the study itself, discussing the justification of methodology used in the research, an examination of the results, followed by a discussion and a final summary and conclusion detailing potential areas for further research.

Chapter 2 provides a contextual background to the research with an examination of the post-war immigration history of Britain and more specifically Leicester. It will also examine the response of the state to the perceived ‘invasion’ of foreigners, and how migrants have been affected by the migration and acculturation experience. In order to understand the position and perspective of first and second generation migrants it is necessary to examine the socio-historical experience which has contributed to this.

Chapter 3 is the main literature review which will provide a theoretical basis to the research and examine studies which are relevant to the attitudes of multilingual speakers. It starts by defining some key concepts, language attitudes and language ideologies and establishes my own understanding of these terms. I then go on to discuss the relevant research in World Englishes, in respect to attitudes. This is followed by an examination of research into multilingual communities in migratory contexts, and more specifically Britain. The chapter then considers the institutional context, and how language management at the macro and micro levels impacts on the attitudes of English language teachers.

Chapter 4 provides an examination of the methodology used and the benefits of qualitative research when examining complex concepts such as attitudes to language. The different approaches that have been taken to examine attitudes towards language will be examined and I will assess their respective strengths and weaknesses. The methodology used is semi-structured interviews and focus groups.

The final three chapters will outline the results of the study and identify the principal themes that emerged during the interviews and focus group discussions. Finally the conclusion will relate the findings of the research to the research goals and revisit the research questions that formulated the study. I will also discuss the limitations of the study, the implications for teaching pedagogy and suggest further areas of research.

Chapter 2

Immigration in the United Kingdom and Leicester

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide a background to the study by examining the history of migration to the UK and Leicester, and the response in terms of government policy and legislation.

Although Leicester has its own unique multicultural history, it must be seen in the context of changes that were occurring in Britain and the reaction of some sections of society to the influx of migrants from the newly created Commonwealth.

The dismemberment of the British Empire and the associated decline of British imperial and economic power would have a profound psychological impact on the nation. Even though Britain was no longer a global military power, the historical baggage of imperialist superiority over non-whites and ‘white man’s burden’ was drawn upon and contributed to how newly arrived migrants were viewed and treated by the government, other institutions and the wider population. There was a tendency for first generation migrants to acquiesce and accept this treatment being confined to low skilled jobs which they were over-qualified for (Spencer 1997). It was only when the second generation reached adulthood that ethnic minorities attempted to redefine both their status and the ingrained perception of the white population. This coincided with, or perhaps led to active resistance against racism and more prominence given to diversity among British Asians as they asserted religious identities such as Muslim, Sikh and Hindu as active forms of resistance (Alexander 2006, Zavos 2009).

2.2 Migration

The British government had initially encouraged Commonwealth subjects to come to Britain to meet her employment needs and rebuild both the economy and infrastructure. Leicester was a magnet for migrants following the Second World War due to the textile and manufacturing industries in the region. Initially the migrants were Caribbean in origin, though by the end of the 1950s the number of migrants from the Indian sub-continent living in Leicester had surpassed those from the Caribbean (Chessum 2000). Despite the growing antagonism of the indigenous white population, it was not until 1962 that the British

government sought to restrict migration by requiring migrants to have a job voucher, a job, or special skills which were needed by the country. Spencer (1997: 127) argues that the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act was ‘supposedly introduced to prevent multiracial Britain from happening [but] in fact ensured the foundation stones were laid and the Asian and Black communities transformed into a population of substantial proportions’. The Act allowed migration flows which were higher than the rate in the previous decade. Its slow implementation also encouraged a ‘beat the ban’ rush, so many migrants, who were already in Britain, decided to settle permanently and were joined by their family members before the deadline stipulated by the Act. This is reflected in the increase of Leicester’s migrant population from 1.7% in 1961 to 12.3% by 1971 (Office for National Statistics 1961, 1971). The expulsion of East African Indians from Kenya and Uganda in the 1970s led to further increases in the number of migrants, with the city becoming home to a third of the 29,000 who were expelled. This consequently led to an increase of dependents from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The ineffectiveness of the Act was demonstrated by the fact that by 1982 only one fifth of all ethnic minorities in Britain had arrived before the Act was implemented (Spencer 1997). Therefore the Act did very little to restrict migration flows or blunt the opposition of the native British population, with the National Front forming in 1967 and both the National party elected to Blackburn Council and Enoch Powell’s contentious and divisive ‘Rivers of Blood’ speech in 1968. Immigration and nationality acts which have followed in 1968, 1971, 1981 and 2002 have become increasingly racist and discriminatory, restricting entry and naturalization for non-whites through the guise of ancestry and linguistic assimilation (Blackledge and Creese 2010, Julios 2008). For example the 1968 Act restricted the automatic right of abode for Commonwealth citizens to at least one parent or grandparent born in the UK, to prevent a large number of Asians who had been resident in Africa coming to Britain. The 1981 British Nationality Act modified the rights of *jus soil*, so that it was necessary for a UK born child to have one parent to be a British citizen or settled in the UK. It is more probable that citizens of ‘white heritage’ countries such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand would be able to meet this criteria. Moreover the imposition of an English language requirement for citizenship in the 2002 Act was not aimed at Australian, Canadian, New Zealand or American citizens, where English is the official or national language (Blackledge and Creese 2010, Lattimer 1999, The National Archives 1981, 2002). Moreover anti-discrimination acts in 1965, 1968, and 1976 were largely ineffective in changing ingrained attitudes among the white-British population, or within important institutions such

as the police force, media and schools which remained, during this period, institutionally racist (Spencer 1997).

A new wave of migration emerged towards the end of the 1980s, and also took on a new form, partly as a consequence of improved communication and transportation systems, and partly as a result of political and economic reform in many communist countries. In this globalised migration, women participated in the movement rather than being considered appendages of male migration. Also previous distinctions between economic migrants, refugees and business migrants have become meaningless, and the outdated concept of diaspora communities has been replaced with trans-nationalism (Castle 2000). Rather than migrants abandoning their cultural and national affiliation, increased communication and transport systems allowed the retention of connections with the country of departure on a level which migrants between 1950 and 1990 were unable to do (Glick Schiller 1997, Glick Schiller, Basch and Szanton Blanc 1995, Grimes 1998, Kearney 1995). However imagery of people as transitory globalised citizens is somewhat overstated, with the majority of migrants still classified by law and themselves distinctively, and billions still restricted in their movement. Notwithstanding, this globalised world requires a comprehensive explanation of the causes of migration which take into account the micro, meso, and macro causes of migration (Block 2005). With already established communities, Leicester has been an obvious choice for new migrants with a perception that it would be easier to gain employment and engage with the local population, while at the same time as reinforcing a bridge from the departing country to the existing community. In this conception of “network-mediated migration” social factors are prioritised as migrants ‘seek work first in one place, then another, where they have kin and friends’ (Brettell 2000: 107).

In addition to legislation to control the influx of migrants and protect minorities from discrimination, the state also promoted assimilatory policies in schools and in society which will be outlined briefly in the following two sections.

2.3 Government policies in the British Education System

The education system in Britain essentially has an ideological function to create British citizens and therefore the issue of migrants and ethnic minorities has always been treated

from a problem centred approach. It also helps to reproduce existing divisions of labour and class, being a *habitus* of the middle classes (Bourdieu 1991, Fairclough 2001) and contributes to the discrimination against ethnic minorities (Julios 2008). For younger migrants, and for second generation migrants, their formative experience was in schools, whose teachers were predominantly white and tended to treat ethnic minority children negatively (Corson 1993). Within schools, ethnic children were viewed through stereotypical prisms and marginalised because of language and religion. Afro-Caribbean children were pushed into sport and music, and Asian children were categorised as hardworking but passive (Brah 1996). The entrenched racism among teachers ensured that the children of migrants were 'herded' into dunce's classes if their language skills were weak, and contributed to their exclusion and alienation (Brah 1996, Verma, Zec and Skinner 1994).

The situation appeared to improve when the 1976 Race Relations Act extended the responsibility of Local Education Authorities (LEA) in relation to the education of migrant children. Importantly the Act allowed LEAs to create supplementary schools and private schools, albeit without institutional support, instruction through religious establishments, and created English language courses for immigrants. However as Verma *et al.* (1994: 85) note, 12 years later the 1988 Education Act continued to be discriminatory, despite attitudinal changes over the previous twenty years, with the new curriculum essentially Anglo-centric, 'obliterating the realities of individual identities and assuming that differences do not exist, while ignoring non-Christian faiths in Religious Education'. Heller and Martin-Jones (2001: 2) observe that 'education is a key site for the construction of social identities and of unequal relations of power', and therefore ignoring ethnic minority identities has a continued detrimental effect on those individuals.

Governments also saw ethnic minority languages as an obstacle to assimilation. Although educational theorists and academics have provided strong evidence to support the benefits of bilingual teaching methods for multilingual children (August and Shanahan 2006, Cummins 2005, Genesee, Lindholm-Leary and Christian 2006, Hamers and Blanc 2000), successive governments have continued to view bilingualism as hindering children's progress in mainstream education. Although Martin (2007) notes that attitudes towards bilingual education within government circles are beginning to soften, problems with cost, availability of bilingual teachers, resentment of white children and parents, and a fear of the

reinforcement of ethnic identity contribute to minimal institutional support for bilingual children in the mainstream sector (Martin-Jones and Saxena 2001). There are many consequences of a monolingual educational policy, with the drop-out rate for immigrant children higher than for other children, higher truancy rates, a greater chance of unemployment, and 'overrepresentation in all measures which describe failure' (Romaine 1995: 258). In addition a monolingual submersion policy also prevents children returning to their heritage country and culture at some point in the future, as they would lack the psychological, linguistic and cultural tools to cope in that environment (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000), and consequently contributes to parents' decision to remain in their adopted country.

The mainstream sector's failure to make bilingual teaching available to members of minority communities has allowed community language education to play an important role in forming linguistic, social and learner identities. Complementary schools in Leicester have provided a context for heritage languages beyond the home, provide space for the speakers to explore multicultural lives safely and do not enforce a singular heritage culture (Creese, Bhatt, Bhojani and Martin 2006). However, despite the advantages for language maintenance, Blackledge and Creese (2010) note that the organisers of community language schools still view linguistic codes as separate entities, rather than as a mixture of languages as the children appear to do, and maintain a negative attitude towards code-switching.

2.4 Government attempts to regulate ethnolinguistic identity

There has been a recent renewal of interest by governments to try and control the linguistic environment following race riots in Bradford, Oldham and Burnley in the summer of 2001. The reaction in some sections of the media and in the government was to blame the riots on migrant families and the Asian communities in those cities, arguing that specific cultural practices of ethnic groups contributed to self-disenfranchisement from the wider 'English' community. This has been discussed by several authors (Alexander, Edwards and Temple 2007, Blackledge 2005, Pavlenko and Blackledge 2003, Uberoi 2007, Weatherall, Watson and Gallois 2007). It was asserted by sections of the government that the cultural practice of 'importing' women from the Indian sub-continent precipitated a lack of fluency for their children in English and consequently damaged their progress at school thereby curtailing their career choices later (Blackledge 2003).

In attempting to confront the new political realities of migration and ethnic minorities, Britain and other European countries are torn between whether their policy should be assimilatory or multicultural, leading to contradictory legislation in their responses (Block 2005). For example, in Britain there is a government discourse of inclusion and diversity while at the same time criticising households that do not speak English, and giving limited provision in mainstream schools for heritage languages. Moreover the government have made a basic command of English a requirement for British citizenship, but have subsequently made it necessary for many of the poorest migrants to pay for language courses (Nash 2011). This conflict has also contributed to a superficial approach to cultural diversity, through sharing cultural products such as food and festivals, which Holliday (2011: 81) notes is 'far from faithful to the complexity of the lived cultural experience'. Cooke and Simpson (2012) argue that since 2001 there has been a shift from broad official support for multiculturalism to a position which foregrounds social cohesion and integration, with citizenship asserted as necessary for migrants to gain rights and avoid becoming marginalised. The predominant view is that the migrant 'other' is being helped to become more westernised and consequently more civilized and culturally liberated (Holliday 2011).

It was the 2002 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act which first included a language test of English for migrants to become citizens. This could be seen as a gate-keeping device to keep out those who 'refuse' or are seen to refuse to learn the language (Blackledge 2005), though the government argued that this was an incentive for migrants to participate in UK society. This has been followed with a raft of legislation which makes the direct link between migration, the English language and citizenship (Blackledge and Creese 2010). More recently the current Home Secretary, Teresa May, plans to overhaul the Citizenship Test to include questions about British history with the hope that this would encourage a shared sense of identity. Not only is this unlikely to be successful, but it would also appear to be unjustified because, as with the previous version, British born citizens would have difficulty passing the test (Travis 2012) as David Cameron did in a mock citizenship test (Watt 2012). However British born residents would not lose their citizenship if they failed to know enough about Britain and British history.

In addition to coercive measures, the government has also 'unleashed a symbolic politics of shared citizenship and nationhood to mend the risk of ethnic separatism' (Joppke 2009: 9).

This has been done through the rehabilitation of the importance of being British (Uberoi 2007): the rational being that if people shared an identity, the country would be less fractured, and central to this should be sharing a language. Ideas of nationhood, citizenship and belonging are increasingly seen as a need for cultural homogeneity; encouraging assimilation through championing a modern British 'community spirit'. At the same time, ethnic communities are positioned as lower, by conceptualising them as culturally and linguistically bounded entities that represent a pre-modern notion of community (Alexander *et al.* 2007, Alleyne 2002). Alleyne (2002) notes that western countries dropped the term community in the process of modernisation, and instead became 'societies composed of individuals'. Therefore the term community retains the historical baggage when applied to ethnic groups. Instead of attempting to promote an idealized British community as the government consistently attempts to do, Uberoi (2007) argues that for integration to succeed it is necessary to make multiculturalism one of the myths, values and symbols of the nation, as has occurred in Canada. At present multiculturalism only extends as far as the private sphere; the demands of society, for example in terms education and employment, require migrants to acculturate to the majority language and culture (Dewey 2007).

2.5 The ethno-linguistic environment in Leicester

It was predicted that Leicester would become the first city in Britain to have a white population of less than 50% sometime between 2015 and 2025 (Brown 2010, Coleman 2010). However these predictions proved to be underestimating the growth of ethnic minority groups in Leicester as the 2011 census showed. Although whites remained the single largest ethnic group, their proportion had declined to 47%, making Leicester the first majority/minor city (Office for National Statistics 2011). This does indicate a rapid increase in the number of people who are defined as ethnic minorities in the last fifteen years, as according to the 2001 census 33% of Leicester's population classified themselves as a non-white ethnic minority, an increase of around 20% in 10 years (Office for National Statistics 2001). The heritage culture of the majority of this group is South-Asian in origin, though the 3.8% described as Afro-Caribbean is also higher than the national average. In addition there are a large number of Central and Eastern European, African and Middle Eastern migrant workers, and a significant number of refugees and asylum seekers, making Leicester one of the most ethno-

linguistically diverse cities in Britain and a reflection of superdiversity created by changes in migratory patterns (Vertovec 2007).

It is unsurprising, therefore, that the city has been a site of inquiry for several studies, (Creese *et al.* 2006, Dave 1991, Giles and Saint-Jacques 1979, Herbert 2008, Julien 1995, Martin-Jones 2000, Martin-Jones and Bhatt 1998, Martin, Bhatt, Bhijani and Creese 2006, Mercer, Mercer and Means 1979, Reynolds and Verma 2007, Singh 2006, Tamb-Lyche 1975, Wilding 1981). By far the largest linguistic group in Leicester, aside from English speakers, are Gujarati speakers, and consequently this group are the predominant subject of study. However it is difficult to specifically identify the number of Gujarati speakers as data on languages is not a requirement of the census, so any calculation of the number of speakers can only be an estimate. Based on the 1991 census, Julien (1995) estimated there to be 19.9% Gujarati speakers, and draws attention to a 1983 survey which estimated that around 15% of Leicester's population spoke Gujarati as their *first* language, a figure confirmed by a Leicester City and County Council estimate in 1987 (Martin-Jones 2000). The most recent estimate by Reynolds and Verma (2007) indicated that around 22% of the children in Leicester's school system are Gujarati speakers. However these estimates do not indicate those who would consider themselves second or third language Gujarati speakers, their fluency level, or whether they are also literate.

One of the reasons for the relative vibrancy of the language in Leicester is that, unlike other Indian speech communities, the Gujarati community is densely concentrated with 58% of the Rushey Mead ward, 68% of the Belgrade ward, 73% of the Spinney Hill ward and 79% of the Latimer ward, being of South-Asian origin (Office for National Statistics 2001). The Gujarati community is composed of close networks and close kinship ties with extended families living in the same house. Continued contact with the 'homeland' is also maintained through extended holidays, children boarded in Gujarat schools, and the continued migration from the Gujarat region including marriage partners. Moreover there are many cultural practices which help maintain the language, such as local community groups, religious festivals, newspapers, and information from the local government available in Gujarati. In addition contact with 'pure forms' of Indian culture can be maintained through the cinema and satellite television. However the birth of the second and third generation has initiated a compromise between the generations over core cultural values and a modification of the

essence of being Indian, as the younger generation forge hybrid or mixed cultural identities (Bhabha 1994, Ghuman 1999, Werbner and Modood 1997).

Although studies have found support for the Gujarati language among the second and third generation (Giles and Saint-Jacques 1979, Julien 1995, Wilding 1981), these and other studies demonstrate that this was not reflected in their ability to use the language, particularly in terms of literacy (Dave 1991, Martin-Jones and Bhatt 1998). Both Julien (1995) and Dave (1991) also observe that speakers engage heavily in code-switching practices and borrow extensively from English into Gujarati which, they argue, would have a detrimental effect on maintaining the language in the long term. In addition the almost exclusive use of English among young Indian peers, and its primary use for intergenerational communication, means that when the older generation die, the domains of use for Gujarati will become even narrower. While the attrition of the Gujarati language in Leicester does appear to be occurring among second and third generations, the recent expansion of complementary schools and a reformulated perspective of not viewing the languages as separate codes, but rather as a blend, has encouraged its continued use and importance in domestic and institutional contexts (Creese *et al.* 2006, Martin *et al.* 2006). This perspective has encouraged, and been a consequence of, the hybridisation of identities in an increasingly multicultural Britain (Bhabha 1990, Ghuman 1999, Werbner and Modood 1997).

The Gujarati community remains an important feature of Leicester, but the emergence of multiple identities, which are not contingent on a specific speech community, has become more prevalent among the younger generation. This is apparent in several studies that have focused on the blending and mixing of languages and identities in different regions and contexts (Blackledge and Creese 2010, Bucholtz 1999, Chun 2001, Cutler 1999, Hewitt 1986, Rampton 1995, 2011, Reyes 2005). Moreover the notion of there being a Gujarati community is questionable, as this frames Gujarati speakers as belonging to a static, homogeneous group, whereas the community arguably exists in a more imagined state (Anderson 1983). In addition, the overt focus on the Gujarati speakers has masked the diversity that had always existed among South Asians in the city, which also consists of Punjabis, Sikhs and Hindus, not to mention Muslims, many of whom are Gujarati speakers. It is also important to recognise that for many people Indian identity is an ethnic label rather than an ethno-linguistic one and that affiliation to an Indian way of life is symbolised in ways other than just language.

2.6 Summary

This chapter has briefly outlined migration to Britain and Leicester since 1945 and how different governments have responded to the changes that have taken place to the demography of Britain. The predominant response has been of a conservative nature to sustain existing ideologies and assimilate ethnic minorities into the national ethos through the education system and other institutions of control. Nevertheless public and institutional attitudes have evolved over the past sixty years to create a wider acceptance of cultural diversity. This is partly a result of the assertiveness of the second generation to challenge the prevailing attitudes and beliefs in various ways. Different groups and individuals choose different paths, either through confrontation, or through establishing local community organizations which act as pressure groups, or by conforming to the British establishment and changing the system from within to achieve equality. The acceptance of cultural diversity is also a consequence of the increasing numbers of ethnic minorities in schools. In addition, changes of a geo-political nature have also contributed to a more inclusive attitude, with Britain's role in the world shrinking relatively and developing countries rising economically.

These changes and how this has affected the attitude of second generation migrants is reflected in Sharma and Sankaran's (2011) recent study in Southall. Sharma and Sankaran observe a difference in attitude between the older and younger second generation migrants. The older second generation migrants who grew up in the 1970s and 1980s in Southall experienced race riots, the forced bussing of children to schools outside the area, and the separation of ethnic groups into language reception classes. By the 1990s South Asians had become numerically dominant in some schools, and therefore ethnicity has become a less salient feature for the younger second generation while at the same time Asian culture has become a more accepted feature of mainstream culture.

Chapter 3

Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

Having established the socio-historical context of the study, I will now examine the key literature and theories in the area of language attitudes, World Englishes and multilingualism on which this study is based. This chapter will argue from a post-structuralist position that there are many contributing factors to consider when examining the attitudes that individuals have towards language.

After outlining discussions with regard to language attitudes and language ideologies, I will go on to examine the relevant theoretical and empirical studies related to attitudes that have been undertaken in World Englishes and multilingualism. Then, I will discuss the institutional context and how language management at the government level and in educational institutions influences the attitudes of multilingual speakers and impacts on their role as teachers. Finally I will examine research into teachers' attitudes towards different languages and dialects and how this contributes to teaching practices.

3.2 Language Attitudes and Ideologies

In this first section of the literature review I will examine the literature devoted to attitudes and language attitudes, examining how authors have defined attitudes, how they are composed, and also consider their stability. Then I shall discuss the relevance of language ideologies to language attitudes in respect to standardization, how certain societal attitudes become accepted as normal, and finally conceptions of what language is.

3.2.1 Language Attitudes

Language attitude research has a long history and is an important component of several different fields of linguistic inquiry, including Second Language Acquisition, Sociolinguistics, Discourse Analysis, Dialectology and World Englishes to name a few (Cargile, Giles, Ryan and Bradac 1994). Even though attitudes were treated as a backdrop to language change and

specific linguistic features were taken to be indicative of individual attitudes (Garrett, Coupland and Williams 2003), Labov's seminal studies in the 1960s in Martha's Vineyard (2001) and New York City (1966) highlighted the centrality of attitudes in linguistic research. Likewise Lambert's use of the Matched Guise Tests (MGT) (Lambert, Anisfeld and Yeni-Komshian 1965, Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum 1960) also indicated that people's attitude towards others is influenced by a person's language, accent or dialect and vice versa. However despite the considerable amount of research on language attitudes over the past fifty years, how attitudes operate is not easily agreed on, even if there is general agreement about how to define an attitude (Cargile *et al.* 1994). Definitions of attitudes predominantly specify that they are an evaluation of an object, and in respect to language attitudinal research the object could relate to a language, a phonetic feature or a single lexical item. The reality is that it is questionable whether individual language items can be isolated from other language features and the socio-political context in which languages exists. Moreover, attitudes to a language cannot easily be separated from the speakers and in some respects are formed not only from their first-hand experience of language use but also in the collective imagination of stereotypes (Garrett 2010, Garrett *et al.* 2003, Niedzielski and Preston 2009). Smith and Hogg (2008: 339) argue that attitudes should be analysed as an essential part of group membership, normative and embedded in the ideological values of society, and this would seem to be imperative when examining language attitudes given the complexity of language.

3.2.1.1 Attitude Definition

To begin, it is necessary to define attitudes. The majority of authors define an attitude as being an expression of an evaluative judgement of an object along a scale from positive to negative (Ajzen 2005, Eagly and Chaiken 2007, Fazio 2007, Maio and Haddock 2009, Petty, Wegener and Fabrigar 1997). Eagly and Chaiken (2007) stress that it is important not to confuse attitudes with evaluative judgements which are best regarded as an expression of a person's 'inner tendency'. The authors offer an 'umbrella' definition that suggests three essential features of an attitude; an evaluation, an attitude object and a tendency. They define attitudes as a 'psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour' (Eagly and Chaiken 2007: 598). This is in line with Garrett, Coupland and Williams's (2003: 3) orientation towards attitudes. The authors argue

that, because an attitude is a ‘disposition’, it is ‘at least potentially an evaluative stance that is sufficiently stable to allow it to be identified and in some sense measured’.

The difficulty for researchers is that attitudes cannot be directly observed, but are instead part of an individual’s mental and neural state (Fazio 2007, Maio and Haddock 2009). Maio and Haddock (2009) argue that one of the most important advances in attitudinal research in recent years has been the opportunity to examine neural correlations of thoughts and emotions in the brain. This has contributed to the development of cognitive models, which contribute to a greater understanding of how attitudes are translated into evaluative judgements (Conrey and Smith 2007, Cunningham, Zelazo, Packer and Van Bavel 2007). For example Cunningham *et al.* argue that each encounter with an object initiates an activation process that draws from previous knowledge and experiences of the object or its associations, which is reprocessed taking into account new information and translates into an evaluative judgement. Research indicates that the attitudes of an individual are more accessible when there is a strong association between the attitude object and its mental representations (Maio and Haddock 2009). However Fazio (2007) argues that activated memory only serve as a starting point and, influenced by the immediate situation, evaluative judgments are made when either the motivation or opportunity to deliberate further is lacking.

Language attitudes then, in their broadest sense, can be seen as an evaluation by an individual of an aspect of a language, or the language itself, which is on a range between positive and negative.

3.2.1.2 Attitude Components

In social psychology, attitudes are usually divided into three aspects: cognitive, affective and behavioural (fig. 1) and language attitude research has tended to adopt this framework (Cargile *et al.* 1994, Garrett 2010, Ryan and Giles 1982). The cognitive part of attitudes is related to the beliefs, thoughts and attributes that an individual associates with an attitude object (Maio and Haddock 2009). Thus, people will have degrees of negativity or positivity towards a language, dialect or accent that are in many respects related to their assessment of its attributes. Prestige languages, such as Standard English, are usually afforded greater status by people because of their greater utility in higher level contexts and are seen as being more accurate than dialects (Garrett 2010, Niedzielski and Preston 2003). The affective component is related to the emotional response a person will have towards an object. For

example Modood (1997) and Mills (2001) have shown that ethnic minorities have an emotional attachment to their heritage language. Finally behavioural information relates to the person's expression of an attitude, be that verbally or actively, and what the result of the expression of the attitude was. A positive outcome of a behavioural expression would be internalised, stored in their memory and would encourage a positive attitude towards the attitude object in the future.

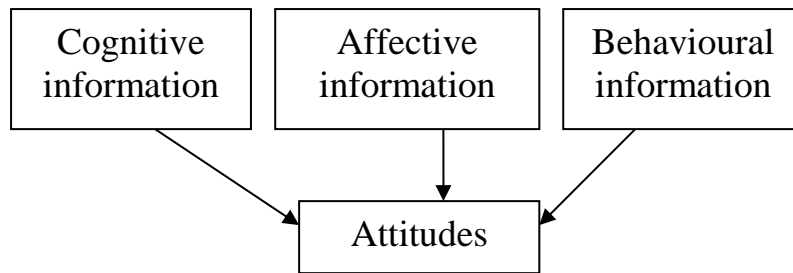


Fig. 3.1 Multicompetent model (Maio and Haddock 2009: 25)

However the ways in which cognitive, affective and behavioural components are related to each other are difficult to determine (Maio and Haddock 2009). Though the cognitive component relates to knowledge and assessment of the attributes of an attitude object, this cannot easily be separated from the affective and behavioural components of attitudes (Maio and Haddock 2009). For example in Lindemann's (2005) study the participants' perceptual evaluative judgements were negative towards Chinese and Mexican accented English.

However this may have been based on a consideration of its attributes compared to American English, or negative personal encounters activating a behavioural or emotional response, or based on negative news reports producing an emotional response about these ethnic groups that was stored in the memory and activated during the study. It is more probable that there were different types of information from different sources which combined to produce a negative evaluation.

Eagerly and Chaiken (2007) argue that these terms are best regarded as useful terminology rather than being a definitive description because these components are not easily separable. Instead Maio and Haddock (2009) assert that the cognitive, affective and behavioural components have a synergistic relationship but studies have shown them to be distinct. An attitude will also not necessarily contain all three of these components and, depending on the object, one could be more important than other. Eagerly and Chaiken (2007) note that several psychologists have argued that the affective component is essential and Oppenheim

(1982) appears to give more precedence to this component, arguing that attitudes are not necessarily logical but are linked to emotions and learned through socialisation. However as Eagerly and Chaiken (2007) highlight, studies have found that some evaluative judgements can be principally based on cognitive and behavioural components.

Language attitudes then are predominantly internal, stored in the memory and activated when encountering an attitude object. The manifestation of the attitude on a cline from positive to negative will depend on an individual's past experience, or lack of past experience, with the object. The cognitive, affective and behavioural components of language attitudes cannot be easily separated and all influence and are influenced by each other. Language attitudes cannot be directly observed and it is the evaluative judgements which people give about the attitude object which can be accessed. Researchers have to elicit these evaluative judgements using different methodological tools.

It is difficult to separate cognitive, affective and behavioural components of attitudes and, as Eagerly and Chaiken (2007) argue, I will treat them as interconnected. Indeed for the purposes of this study, it is not necessary to be able to identify what particular aspect is contributing to my participants' attitudes or which aspect is stronger, but it is necessary to be aware of how their attitudes have been formed. For example Niedzielski and Preston (2009) speculate that the origins of peoples' beliefs about correct language is developed during their school years. Although the participants in my study have South-Asian ancestry, some are first generation migrants and some are second generation migrants, therefore their language attitudes will have both similarities and differences depending on their different cognitive, affective and behavioural experiences. Likewise their teaching beliefs have developed from multiple sources in different contexts both inside and outside of the classroom. Maio and Haddock (2009) point out that attitudes are also dependent on normative behaviour; how people who are important to the individual expect him or her to act to comply with expectations. Teachers might be prohibited from performing an action or believe specific individuals will approve or disapprove of their behaviour and are therefore conditioned into acting in certain ways in the classroom. This will impact on how the teachers in my study articulate their attitudes towards language and their teaching practices.

Cognitive, affective and behavioural components are also evident in the folk linguistic model of language attitudes (Fig. 2), though reconceptualised as 'cognitive states and processes which govern both what people say and how they react to what is said', represented at the top

and bottom of the triangle (Niedzielski and Preston 2003: 27, 2009: 357). This perhaps reflects the ambiguity that is evident with the social-psychological components. These states which govern what people say and how they react to what is said can also be interpreted as language ideologies, thereby incorporating language ideologies into folk linguistic research.

Even though the word ‘folk’ has both negative and positive associations, particularly in America, it is used in a more neutral stance within folk linguistics. However it is difficult to classify my participants as folk per se. Niedzielski and Preston (2003: 323) specify that ‘everybody is a folk’ but then go on to assert that ‘the nonspecialist views of topics which touch on the lives of all citizens are worth knowing’, with the implication that non-linguists are folk. My participants are both English language teachers and multilinguals giving them perhaps a deeper understanding of language than the ‘traditional’ folk in Niedzielski and Preston’s studies. Therefore the extent to which my participants can be considered folk is questionable.

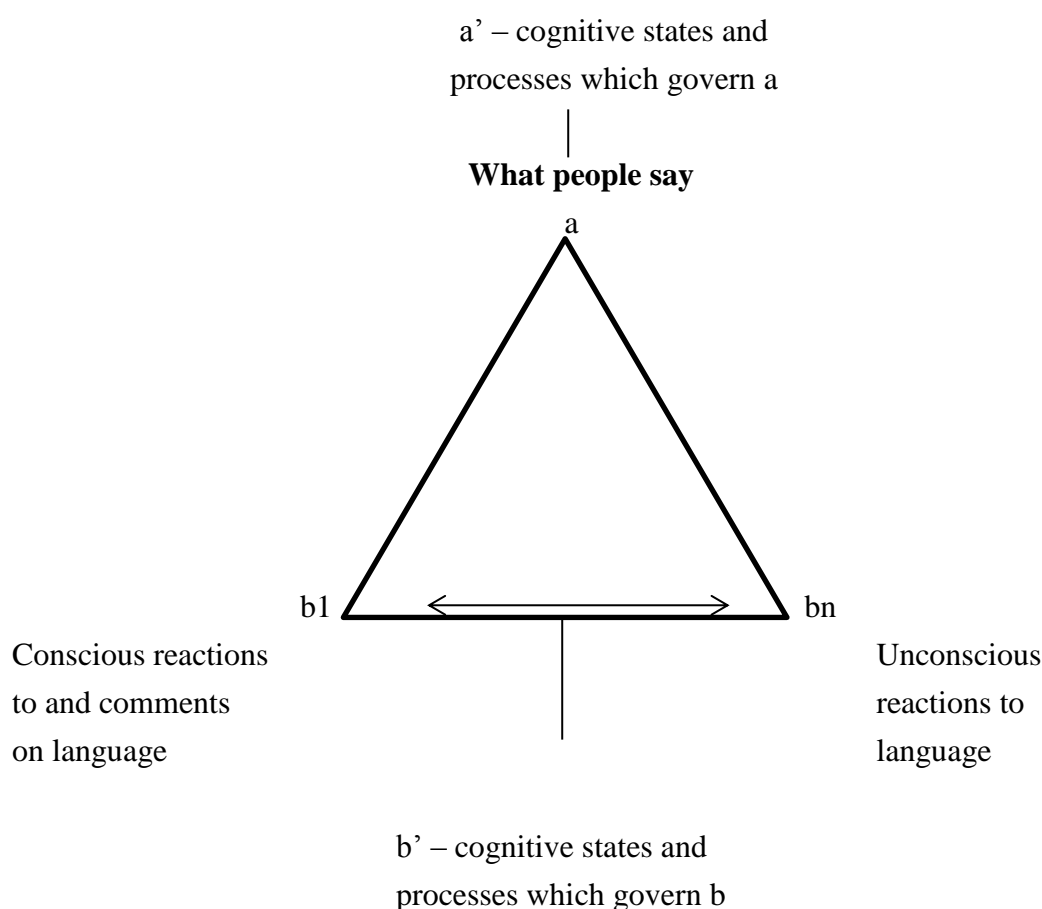


Fig. 3.2 The position of folk linguistics and language attitudes in the general study of language (Niedzielski and Preston 2003, 2009)

While there is a specific methodological process associated with folk linguistics that asks participants to draw maps of regions, and label the way people speak in that region, other qualitative language attitude studies draw from the same model. Social psychologist language attitude researchers have principally been concerned with people's unconscious reactions to language, with participants listening to a speech sample. In contrast folk linguistics, and other qualitative attitude research, is more interested in the conscious reactions to language, though as Niedzielski and Preston (2003, 2009) explain, conscious and unconscious reactions should be seen as being on a continuum rather than as pole opposites. The aim of folk linguistics then is not only to 'discover and analyse beliefs and attitudes towards language' but also 'the organizing principles that govern people's thinking' (Niedzielski and Preston 2009: 356-357), which are also aspects that I am interested in my study. The folk linguistic model of attitudes provides a useful framework for my study because I am not only interested in the participants' beliefs about different aspects of the English language, and about different languages such as English, Hindi and Gujarati, but also understanding their cognitive reasoning of what constitutes a language as an attitude object. Niedzielski and Preston (2009) argue that anything people do in (a) may awaken an attitude though, as the authors note, in practice this depends on context. A linguistic item would be considered acceptable in some contexts but may not be in others. This aspect is particularly important in my study, as the participants encounter language in different contexts, and as English language teachers may believe that context is crucial in determining its acceptability, and may reveal different attitudes towards the same aspect of language.

Finally also relevant is Niedzielski and Preston's (2003: 9) observation that a language attitude is not really an attitude to a language feature but is 'instead an awakening of a set of beliefs about individuals through the filter of linguistic performance'. People's views of others are influenced by inferences which are made about their language features. This is how people are able to evaluate languages and accents without perhaps having ever encountered them, and instead make an association of the perceived speaker based on their ethnicity and/or nationality (Niedzielski and Preston 2003). Lindemann's (2005) investigation, for example, of accented English in America found that perceptual attitudes were linked to racial prejudice and migration patterns. Chinese and Mexican accented English were judged to be the most inaccurate, indicating an assessment based on familiarity and racial stereotyping. The participants made more detailed comments about these accents than speakers from other countries such as France and India, which they had less knowledge

about. The extent that they are able to give an evaluative judgement is related to how relevant it is to them. It is probable that a new encounter with a speaker of this accent would initiate a revaluation as they gain new information about the attitude object. As Cargile *et al.* (1994: 215) point out, ‘attitudes are not a singular, static phenomenon. They affect and are affected by numerous elements in virtually endless recursive fashion’.

3.2.1.3 Attitude stability

Authors differ on the reasons why some attitudes appear to be stable while others appear to change depending on the context. Constructionist models conceptualise attitudes as being formed in the immediate moment based on available information (Gawronski and Bodenhausen 2007, Schwarz 2007). While an individual may draw upon units of stored memory, this information is not afforded any special status in the evaluative judgement in relation to current information (Bohner and Dickel 2011). Conrey and Smith (2007: 732) also emphasise context sensitivity in the manifestation of an attitude, with ‘distributed connectionist networks reconstructing potentially different versions of a concept on each occasion, including different evaluations’. Differences in people’s attitude towards an object are explained by people activating different aspects of stored memory that are stimulated by the context (Conrey and Smith 2007). The variability in evaluative judgements is thus explained by the variability in the context, rather than underlying instability in attitudes.

Both Eagerly and Chaiken (2007) and Fazio (2007) reject the constructivist argument. Fazio (2007) argues that the existing data on attitudes, from a constructionist perspective, does not explain why an encounter with a new attitude object sometimes leads to a permanent attitude which does not vary much across situation. Fazio (2007) instead argues that attitudes are stored in memory, and that Motivation and Opportunity DEtermine (MODE) whether the evaluative judgement based on the stable attitude can be realised. This, he argues, explains why on some occasions some attitudes can appear as consistent and on other occasions do not.

Eagerly and Chaiken (2007) take an intermediate perspective and consider attitudes as an inner tendency to evaluate an object, some of which may be more temporary than others. An evaluative judgement, they argue, is based on the mental residues of current and previous encounters with an evaluative object. The authors argue that attitudes might be relatively stable but instability in attitudes could arise with genuine change in the inner tendency.

Cunningham *et al.* (2007) also take an intermediate perspective on attitude stability. The

Iterative Reprocessing (IR) model interprets current evaluations as being constructed from relatively stable attitude representations. The authors (755) argue that ‘information processes in a dynamic fashion through iterative loops that progressively recruit additional brain regions’ to form a new attitude about an object. Attitudes are adjusted in light of new contextual and motivational information leading to an updated evaluation of an attitude object (Cunningham *et al.* 2007).

Another model, the Meta-Cognitive Model (MCM), is offered by Petty, Briñol and DeMarree (2007) explaining why people can appear to have both positive and negative evaluations of an attitude object. Similar to dual and multiple attitude processing models, the MCM suggests that people have both positive and negative memories of an evaluative object. These are stored in the memory but their activation depends on the time and the context in which the original memory was stored, while also taking into account the current context. Unlike dual attitude models, the authors ‘do not assume that opposite evaluative associations, if present, necessarily stem from different underlying processes’ (663), and instead the MCM model allows for the possibility that positive and negative evaluations emerge from the same processes. The model also stipulates that initial attitudes are further augmented, with further deliberation by the individual which may increase or decrease their confidence about their attitude. Petty *et al.* (2007) argue that their framework is more complete in being able to explain implicit and explicit attitudes, and the stability and instability of attitudes.

Irrespective of the model developed by the different authors, they all tend to agree that evaluative judgements are inherently unstable even if some underlying attitudes show stability. They also tend to agree that attitudes are based on stored memory and that the immediate context has some degree of influence on the evaluative judgement made by a person, and that judgement in turn will have an effect on the individual’s attitude and impact on future evaluative judgements. These are the reasons why there is apparent instability in attitudes which perplexes social-psychologists, and it is a question that they are unlikely to be able to answer conclusively.

The strength of an attitude that a person may have towards an object will determine the extent to which those attitudes are stable and also the extent to which a person is able to make an evaluative judgement about an object at the time of thinking. Krosnick and Petty (1995) and Maio and Haddock (2009) suggest four aspects that determine the strength of attitudes:

persistence, resistance, relevancy, and how attitudes influence on behaviour. Firstly an attitude which is more persistent is one which the person has had for a long time. So, for example, a person might have held a negative attitude towards the Birmingham accent or their own language since they were young. Secondly strong attitudes are also more resistant to change, so persuasive techniques are more likely to be successful on a person with a weak attitude towards an object (Bassili 2008). However this is dependent on context with the same object enhancing message elaboration in one setting and reducing it in another (Petty *et al.* 1997). Thirdly the relevance to an individual is also important as a person would pay more attention to information which is related to a strong attitude about an object. A person's opinion acts as filter for information so, for instance, a person who lives in a town or city with a small ethnic population may pay less attention to language policy in India than would a British-Asian living in the UK. Finally the strength of an attitude depends on how they influence behaviour. Petty *et al.* (1997) highlight Rouse and Olson's (1994) study as evidence that the importance of an attitude to a person increases if they continue to express that attitude. Also noteworthy is Maio and Haddock's (2009) Composite Attitude Behaviour model that includes habits. When behaviour is repeatedly performed this has an influence on attitude strength and, the authors suggest, may contribute to a modification of a person's attitudes. Therefore it is important to take into consideration the strength of a person's attitude as this will affect how he or she responds to a question. For example are they making a decision at that moment or is it a question that they have already considered and is therefore an existing attitude (Maio and Haddock 2009).

Attitude strength is usually determined by observing response times using implicit measure tests based on the assumption that the strength of an attitude is reflected in a person's response speed. However, Bassili (2008) argues that although a quick response indicates that attitudes come to mind easily, the social context can slow attitude expression. Moreover he also notes that those holding minority views are slower at expressing attitudes than those who hold majority views. The strength of an attitude could also be suitably measured using Conversation Analysis (CA), rather than an implicit measures test, as I have done in this study, taking into account discrete elements of speech that would indicate the participants' attitudes.

Attitude stability and how this influences strength is relevant in my study as I am using different methodological tools to examine participants' attitudes; individual interviews and focus groups, and I will be able to compare the stability of their attitudes in individual and

group contexts. Some aspects of their language attitudes and teaching beliefs will be stronger than others and have greater stability, and perhaps this will be determined by individual circumstances.

To examine the participants' attitudes fully it is also necessary to take into account language ideologies that can have a powerful impact on individual attitudes, and which I shall discuss now.

3.2.2 Language Ideologies

Language ideologies consider how a person's attitude may be influenced by the expectations of society, and how these attitudes have become normalised (Blommaert 1999, Cooke and Simpson 2012). Where ideologies end and attitudes begin is difficult to disentangle, and while individuals believe that they are giving an independent opinion, they are instead unconsciously giving one which is a reproduction of societal values. The beliefs of society, which have become ingrained and accepted as normal and correct, will regulate the parameters of individuals' attitudes.

Part of the weakness of some attitudinal studies is that they are only able to capture and demonstrate the fleeting beliefs of people, and until recently did not consider the underlying mechanisms that contributed to these attitudes. Blommaert (1999) observes that often in sociolinguistics, and this is true of other research fields, attitudes are seen as ones that people 'happen to have' and studies have neglected consideration of where their attitudes come from, which research in language ideologies has attempted to rectify. There is a growing realisation that it is difficult, if not impossible, to gain a true measure of an individual's attitude, and therefore it is perhaps more important to understand how peoples' attitudes have become that way rather than what they are. The following section examines three aspects of language ideologies that I consider relevant to understanding language attitudes towards English language varieties: the process of standardization, how attitudes become normalised, and the concept of language.

3.2.2.1 Standardisation

Trudgill (1999) defines Standard English as a purely social dialect of English which is distinct from other dialects of English, as it does not have a geographic base and is not linked on a continuum with other dialects, despite being the measure against which other dialects are measured. It is distinguished from other dialects not by pronunciation, style or register but by grammatical forms. Although Trudgill estimates there to be only around 9-12% Standard English speakers in Britain, it is asserted as the dominant, and sometimes only acceptable, code.

The process of standardization requires codification in text, and consequently the written form is taken as the embodiment of a language with the spoken subordinated to the written (Blommaert 1999, Thorne and Lantolf 2007, Woolard and Schieffelin 1994). However, as Milroy and Milroy (2012) argue, the spoken language is constantly changing and developing and never reaches a completed standardised state, and the belief that it should conform to the written language has the effect of de-legitimising non-standard usage. Although language standardization has been a necessary prerequisite to improve people's literacy ability, it also has the effect of maintaining non-standard languages in a position of inferiority. Therefore the standard language, while creating a façade of promoting universalism, has become a seemingly inconspicuous tool to maintain a level of distance for the powerful and privileged over speakers of non-standard dialects. These non-standard forms are deemed illegitimate, perverse and deliberate deviations from the norm by language guardians who assert that this is derived from the cognitive deficiency of the speakers (Milroy and Milroy 2012). Standard English, in contrast, is legitimatised in formal contexts such as education, government and law, giving this dialect prestige over others (Joseph 1987, Milroy 1999a, Tollefson 1991). This has the effect of creating hierarchies between different linguistic codes with the standard variety in the ascendancy (Kroskrity 2004).

The creation of language hierarchies also contributes to language perceived as identifiable distinct objects, and the attribution of linguistic phenomenon such as mixing and codeswitching as evolving from the deficiency of the speakers. It is within this context that languages which are closely related to the standard are considered dialects, and accents and new varieties are considered non-standard, generating negative labeling such as Texmex,

Spanglish, Hinglish and Chinglish (Edwards 2004a). This suggests that the difference between a language and a dialect or a variety is a political and social issue, linked to power differentials between different groups, rather than a linguistic one (Milroy and Milroy 1999, 2012). Although one linguistic characteristic across non-standard languages is variability, they have been shown to be grammatical in their own terms (Milroy and Milroy 2012). It is true, as Honey (1997) argues, that social groups are disadvantaged because they do not speak Standard English, but this is the result of societal attitudes towards non-standard varieties, derived from an ideological framework of what constitutes 'correct English'. As Lippi-Green (1997, 2012) asserts learning the standard language is presented as 'common sense' and 'natural' which contributes to linguistic discrimination, with non-mainstream language trivialised, conformers presented as positive examples and non-conformers vilified.

3.2.2.2 Normative

The turn towards a critical perspective within sociolinguistics of how views about language are constructed for the benefit of a particular socio-economic group was influenced by the writing of Bourdieu (1991, 1998, Bourdieu and Passeron 1977, Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992), with Woolard (1985), Gal (1989), Heller (1992, 1995) establishing the need to consider how local, national and global aspects of power influence language practices. Gal (1989) argues that it is not enough to consider language in terms of making meaning and social categories, but it is also necessary to consider the ways in which language is used to sustain relations of domination. The emergence of particular linguistic forms as normal occurred through a complex historical process which propelled a particular dialect into a standard language, an official language and a national language. This was a gradual process which developed from a certain set of historical circumstances in the 19th century: the expansion of the educational system, the unification of educational qualifications and the linguistic market and the unification of the labour market (Bourdieu 1991). Bourdieu proposed the terms 'symbolic capital' to mean accumulated prestige and honour, 'economic capital', related to wealth and 'cultural capital' meaning knowledge and skills. In Bourdieu's (1991: 167) terms speakers of standard varieties are endowed with more 'symbolic capital' than speakers of other dialects. Importantly in Bourdieu's model is the ability to exchange or transfer one form of capital into another which helps to maintain the social hierarchy. What is also necessary for the maintenance of a particular dialect or variety is the acceptance by

those lower down the social hierarchy of the legitimacy of this particular dialect and its speakers.

Language, therefore, is not merely a reflection of the social order but contributes to the maintenance and reproduction of the social order through certain linguistic forms (Heller 2010). In this way, certain interrelated concepts such as standardization, national identity, monolingualism, and language hierarchies are presented as common sense and become normalised and accepted by the majority of the population (Blommaert 1999, Cooke and Simpson 2012, Gal and Woolard 2001), and as Blommaert (2005) argues, penetrate the whole fabric of society.

The subconscious acceptance by people of certain beliefs, attitudes and practices as natural conceals their purpose of being constructed in the interests of certain groups to determine social and cultural identities, invent national traditions, and state produced narratives (Kroskrity 2004). Language ideologies are self-reinforcing with people in local and central government institutions, legal institutions, the media and educational institutions subject to and products of existing ideologies and responsible for promoting these ideologies to others (Cooke and Simpson 2012). These institutions are usually peopled by the educated elite and it is in their interests to maintain the status quo, with language ideologies sustained by the general public's ingrained language practices (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994).

It is the embedded belief that one nation should have just one language that problematizes multilingualism and bilingualism (Cooke and Simpson 2012, Romaine 1995) and constructs the choice between the majority and minority languages as oppositional (May 2012). These societal ideologies also impact on the belief that the standard language can be effortlessly acquired and that the inability to learn the standard language is because people refuse to learn it or make minimal effort (Niedzielski and Preston 2003). It also contributes to folk beliefs that non-standard languages are not rule governed as a standard language is (Niedzielski and Preston 2009). However transformative changes at the local, national and global level have led scholars to challenge established and normalised concepts within linguistic research and most significantly a prescriptive understanding of language.

3.2.2.3 (Re) - conceptualising language

Both Brumfit (2005) and Pennycook (2010) argue that the term language, which is conceptually linked to a standard and tied to a national or ethnic group, is becoming increasingly less useful to describe the way that people speak. Therefore it is necessary to move away from a concept of language as static and bounded, and instead look at language in motion and de-territorialized (Blommaert 2010). Makoni and Pennycook (2007) contend that languages as they are currently conceptualised are inventions, one component of the nation building project of 19th century Europe, and contributed to a sense of shared national identity and fraternity between citizens at the same time as constructing outsiders. As a result language was transformed in the modern era from a free communicative tool to a closed stagnant system and a symbol of political and national identity (Shohamy 2006).

Though language had been linked to a nation prior to the 19th century, it subsequently became more salient, and in some ways was made so by ethnic groups, who were subsumed by larger multinational Empires and asserted their distinct identity through language (Hobsbawn 2000). Hobsbawn notes that although older nation states' languages such as English, French and Russian had already been through a homogenization process prior to the 19th century, linguistic nationalism was expanded during this century through improved literacy as increasing numbers of children entered the school system (García 2009). Notions that there was such an object as correct standard language were then consolidated in the 20th century through a focus on descriptive linguistics (Shohamy 2006, Thorne and Lantolf 2007). This ideological link between nation and language was then superimposed on the existing language ideologies of European colonies, in part, Canagarajah and Liyanage (2012) argue as means to categorise people for tax purposes.

Makoni and Pennycook (2012) suggest that it is necessary to re-conceptualise language, taking pre-colonial societies as a model, where language was not necessarily considered to belong to a social group or people but, if conceived of at all, were individual linguistic repertoires. This, they argue, is a more realistic model of the evolving language practices in western countries and more reflective of current language practices in multilingual environments. For example linguistically diverse states such as India and Indonesia, where

languages blend with one another, do not fit neatly into the artificial structures of named languages (Canagarajah 2013, Makoni and Pennycook 2012, Shohamy 2006).

Canagarajah and Liyanage (2012) make a distinction between multilingualism which conceptualises languages as separate entities, and plurilingualism where languages are integrated into one linguistic system rather than separated. While the European Union attempts to promote plurilingualism in Europe (Jaffe 2012), it is natural in many non-western societies 'as the different language ideologies and values still exist there which sustain plurilingual practices' (Canagarajah and Liyanage 2012: 51). Canagarajah and Liyanage argue that because meaning is actively socially constructed people develop positive attitudes to variation in speech. The implication is that multilingual individuals in the UK may retain elements of non-western ideological conceptions about language.

Canagarajah (2013) has argued that it necessary to be more aware of competing ideologies, highlighting Pollock's (2006) research which identified differences between pre-modern Europe and pre-colonial South Asian discourses. For example European attitudes towards multilingualism are influenced by the Biblical story of Babel, where the creation of distinctive languages was envisaged as a punishment from God, whereas in South Asia different languages and multilingualism were an accepted part of life (Pollock 2006). In Europe, language was strongly connected to a people and a historicising of the language, linking it back to the distant past with the intention of creating a destiny for the people and the language. However in South Asia language was more related to a place where the language was spoken. Also in South Asia, discourses of equality were asserted among the vernacular languages, while in Europe invading armies promulgated laws to enforce their own language and prevent the use of other languages. In addition there appears to be an emotive relationship between Europeans and their languages, evident in the writings of poets and authors, while this is absent in South Asian discourses about the vernacular (Pollock 2006). This suggests reasons why there are existing differences between these groups in their language beliefs, as these different ideologies are embedded within the structure of society. Thus language ideologies can be thought of as layered, with European ideologies about language superimposed on existing South Asian ideologies, both of which still continue to influence people's attitudes.

As well as the conception of language being problematized, other related linguistic concepts such as codeswitching and multilingualism have also been questioned (Heller 2007, Makoni and Pennycook 2012). Heller (2007) and Pennycook (2007) note that traditional approaches to the study of multilingualism continue to treat languages as separate linguistic codes, with codeswitching considered to be switching between two or more languages. However, as Romaine (1995) observes in her study, sometimes bilingual speakers follow the rules of neither monolingual Spanish or English speakers, thereby creating the possibility that it is a third language. In addition, mixed language codes such as Hinglish, Spanglish and Singlish operate as language systems in their own right (Nelson 2011). García and Wei (2014: 22) argue that the discursive practices of multilingual speakers should be reconceptualised as translanguaging, which is ‘the original and complex interrelated discursive practices that cannot be assigned to one or other language repertoire’. Spoken discourse therefore should be viewed primarily as a system of communication rather than something enshrined in dictionaries, grammar books or language academies. Instead of analysing languages, linguists should focus on ‘voice’ (Blommaert 2010), ‘linguistic or verbal repertoires’ (Blackledge and Creese 2010, Busch 2012) and ‘language practices’ (Heller 2007). Blommaert (2010) argues that it is not necessary to know what language a person speaks, but it is important to understand how they speak it, when they speak it and to whom. In many multilingual societies across the world, the view of language as a discursive practice is perhaps accepted without theorizing and is observable in their attitudes and practices. This attempt to re-conceptualise language in current western discourse is a consequence of the ‘re-creation’ of multilingual communities in western societies through migration. However as Canagarajah (2013) highlights, translingual practices were always present ‘on the ground’ in Europe.

3.2.3 Summary

This section has outlined some of the key aspects related to language attitudes and ideologies and how they are interrelated. Language should not only be seen as separate, discrete units of analysis, but also as a means of communication. In the UK the prevailing ideology of valuing the written form of language over the spoken form, and attempting to tie the spoken language unequivocally to the written in terms of correctness, undermines the ability of individuals to express their identity without being susceptible to losing ‘social capital’. In most areas of

society, and evident in the attitudes of people, is the belief that the standard language is the correct and normal one and that non-standard varieties are deficient. A standard language ideology also contributes to the disparagement of identities that are linked to an ethnicity, language or culture which is different from the majority.

Having established the interrelationship between attitudes and ideologies, in the following sections I will discuss the research that has been undertaken in World Englishes and multilingualism specifically in relation to attitudes.

3.3 World Englishes

This section will examine the models that have been proposed to explain the global spread of English, and the studies that have been made in relation to attitudes to different varieties of English by native and non-native English users.

3.3.1 Models of World Englishes

There have been various models proposed to represent the global spread of English. One of the first of these models was developed by Stevans (1980), envisaging English as a family tree with branches extending to different parts of the world from Britain to Africa, the Caribbean, Australasia and Asia, and from America to parts of the Asia-Pacific region. Two other models, which have been devised to account for the spread of English, have used a circular model: McArthur's circle of World Englishes (1992) and Kachru's (1985b) three concentric circles model. McArthur places World Standard English at the centre with global standards such as British, American and South Asian Standardising English filtering outwards to localised dialects and varieties. However it is Kachru's concentric circle model that has been the most influential, and the one on which most attitudinal studies in World Englishes are based.

Kachru tentatively divided English speaking countries into inner, outer and expanding circles. The inner circle refers to countries where English is the first language of the speakers, such as Britain, America, Australia and Canada. The outer circle comprises of countries where English has become nativized and the users speak English which differ from BrE and AmE in

terms of grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation and pragmatics. English has been adopted and adapted by the speakers in these countries and utilized as a linguistic resource between speakers who may or may not share other languages. English may also serve official functions in government or as a medium of instruction in schools. Alternative English varieties have been observed and recorded in India, Nigeria, Singapore and Hong Kong, in addition to several other countries (Kachru, Kachru and Nelson 2006, Trudgill and Hannah 1994). The expanding circle of English was initially conceptualised as containing countries where English does not serve a purpose within the country as a form of communication but acts as a lingua franca in international communication between speakers who do not share a language. However, increasingly the distinction between the outer and expanding circles is becoming blurred, with English serving an internal function in specific fields within expanding circle countries, such as education, popular culture and public spaces (Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara and Trumper-Hecht 2006, Jenkins 2014a, Moody 2006). In both the outer and expanding circles of English the speakers are considered norm-breakers in respect to British and American Standard English. This is evident within English language teaching (ELT) and more widely in education, and is noticeable in the attitudes that people have towards different varieties of English, and is discussed in more detail in 3.3.2; p.43.

Though MacArthur's and Kachru's models provide an account of the spread of English, they all emphasise a distinction between native/non-native and newer/older Englishes that do not reflect the ever evolving nature of the spread of English and would require constant modification. For example, there is blurring between outer and expanding circle varieties which do not take into account the ability of the speakers and their attitudes towards different varieties. Melchers and Shaw (2003) observe that English usage in some countries which are considered to be in the expanding circle is more widespread than in some outer circle countries. They also highlight that the model does not indicate what percentage of the population in the expanding and outer circle countries use English, nor whether the English used has official status in the country. English varieties are also coalesced around broad categories of national boundaries which are not truly representative of the speaker's English usage. Pakir (2000) observes that new epicentres of English are being created around the world, but would be classified as outer or expanding varieties using the three concentric model, despite providing the norm in a local context. Rubdy *et al.* (2008) also note that there is a wide variation within native speaker Englishes, which do not conform to Standard English any more than non-native varieties do, but are nevertheless classified as inner circle

Englishes. Also these models cannot take account of the possibility that within the outer and expanding circles there are native English speakers which do not conform to BrE and AmE varieties. Finally these models do not consider the importance that multilingualism plays in the spread of English.

Gupta (1997) suggests a model which distinguishes English speakers according to whether they are multilingual or monolingual. Gupta argues that other models of the spread of English focus too much on national categories rather than the speakers. She proposes a classification system of the spread of English that divides usage into five different categories with examples: monolingual ancestral (Britain, USA and Australia), monolingual contact (Jamaica), multilingual scholastic (India and Pakistan), multilingual contact (Singapore, Malaysia, Ghana and Nigeria), and multilingual ancestral (South Africa and Canada). However, Gupta (1997: 56) also observes that ‘the variability in the experience of the individual precludes any ability to generalise’. For example within different multilingual countries the acquisition of English, either informally or formally, is dependent on individual circumstances, irrespective of which society the person lives in. Moreover there is an implication in Gupta’s distinction between contact and ancestral that there is limited contact in monolingual ancestral varieties. As Mufwene (2001) notes, there is a tradition of assuming one parent in terms of language, which implies that changes within a language are internally motivated. Mufwene argues that contact between Gaelic and English has produced a variety which is considered native while creoles and varieties of English are not. Nevertheless Gupta’s model, which takes account of multilingualism in the spread of English, is more relevant in the context of examining the attitudes and identities of native English speaking multilingual teachers than ones which emphasise a native/non-native distinction.

Most models of World Englishes have a tendency to emphasise distinctions between different varieties. By contrast Schneider (2007) highlights the uniformity that exists within the formation of these varieties, which develop through identity driven accommodation. Schneider argues that the distinctions which are made by Gupta and Mufwene are only relevant in the early stages of the development of a variety, and instead post-colonial varieties all proceed through five stages: foundation, exo-normative stabilization, nativeization, endo-normative stabilization, and differentiation. Although there is individual idiosyncrasy in the length of each phase, overlapping characteristics through the stages, and sometimes the progress is affected by war and political upheaval, Schneider argues that ultimately each

variety follows this pattern. This ‘Dynamic Model of Post-Colonial Englishes’ encompasses creoles and pidgins, which have tended to be treated separately within World Englishes research. However the model unfortunately excludes arguably the most dynamic Englishes, which are found in the expanding circle (Sergeant 2012).

Models and research within World Englishes tend to treat different varieties as distinct entities (Kachru and Smith 2008, Seidlhofer 2011), and are unable to visualise the language practices of English speakers as hybrid, fragmented and marginal (Seidlhofer 2011). Consequently any model that conceptualises a language as belonging to a territorially bound area can only be a generalisation. Nevertheless, as mentioned previously, the majority of attitudinal studies in World Englishes research have utilized Kachru’s model as a theoretical basis, and it is these studies which shall now be examined in more detail.

3.3.2 Empirical studies of attitudes in World Englishes

It is within this context of visualising varieties of English as distinct, albeit related to the native variant, that a lot of research in different varieties has been undertaken. Several authors have adopted the Matched Guise Test (MGT) or Verbal Guise Test (VGT), in addition to direct methods, to examine the attitudes of second language speakers and language learners of English towards standard varieties and their own accented English in different countries. They all point overwhelmingly to a negative attitude towards non-native varieties of English in Austria (Dalton-Puffer, Kaltenboeck and Smit 1997), Japan (Matsuda 2003, McKenzie 2008a, Rivers 2011, Sasayama 2013), Bulgaria (Saxena and Omoniyi 2010), China (He and Miller 2011), Hong Kong (Zhang 2013), language learners in America (Scales *et al.* 2006) and several different nationalities in the expanding circle (Jenkins 2007, Jenkins 2009a). English language learners’ attitudes towards non-native varieties are tied into their attitudes towards the native varieties, which are usually considered to be American English (AmE) and British English (BrE) standard varieties.

Studies which have investigated the attitudes of English language learners towards different native varieties of English, while differentiating between them in terms of solidarity and correctness, did not find any negative evaluations (Evans 2010, Evans and Imai 2011, Ladegaard and Sachdev 2006). However while AmE and BrE were most positively evaluated

by participants in Denmark, China and Japan, their attitudes were less favourable towards non-standard native dialects such as Cockney English, or varieties with low status such as Australian English, indicating a prevailing influence of standard BrE and AmE. These studies suggest that many English language learners want to sound ‘native like’ and believe that native English teachers will be better able to achieve that goal for them. However perhaps this attitude is in the process of change because, as Saxena and Omoniyi (2010) observe, the Bulgarian students in their study held contradictory views; accepting the native model as the preferred model at the same time as emphasising the communicative purpose of speech. Nevertheless the understanding that English language learners desire a NES to teach them language surfaces in advertisements for English language teachers by language providers, where one essential criterion is being a native English speaker and deemed, in some instances, more important than teaching experience or qualifications (TEFL Professional Network Ltd 1996-2012).

Even in countries where English is a nativised variety, such as in India, Singapore, Hong Kong and Sri Lanka, preference is still given to British or American Standard English in institutional contexts such as education and government, and a greater emphasis on the ability for people to be able to style shift between varieties (Alsagoff 2010, Proctor 2015). In Sri Lanka increasing attention is being given in universities to promote ‘good English’ because localised features are showing increasingly less resemblance to Standard English (Parakrama 1995). Although Indian English is recognised and documented, not just within the academic community, it is Standard British English that has official status as a second language in India. When local models are used it is interpreted as an act of resistance, which only serves to reinforce boundaries and perpetuate autonomy and privilege for the status groups in society (Canagarajah 1999b, Walsh 1987). The perspective for, and by, the majority of second language users appears to remain entrenched in the belief that they should acquire Standard BrE or AmE. In global terms it is Anglophone NES who have the most ‘symbolic capital’ and while institutions in these countries continue to promote a Standard English ideology using learning materials and testing systems which adhere to Standard English, NNES will struggle to question the prevailing dogma.

However, there have been other studies which suggest that attitudes towards indigenized varieties of English are gradually gaining wider acceptance in some countries (Bernaisch 2012, Chand 2009, Kachru 1985a, Sahgal 1991, Shaw 1981). As early as the late 1970s,

Shaw's questionnaire of 825 Asian students suggested that attitudes were moving away from viewing English as belonging to native English speaking countries in contexts where the language has been nativized. The participants in the study were university students from Singapore, India and Thailand, and while Thai students appeared to support Standard English as the ideal model, half of the Singaporean and Indian participants recognised a localised variety of English. This, Shaw argues, indicates an erosion of support for the native variety of English. The recognition of non-native varieties of English was also evident in a 1976 survey conducted by Kachru (1985a) of Indian students with over 50% labelling their use of English as Indian English, although remaining reluctant to consider this a model for the region. These views are also supported in a questionnaire conducted by Sahgal (1991), which suggested that local forms were not only recognised but preferred by the majority of the 45 Indian English informants from Delhi, Bengal and Tamil. Sahgal suggests that with the English language acquiring more functions in friendship and family domains, the nativized variety has become an important part of their cultural identities. More recently, participants completing Bernaisch's (2012) questionnaire in Sri Lanka ranked a localised English variety above AmE, though below BrE.

Chand's (2009) extensive study of attitudes towards Indian English (IE), epitomised by the v/w merger, suggests that attitudes towards this variety are heavily influenced by the language ideology of a country. She argues that previous research misses the link between local and global practices. In America attitudes are formed by stereotypical images of the Indian English speaker, symbolised by Apu a character in the animated sit-com *The Simpsons*. American attitudes are also formed through their personal experience of, and antagonism towards, Indian call centres, an industry which has seen the migration of American jobs. Chand suggests that the majority of the 127 Americans who participated in this study evoked standard language ideologies, evaluating Indian English speakers as deficient and tending to correlate this with an opinion of the speakers as unfriendly and insincere.

In contrast, Chand found that Indians held views which encompassed both local and global language ideologies. The younger generation in the study showed a greater preference for IE over native varieties, arguing that IE was more open and more liberal, and placing a greater emphasis on communication rather than correctness. The participants also negatively evaluated Indians who acquired a more 'international' variety of English, personified by AmE or BrE features and devoid of localised features. They characterised these speakers as

‘fake’, ‘snobbish’ or ‘wannabees’, which indexed a localised ideology. However, the fact that some IE speakers are acquiring an ‘international’ accent, and the uncertainty that some participants mentioned about their own accent meeting the standard, indexes a globalised ideology. Though Chand (2009) acknowledges that these individual reflections do not represent a unified perspective, the study does indicate that while Americans appear to hold a monolithic view of language through a local ideological framework of standard AmE, Indians can be seen to be negotiating between local and global ideological frameworks. It is apparent that AmE participants believe that their variety of English should also be the global standard, so the local ideological framework overlaps with a global one in their perspective. Chand’s study is an important step towards integrating ideologies and attitudinal studies; however she appears to be equating native English speakers with monolingual English speakers, which many researchers tend to do. Without the details of the linguistic identity of the participants, we are led to assume that the American participants are monolingual AmE speakers, and whether American multilinguals hold the same standard language ideological view is not addressed.

In addition to Chand’s study there have been several other studies evaluating accented or ‘foreign’ English by NES, using both direct and indirect methodologies (Bresnahan *et al.* 2002, Lindemann 2005, Rubin and Smith 1990, Scales *et al.* 2006). Like Chand’s study, the evaluations of NES seem to strongly suggest a semantic and cognitive link between Englishes and racial stereotypes represented in the media. Personal experience and migration patterns are also important in those attitudes, with a more negative attitude towards people from large migrant groups. This is reinforced in the media with a negative representation of migrants ‘stealing jobs’, having ‘squalid’ living conditions, ‘strange’ cultural practices, and failing to integrate and learn English properly (Lippi-Green 1997, 2012). Lindemann (2005), for example, found that American undergraduates judged Mexican and Chinese accented English to be more inaccurate in comparison to French, German, Italian, Russian and Indian, based on their perceptions of the accent. This correlates with the current predominance of migrants from Asia and South America into the USA. In Britain, Coupland and Bishop (2007) conducted a large on-line survey with over 5,000 participants to perceptually judge 34 British accents for social attractiveness and correctness. The study corresponded with studies in America with accents that are ethnically linked such as Indian and Afro-Caribbean ranked the lowest (though the Birmingham accent was ranked equally low).

Bresnahan *et al.* (2002) and Scales *et al.* (2006) used indirect methods to examine the link between preference and intelligibility among NES and found that heavily accented English was negatively evaluated by US undergraduates. However these studies also noted that personal experience had influenced their choices. Mexican English was evaluated higher for 'most preferred' accent, above American accented English, with Scales *et al.* suggesting that this was because the majority of the US participants were studying Spanish. Similarly Bresnahan *et al.* concluded that ethnic identity was important in determining attitudes towards language as participants with a weak ethnic identity were more willing to accept heavily accented English.

Studies of NES attitudes towards different varieties of English have tended to focus on accent, which is just one element of speech. Moreover there has been a tendency to view NES as a homogeneous entity, while emphasising the non-uniformity of the NNEs. NNEs are usually divided by nationality, ethnicity or by language, but NES are equated with monolingualism with minimal consideration of whether they too are multilingual speakers. As mentioned previously the research into attitudes in World Englishes has tended to adopt a view of varieties of English as inner, outer and expanding circles. However it is perhaps more appropriate to visualise language attitudes through a framework of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) (Jenkins 2007), or translingual practices (Canagarajah 2013), prioritising language practices rather than national labels. While World Englishes research focuses on bounded nationally defined varieties, ELF emphasises the use of English 'as fluid flexible contingent, hybrid and deeply intercultural' (Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey 2011: 284). This requires a methodological and theoretical approach that is able to incorporate ideologies and multilingualism into an understanding of people's attitudes towards different languages. It might be necessary to use named varieties during the research process in order to enable individual's conceptualisation of different Englishes. However an ELF attitudinal framework would also require a deeper understanding of individual's attitude towards related concepts such as multilingualism, native speakerism, Standard English, codeswitching and language itself, rather than individuals simply responding to nationally defined English varieties either by listening to a speech sample or perceptually. Moreover an ELF approach would also need to take into account the wider context in which people and languages operate.

3.3.3 Summary

This section has outlined the research that has been undertaken into attitudes of NES and NNES towards different English varieties. I also drew attention to how these attitudes are related to a Standard English ideology. In several of these studies it is clear that the local context has an important influence on the user's attitude towards different varieties of English. McKenzie (2008b) argues it is necessary to take account of the wider society in which individuals operate when undertaking attitudinal research. He also argues that it is not only necessary to evaluate people's attitude towards English, but it is also important to understand their attitude to their first language as well as other determining factors. Therefore the attitudes towards non-native varieties of English by multilingual speakers, who are English native or English dominant speakers, might be different from monolingual native English speakers because of regular contact with non-native forms.

3.4 Research into Multilingual Communities

The following section will examine societal multilingualism, multilingualism in migratory contexts, and attitudes towards heritage languages. As mentioned previously, multilingual research has focused on border areas, for example the Austrian/Hungarian border (Gal 1978), stable diglossia such as in Quebec, Canada, (Heller 1999), indigenous ethnic minority groups such as Basques in Spain (Echeverria 2003) and migratory contexts. The research into migratory contexts from cultural studies has largely been preoccupied with identity, while sociolinguistic research has focused on language maintenance and shift. The majority of studies which have examined migrant communities have observed the adoption of the dominant language in one or two generations (Chambers 2003, Li Wei 1994, May 2001, Romaine 1995, Zentella 1997), with a consequent decline in heritage languages, if not a complete shift to the majority language.

The reason for language shift and maintenance by migrant communities can be partly attributable to the attitudes of both parents and their children, and also to the attitude of the majority community towards minority languages. Though Julien (1995) and Dave (1991) argue that the Gujarati language is in slow decline in Leicester, other evidence suggests that overall heritage languages are being maintained and therefore it is more of an interest to

examine the extent to which this is attributable to attitudes, and how the social context contributes to this. Firstly I will outline theoretical positions in relation to societal multilingualism. Then I will discuss the emergence of ethnic communities in the UK and how the state and the indigenous population reacted to this. After that I will go on to discuss how communities and the majority culture have impacted on the cultural identification of ethnic minorities, before examining research in relation to the attitudes that Asian multilingual speakers have towards heritage languages.

3.4.1 Societal Multilingualism

Multilingual societies are more common than monolingual ones and are more often found in developing countries than in developed ones (Crystal 1997). However a relatively stable diglossia is present in parts of Canada with French and English, and there are also several examples of indigenous heritage languages in developed countries. Native Americans and Aborigines maintain their languages in America and Australia respectively, as do Welsh speakers and Gaelic speakers in Britain, Basque speakers in Spain and Breton speakers in France to a certain extent (Baker 2003, Bishop, Coupland and Garrett 2005, Cenoz 2012, Kroskrity and Field 2009, MacAulay 1992, Moal 2000, Zuckermann and Walsh 2011). Moreover the border regions of several European countries include speakers whose first language is not the majority language of the country where they live. Furthermore immigration on a global scale has also brought several immigrant languages into western states, some of which are being maintained to a certain extent. So for example, America is the fifth largest Spanish speaking country (Remeserira 2013) and Polish is Britain's second most spoken language after English (Office for National Statistics 2011).

However media and state discourses in European countries have tended to underplay the existence of a multilingual state and instead pursue assimilatory policies, influenced by a monolingual standardised ideology (Schjerve and Vetter 2012). It is only recently that there has been a concerted effort by the EU to promote pluralilingualism and identity models based on 'agency' to encourage a sense of Euro identity among European citizens (Jaffe 2012), partly as a consequence of the increasing linguistic diversity within European states (Schjerve and Vetter 2012). However, the extent to which the EU has authority over nation states,

which traditionally assert monolingual homogeneity, to impose and implement language policies is unclear (ibid).

In many countries different languages and dialects having existed for several generations in stable diglossia (Fishman 1989). Fishman (1989: 181) describes diglossia as ‘an enduring societal arrangement extending at least beyond a three generation period, such that two languages each have their secure phonemically legitimate and widely implemented functions’. Romaine (1995) observes that in some societies it is possible to have polyglossia, such as in Singapore where there is more than one high language. She also notes that an intermediate variety could develop between the high and low languages, which eventually might become the standard language used by the majority of people. Within Britain there have been concerted efforts by local government, educational institutions and the media (Baker 2003, MacAulay 1992) to promote Welsh and Gaelic to create a stable diglossia, though for Gaelic Máté (1997) argues that it might be too late to halt the disappearance of the language. Between the unrelated languages of English and Welsh and English and Gaelic varieties have emerged, albeit regarded as dialects or accented English, though some have considered Scots (as opposed to Scottish Standard English) distinct enough to be considered a language in its own right (Trudgill and Hannah 1994). For migratory groups who do not have the same access to resources as the pre-existing minority language speakers it becomes more difficult to maintain the languages, and instead these linguistic communities exhibit features of bilingualism without diglossia which both Fishman (1989) Romaine (1995) argue will lead to language shift.

In migratory contexts it is possible for bilingualism to endure for long periods of time though, as Chambers (2003: 179) notes, ‘unless extraordinary measures are taken in communities where the preservation is deemed culturally important’, heritage languages tend to decline within 2-3 generations. However, it has become easier for minority language speakers to maintain their language in western countries, not only through an increase of minority speakers because of migration, but also through improved communication and transportation, allowing for the maintenance of contact with the ‘home country’. For example the internet has improved access to linguistic resources, and encouraged the proliferation of web-sites dedicated to the promotion of minority languages. Also Romaine (2004) suggests that globalization and demographic change has increasingly led to layers of diglossia on an international scale.

This is evident in recent research by Cheshire *et al.* (2011) and Rampton (2011) who argue that new language usage is emerging in London, which they refer to as a ‘multiethnolect’, with varying degrees of usage, context bound and to a certain extent transient, being predominantly utilized by young people. However, as Rampton indicates, the language is more than just a youth style, and its use continues into adulthood in certain contexts, and is becoming a contemporary urban vernacular. Therefore language practices may not index national or ethnic identity for many individuals, and are instead linked to global youth culture and urban sophistication (Heller 2007). This means that diglossia is inadequate to describe modern multilingual communities which transcend national borders across multiple media communication systems, or to fully conceptualise the blending and mixing of languages in urban settings to create new languages/dialects. Instead Heller (2007) and Blommaert (2010, 2013) argue it is necessary to move away from analysing multilingualism in terms of code and community and towards a more sophisticated approach that privileges language as social practice.

In western countries the notion of a linguistically homogeneous nation state has been undermined recently by the recognition of indigenous groups, immigration, transnationalism, supra-national organisations and hybrid languages (Shohamy 2006). Globalization has made it apparent that languages no longer belong to a geographic space and has also destabilized established concepts such as speech community, language, multilingualism and identity. These changes have led to what Vertovec (2007, 2010) has termed superdiversity within western countries, with new migrants settling in older immigrant neighbourhoods creating layered immigrant spaces and complex multilingual repertoires (Blommaert 2010, Cheshire *et al.* 2011, Heller 1999, Rampton 2011). This has contributed to tensions, particularly in western societies, between language, culture, citizenship and nation, as language as a symbol of nationalism has declined (Heller 2010). This tension is evident in the reaction of some western states’ management policies which are discussed in more detail in 3.5.1; p.61. It is also evident in the relationship that minority language speakers have with local ethnic communities, their identity and their language attitudes, which are discussed next.

3.4.2 Ethnic Communities

The inability for some migrants to become fully integrated, partly as a consequence of discrimination and marginalization and partly to preserve cultural traditions, has led to the development of communities based on their heritage culture (Hall 1995). Although it had been anticipated by both the government and immigrants that the migration in the 1950s and 1960s would be short term (Anwar 1979, Ghuman 1999), the economic reality and the weakening of ties with families in their home countries determined that many migrants stayed in Britain with many relocating their home environment to Britain (Anwar 1979). This shift in migration patterns from a short to long term commitment to settle translated into an elevation of their social, religious and cultural needs and the development of social and religious organisations (Hahlo 1998). These early communities were reinforced by further migration from the Indian sub-continent and also from Africa following de-colonization, and have provided both a retreat from the national culture and also a location for resistance for many ethnic minority groups. However, their growth measured both in terms of size and influence, and their visibility in British cities and in the media also created antagonism and resentment among the white electorate and prompted a reaction by state organisations (see chapter 2; p.13).

Attitudes in the UK towards heritage languages and different ethnic communities have been influenced by the ideological baggage of colonialism. The 19th and 20th century idealism of imperialistic adventure, and the portrayal of the subjugated people through a stereotypical prism of being noble savages or childlike and lazy, continues to impact on national identity, contributing to an 'us and them' mentality of some members of the British public (Hall 2006, Pennycook 1998). Holliday (2011) argues that these attitudes are also evident in the ideological division between individualist cultures represented by the centre-west and collectivist cultures represented by the periphery: Latin America, Southern Europe, Asia and Africa. Although these terms are presented as neutral, the association of 'individualism with being consistent, open to new experiences, having fun and self-reliance and collectivism with circular thinking, being closed to new experiences and deferential to group traditions', clearly projects a negatively imagined 'other' against a positively imagined 'self' (Holliday 2011: 9). The discourse of white superiority and black helplessness and savagery remains noticeable in current media images of starving African children, the portrayal of race riots, and the

extensive foci on migration and criminality underlying the stereotyping of ethnic groups (Van Dijk 1989, Van Dijk, Ting-Toomey and Smitherman 1997). Although the term 'ethnicity' has supplanted 'race' as more politically correct, it has become wedded to the imperialistic discourse it was intended to overcome. 'Ethnic food', 'ethnic clothes' and 'ethnic minority' still carry associations of being traditional and inferior and removed from modernity (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). As previously mentioned the term community also connotes a sense of homogeneous groups who are apart from modernity (see 2.4; p.17).

Although the representation of ethnic communities as homogeneous by the state and media has been beneficial to communicate a unified voice in relation to community issues, this tendency has concealed significant differences both within and between different ethnic minorities (Castle 2000). Although Asians are perceived by the white population as constituting a community, Albrow (1997) found no overall community that could be identified as Indian, and instead found communities that are based more on a family culture rather than a local one. Similarly Alexander *et al.* (2007) observed two versions of community: an abstract cultural community and an individuated complex network community of friends and family. This was also evident in Smolicz *et al.*'s (2001) study in Australia, where family networks were important for the maintenance of a collectivist ideology of second generation migrants with Greek, Italian and Chinese backgrounds, despite acculturation into the majority culture. These observations of community indicate that although ethnic minorities feel a need to maintain cultural links, it is also noticeable that ethnic labels ignore important internal divisions within their community. The popularization of the term multiculturalism to define the modern state, and its widespread use by the media and the government has been an attempt to articulate the cultural differences that exist in Britain, with the implication that distinct cultural beings live side by side. However, as Li Wei (2011) argues, the use of this term has contributed to reinforcing differences between groups rather than encouraging integration and acceptance.

Moreover the term multiculturalism is currently unable to capture the merging of cultural identities, which is a more important and prevalent feature of the modern state (Barni and Extra 2008, Bhatt 2008, Creese *et al.* 2006). The fracturing of ethnic communities has become more accentuated in the past 15 years in the UK due to new migration patterns. Vertovec (2007) argues that the high diversity of immigrants' countries of origin, and a high concentration of younger immigrants, has led to superdiversity. This, the author suggests, is

characterised by layers of ethnicity between newer and older immigrants leading to new patterns of segregation, new forms of space and contact, new language creolisation, and new patterns of prejudice. Both the white majority and long standing ethnic minorities are negative towards new immigrants, and newer migrants display prejudice towards existing ethnic minorities (ibid). According to this view therefore, there is a need to move away from examining communities, and instead focus on patterns of contact within and between different social groups (Blommaert 2013, Canagarajah 2013). It is true that in many ways, and particularly linguistically, the countries that have been the subject of studies and promoted as superdiverse are less diverse than the many countries in Africa and Asia (Lewis, Simons and Fennig 2015). Moreover, the current migration into Europe is perhaps no more significant than previous population movements which created ‘superdiverse environments’ (De Bock 2015). Nevertheless, at present countries in western European states, or more specifically urban areas, are experiencing diverse changes in the composition of their population, which is evident in Leicester (Office for National Statistics 2011), even though this might be temporary as the social structures of these countries tend to encourage conformity and homogeneity.

3.4.3 Cultural identification

Research has suggested that second and third generation migrants are less connected to the cultural content of ethnicity than their parents and grandparents. Therefore ethnic identity is not necessarily related to participating in certain cultural practices or being able to speak a heritage language. This modification indicates a generational shift from a ‘cultural practices based’ identity to one which is more an ‘associated’ identity. The majority of studies on second generation ethnic identity (Brah 1996, Drury 1991, Ghuman 1999, Hall 1995, Modood *et al.* 1997, Panayi 2010, Stopes-Roe and Cochrane 1990, Verma *et al.* 1994) indicate that most participants generally have a favourable attitude towards the majority culture, at the same time as maintaining aspects of their heritage culture through certain cultural practices.

The cultural practices chosen by second and third generation migrants to reaffirm their ethnic identity might include supporting the Indian or Pakistani cricket team, (Brah 1996) maintaining religious practices (Chanda-Gool 2006, Drury 1991) or marrying within their

own ethnic community (Joppke 2009, Stopes-Roe and Cochrane 1990), while still identifying with Britain as home. At the same time, other aspects of ethnic identification such as traditional dress (Verma *et al.* 1994) and hair growth (Drury 1991) have been modified or abandoned. However, both Bolognani (2007) and Hall (1995) note that context is important. For example Hall (261) observes that female Sikh teenagers are 'comfortable with their British Sikh selves and the security of family life at home, but when they step outside this world they see their families through the gaze of their assimilated selves and they are ashamed of the embarrassment they feel'. This is also dependent on the ethnic group or particular family with Chanda-Gool (2006) finding that some parents from a Bangladeshi heritage culture exercised more strictness and control over their children through a fear of losing old practices and values. Chanda-Gool also notes that while the second and third generation migrants wanted to mix within the wider society, they felt a lack of support and awareness of cultural differences and instead sought out social spaces where their values and beliefs were respected, thus contributing to segregation between different ethnic groups. However, in many respects there is a greater degree of diversity in ethnic minorities cultural practices, so for example an Indian-British individual may support the Indian cricket team, but this would not prevent him or her from supporting the English/Scottish/Welsh/Northern Irish football team (Edwards 2004b).

The blending of British and Asian cultural practices is also reflected in how individuals choose to identify themselves and be identified by others, with a greater proliferation of identities in the past twenty years. Previously the perception of culture as static and communities as discrete and homogeneous entities contributed to personal identity being linked to national or ethnic affiliation such as Indian or Asian (Alexander 2006). However second and third generation migrants find themselves 'caught' between two cultures, leading to the emergence of new or hybrid identity which, Mills (2001) argues, enabled individuals to manage the tension and dislocation that this situation had created. For example the participants in the studies mentioned above were more inclined to view themselves as bi-cultural with their personal identity hyphenated and more narrowly defined; such as British-Indian or British-Asian. However, second and third generation Asians are reluctant to include English as part of their identity because of its association with white culture (Condor, Gibson and Abell 2006, Eade 1997, Modood *et al.* 1997).

Julios (2008) argues that growing up in a bicultural and bilingual environment will create a conflict for second generation migrants, though Alexander (2006) asserts that this perception tends to conflate generational differences over other variables such as class and gender. As Ghuman (1999) and Pavlenko (2006) argue, being subjected to more than one cultural conditioning will have different effects on individuals, perhaps causing personal dislocation or the formation of a third culture. Multiple identities that are attached to nationality and ethnicity can create a cultural blend which has been described as a third space (Bhabha 1990), a third culture (Ghuman 1999), a liminal space (Bhabha 1994), or hybridity (Werbner and Modood 1997). The projection of these third cultures is noticeable in the language practices of young people (Rampton 1995, 2004, Sharma 2011), popular culture, dress, food, and participation or non-participation in cultural activities (Bhabha 1994, Hall 1995, Hall and du Gay 1996). It should also be noted that cultural modifications among different Asian communities in the UK are mirrored among young Indians and Pakistanis living in the Indian sub-continent, due to rising prosperity and cultural adaptation. Therefore in terms of cultural identification, changes among second and third generation migrants cannot all be attributable to acculturation, but to global and socio-economic influences that reflect trans-national Indians reclaiming pride in India (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2003).

The consequence of socio-economic changes at the local, national and global levels has created individuals with cultural and linguistic identities which are not tied to a particular group, but are instead part of system of complex communities that transcend both the local and national contexts (Ang 2003, Mills 2001). Social networks have expanded beyond locally contingent communities and into electronic forms of community organisation. This has opened up the possibility of more varied types of networks but the principles of ties, density and openness remain the same. Changes in communication networks have had two important consequences for ethnic identities. Firstly, it has created the possibility of maintaining relationships and communities across national borders and at long distances, which provide alternatives to engagement with the local networks. Secondly, it also means that new language forms are distributed more widely and faster than before and are diffused into the larger community, at the same time as providing an additional mechanism for the support and maintenance of heritage languages. Trans-national citizenship, open networks, urbanization and hybridity have created people with multiple affiliations that mitigate against compartmentalization (Norton 2000), with cultural identities overlapping and enacting collective and individual identities. People choose single, double or multiple identities

depending on the context and present them ambiguously to enable the subversion or projection of different identities (Omoniyi 2006).

Although there have been changes as to how second and third generation migrants negotiate between different cultural practices, it is also clear, as May (2001) argues, that it is impossible to escape from or remove all essentialised identities and that this is determined by 'agency' (Block 2007, 2013). Block (2013) defines 'agency' as people's ability to make choices, take control, self-regulate and pursue goals which is regulated by a social structure and environment governed by the dominant class, who decide on the acceptability of certain cultural practices. However the dominant class do not simply use their 'symbolic capital' to impose and regulate identity choices or stipulate language hierarchies which people acquiesce to. Instead, Butler (1997) argues, individuals are dependent on this status of domination for their existence, because being subjugated becomes an important part of their self-identity. Individuals have to perform their identities in a specific way in order to be recognised by others within society, and an attachment to subjugation is produced through the workings of power (Butler 1997).

For many multicultural individuals, language is central to identity, with speakers able to move between different cultural subject positions. Language is also important in determining the extent to which an individual identifies with an ethnic community, with those who have not maintained a heritage language less likely to associate with a community or identify with a heritage culture. Consequently the attitudes of ethnic minorities to their heritage languages and the majority language are to a certain extent dependent on the identification, or lack of identification with an ethnic community. It is also necessary to understand the attitudes that ethnic minorities have towards heritage languages to be able to understand their attitudes towards the majority language and this will be discussed in the following section.

3.4.4 Minority language speakers' attitudes to language

As far back as the 1970s a persistence of minority languages was observed by Ryan (1979) as a means to preserve something which separates the speakers from the majority language group, and maintain a distinct identity. This is in spite of a lack of institutional support, a more rigorous integration policy, and weaker community organisations. Mills' (2001)

participants demonstrated a positive attitude towards heritage languages for their utility in indexing identity, while viewing English as 'just a language'. This was also reflected in Modood's (1997) study, with young South Asians referring to a core (Asian) self and 'performing' a second (English) language identity. Rampton's (1995, 2004) study of speech among second generation migrants suggests that attitudes towards heritage languages and dialects of English are, in many respects, positive. Creole, Punjabi and Stylized Asian English (SAE) were all used by different ethnic groups to create a distance from white English, which was categorised as 'posh' speech. Nevertheless there is some evidence of language decline among South Asians living in Britain, which has been noted in several studies (Ghuman 1999, Hall 1995, Preece 2005).

Although the discourse of positioning minority languages and non-standard varieties as lower than the standard variety impacts on the language attitudes of ethnic minorities, some minority language speakers also denigrate their own heritage language (Chambers 2003, Ghuman 1999, Preston 1989). Parents are influenced by the belief that their children need to be fluent in the majority language and that another language will interfere with that fluency. Many parents believe that it is necessary for their children to abandon their heritage language in order to fully integrate into the wider community and that this will provide social mobility through greater opportunities in work and education (Li Wei 1994, Zentella 1997).

Both Burck (2005) and Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) argue that in many migratory communities there is a tendency for the children of migrants to adopt monolingual values and view their heritage language as deficient. Sounding either like a native speaker or a foreigner influences children's sense of identity and many refuse to speak their heritage language, being ashamed of their mother tongues, parents and origins (Modood *et al.* 1997). However their attitude will have been influenced by several factors up to that point, for example, the amount of exposure of the majority language, their confidence in using the language, and their attitude towards the majority culture. Preece (2005) notes that some second generation adolescents in her study had a weak identification with their heritage language and culture, and only maintained the language as an obligation to their parents. The negativity towards Asian languages by second and third generation migrants is also evident in Sachdev and Wright's (1996) study of preferences to learn a second language in the UK. Not only did no white children indicate a preference to learn an Asian language despite peer friendships, but also

only half of the Asian children chose an Asian language, the rest opting for a European language.

In spite of this, maintaining a second language is increasingly seen by many second and third generation migrants as important for maintaining a bond with the family, crucial to identity, as well as having a financial incentive. Language in some respects has become a technical skill and a valuable commodity, partly as a consequence of the growth of the service sector industry, computerization of the work process, and the development of niche markets (Duchêne and Heller 2012, Heller 2010, Pujolar 2007). Therefore both Heller (2003) and Moyer (2012) argue that languages are increasingly being seen as a marketable commodity, and are becoming less important as a marker of identity (Heller 2003, 2010, Moyer 2012). Some participants in Edwards' (2004b) study viewed the maintenance of their heritage language as good for their employment prospects, with London being home to several foreign banks requiring employees to have a second language, and would also be beneficial in other fields such as tourism and international business. Bolognani (2007) observes that for many second and third generation migrants Pakistan is seen as the new place of opportunity, as Britain once was by their parents and grandparents. Ang (2003) also notes this among the second generation Chinese migrants who consider their ability to transfer between Western and Chinese communities in terms of language and culture as an asset for their future careers. However as Jain (2012) notes, second generation Indians in her study do not view this 'return' as permanent and instead, like their parents had viewed their migration to Britain, see it primarily as temporary and economically motivated. Therefore the 'myth of return' (Anwar 1979) is starting to be replaced with reality for second and third generation migrants who have maintained their language, albeit redefined, and contributes to an understanding of identities and language as transnational.

3.4.5 Summary

This section has argued that it is necessary to consider the attitudes of the majority white population, the social context, and how different cultural values contribute to the attitudes and identities of ethnic minorities. The studies outlined above have observed that ethnic minorities often have contradictory relationships with their heritage culture and heritage language which impacts on their conceptualisation of their identities and how they perceive

their position in the wider social community. It is also worth highlighting that the emergence of mixed cultural values, and language practices which involve multiple linguistic codes, can be seen as a way of overcoming the difficulties that are presented to individuals who are ‘caught’ between two or three cultural groups. The majority perspective has sought to ignore this cultural blending and continues to treat ethnic groups as homogeneous communities, and this is reflected in the Language Policies and Planning (LPP) instituted by the state that will be discussed in the following section.

3.5 The Institutional Context

The previous sections have indicated that the majority view of ethnic groups has an important influence on the way that ethnic minorities conceptualise their own position in society and their attitude to the different language resources available to them. This impacts on government Language Policy and Planning (LPP) and filters into other systems of management in schools and classroom practices. This final section of the literature review will examine how the ingrained ideology of a society will influence state LPP and enshrine societal attitudes into the institutions of the state. LPP is particularly relevant to the attitudes of the participants in my study because as well as being members of an ethnic community, they also work in an institutional environment which promotes Standard English as a means of integration for migrants. After a brief explanation of the terminology used in LPP, I will go on to discuss how different governments enact Language Management (LM) at state level, and then how this relates to the language attitudes of teachers and their teaching practices.

There is currently no accepted definition of LPP and different terminology is used by different authors to express the same meaning. Some definitions refer to deliberate efforts to influence behaviour, other definitions include behaviour, while others restrict their definitions to procedural calculations (Lo Bianco 2010). Spolsky (2004, 2009), for example, divides Language Policy into language practices, language ideologies, and LM, and treats LM as a synonym for language planning. Practices are the observable behaviour and choices that people make in their language use, language ideologies are societal beliefs about language, and LM is the concerted effort by groups to control language choice. In contrast Wright (2004) uses language policy to refer exclusively to LM and does not include ideologies and practices in her definition, while Hornberger (2006) prefers to use the term language planning

instead of LM. Nekvapil (2006) makes a distinction between planning and management and argues that there has been a shift from language planning to LM. Language planning, which he notes has been a concern of the state throughout much of the 20th century, though mainly attributed to the 1960s and 1970s, is linked to ‘economic and political planning and conceptualised as a rational problem solving activity’ (Nekvapil 2006: 93). Language planning therefore is understood as organised management by an institutional authority. LM instead encompasses both micro and macro planning, operating within social structures of different complexity. Therefore LM includes the state organisation of language such as language testing, policies on citizenship, language use in supra-national organisations, and also the management of language within the classroom, or in a staff meeting. This is consistent with Pennycook’s (2002, 2006) view that there is a need to move away from a focus on centralized strategies of government authorities in LPP, and instead examine localized and contradictory operations of power. He argues that there is a need to look at educational practices and language use rather than laws, regulation and the policing of language. In the following section I will use the term LM to refer to both the macro and micro levels of management and will not refer to language planning to avoid confusion.

3.5.1 Language Management at state level

The recent challenges to nation states because of immigration, trans-nationalism, globalization, multilingual supra-national organisations, hybrid languages, the ‘threat’ from English, and linguistic human rights have instigated attempts by national and supra-national organisations to manage language use (Shohamy 2006, Wright 2004). The traditional interpretation of LM sees the state as adopting policies and introducing laws for the benefit of society and the individual. Western countries have received a large number of ethnic minority groups and have considered it necessary for LM to encourage integration of the new minorities, and later to provide some degree of protection for heritage languages. However, from a critical perspective, the implementation of certain policies can be seen as actions to serve the interests of only one section of society. For example enshrining the majority language in national institutions maintains minority languages and dialects in an inferior position in the language hierarchy. There are various mechanisms at the state’s disposal to control the language in public spaces, such as signage, official documents in specific languages, and access to translators. The state can also introduce laws in an attempt to

control language practices, seen most prominently in laws which make the use of racial or defamatory language illegal (Spolsky 2004). Perhaps the two most important areas where a state can assert its authority are in education and citizenship, though as Bratt Paulston (1992: 56) points out, after examining several different language implementation policies in different countries, ‘a language policy which runs counter to existing socio-cultural forces is not likely to be successful’.

The promise of citizenship, with the benefits that this will entail in terms of employment, political rights and greater freedom of movement, is the ‘carrot’ used to encourage assimilation among migrants, while the ‘stick’ is the potential disenfranchisement from civil society. Shohamy (2006) observes that in several European countries, such as Germany, Slovenia, Latvia, and the Netherlands, some degree of knowledge of the majority language is one of the pre-conditions of citizenship. This also serves to perpetuate the ideology that knowledge of the language is associated with loyalty to the nation (Shohamy 2006). She also notes that in many countries citizenship is required for employment creating a de facto linguistic assimilatory policy.

In the UK (government policy and legislation outlined in chapter 2) knowledge of the language is also a requirement for citizenship, with anyone applying for citizenship required to pass ESOL tests at Entry Level 3. Another layer of control is added by making it a requirement to be attending a language course in order to take ESOL exams. Alternatively prospective citizens could pass the much maligned Citizenship Test, which contains a number of obscure questions that people born in the country would struggle to answer. The test contains such complex terminology in respect to the operations of government and society that a person would require a moderate level of English in order to access the questions, thereby effectively forcing migrants to learn English one way or another. These language policies constitute a contract between the state and migrants: to receive the benefits which the state has control over and can distribute at their discretion, migrants are required to conform to the national language and learn about the national culture. Spolsky (2009) and Auerbach (2000) suggest a more Machiavellian motivation for the state requirement to learn English in America. Pushing migrants into ‘survival’ English would alleviate local government costs, and also provide a workforce which is willing to work for minimum wage jobs. This would ensure that power stays in the hands of the few, thereby contributing to the economic marginalization of minority groups.

The education policy is the most important weapon of LM that a government exercises, dictating the medium of instruction and deciding on the provision of bilingual instruction in the mainstream sector. Decisions are also made about which languages are taught as a second language, and more importantly which are not. For example Mandarin and Arabic are languages which are currently being promoted in schools and colleges in America (Johnson 2012, Rivers and Robinson 2012). However Johnson (2012) argues that this is not a result of a broader understanding of multilingualism, but because these languages belong to people who are viewed as a threat to national security. As well as dictating the languages used in schools and the acceptable dialect, the state also determines the assessment practices.

Shohamy (2011) in Israel and Menken (2008) in the USA both found that the assessment practices in schools disadvantage migrant children's ability to achieve good results, with assessments designed for monolingual speakers of the dominant language. Not only were non-native students burdened with learning the course material, but were also required to learn the language. Though English is not the official language in the America or Britain, lots of elements derived from the language ideology of society combine to create a de facto language policy in these countries (Shohamy 2006). Menken (2008) goes so far as to argue that assessments have become a de facto language policy in schools in the USA and have a 'washback' effect on the school curriculum and classroom practices. A further point noted by Shohamy (2011) is the psychological effect of testing in the dominant language, with the implication that minority languages have a low priority. This relatively recent imposition of language rules and regulations from state institutions is derived from societal beliefs about language. This will impact teachers' understanding of students' language use, and consequently will affect how teachers implement their ideas in the classroom, which will be outlined in the following three sections.

3.5.2 Teachers' attitudes

Within mainstream education, many teachers are predisposed towards the acceptance of a standard language ideology, and show a 'consistency in the evaluation of the standard language and the devaluation of all other varieties' (Alim 2009: 216). Teachers tend to associate non-standard forms with sloppy or lazy speech and consider non-standard users as

lower in terms of intelligence compared to standard language users (Edwards 2010, Lindholm-Leary 2001, Olneck 2002). This is no more apparent than in the reaction that American white teachers have to Afro-American Vernacular English (Edwards 2010, McGroarty 2001). A recent study by Alim (2005) found that white teachers believed black speech was deficient, and expressed their frustration at being unable to ‘correct’ the users speech. There is a belief among many teachers that white linguistic norms are inherently superior to the linguistic practices of other communities, and the practice of mapping white norms onto the language of school, economic mobility and success persists even within the subjugated group (Alim 2005: 192). Teachers also make assumptions about children from minority backgrounds and have an expectation that they will speak a non-standard variety of English (Alim 2005). García (2009: 36) argues that although it is necessary to have a standard language, ‘an exclusive focus on one keeps out other language practices that are children’s authentic linguistic identity expression’, and the insistence on children using the standard language contributes to their linguistic insecurity.

In some respects, with training which stresses the importance of accuracy and concepts like interlanguage and fossilization (Dewey 2012, Nelson 2011), language teachers are perhaps more inclined towards accepting a standard language ideology than other teachers. Moreover language teachers, like all teachers, have an existence outside the classroom and are subject to the predominant beliefs about language, which place an emphasis on correctness in language use. This is reinforced by many educational institutions engaging in LM when selecting teachers for employment on the basis of whether they are NES or not (Clark and Paran 2007). Teachers, in many respects, are not part of the decision making process nor indeed receive training in issues of language policy, and therefore may not be aware of the issues related to ideologies and Standard English (Shohamy 2006).

Two relevant studies of English language teachers’ attitudes towards the importance and relevance of the NES in the language classroom were conducted by Amin (1999, 2004) and Sifakis and Sougari (2006). Amin interviewed five female minority teachers about what they believed their students’ perception was of them as language teachers. She found that the teachers felt that they had to spend a lot of energy and time to establish themselves as legitimate teachers, and that their knowledge about language and grammar was questioned by students. This, they felt, stemmed from their belief that students viewed them as NNEs because of their ethnicity, and that consequently they did not know ‘real’ English, which was

deemed the preserve of white teachers by the students. Sifakis and Sougari (2006) large scale questionnaire of EFL teachers in Greece indicated that the teachers accepted a NES perspective for the classroom in terms of pronunciation, reflecting an understanding of the classroom as a place for teaching norms and exam preparation. However, outside the classroom the teachers recognised that adherence to native speaker norms was less important and that the communicative function of language is central.

Although there has been an increasing amount of research into how the philosophies and belief systems of language teachers impacts on practice in the classroom, Ellis (2004) argues that one important element of analysis is missing. Ellis suggests that there is a paucity of research that takes into consideration the language background of the teachers. Although some studies highlight how being a non-native English speaking teacher (NNEST) contributes to different approaches in the classroom, there is little analysis of how the language background affects the teacher's beliefs and attitudes (see 3.5.4, p.68). Ellis interviewed 31 participants who were either bilingual or multilingual NNEST, bilingual or multilingual NES, or monolingual NES. She found that the main difference was between monolingual and multilingual, rather than NES and NNEST, with multilingual speakers frequently referring to languages other than English when discussing teaching. Multilingual speakers had a deeper understanding of language and language learning, and for monolinguals it was unclear whether their knowledge was about language, or was just specific to English. A further point which Ellis highlights is the negativity that monolinguals had towards learning a language, drawing on their own failed experience of language learning and viewing the process as difficult and traumatic, while multilingual speakers were more positive, being successful language learners themselves.

3.5.3 Teachers' Professional identity

Teacher's professional identities have been a growing area of research in English language teaching. However there are few studies that connect professional identity with South Asian English language teachers, and those that do, such as Amin (1997, 1999, 2004), (p.64), have focused more on the NS/NNS dichotomy. Moreover, as Asher (2006) notes, studies that have explored the professional identity of minority educators in America, have predominantly examined teachers of East Asian descent, such as Chinese, Japanese and Korean. Asher gives an account of the difficulties and prejudices she experienced as a South Asian educator

in America and her relationship with a predominantly white student population, though in the context of higher education. Another relevant study, also in America, is Subedi (2008), who conducted interviews and classroom observations with two teachers of South Asian descent, one of whom, Nadia, teaches English as a Second Language in the school, as well as the mainstream. Subedi notes that Nadia's authenticity as a teacher is constantly challenged by students who do not view her as 'real' teacher both in ESL classes and mainstream classes. When it is suggested by another teacher that she should present a more authoritative voice with the students to claim authenticity as a teacher, she does not feel comfortable doing so. Her authenticity as a teacher is also undermined by her colleagues, where ESL teaching is not afforded the same respect as other subjects in school such as math and science. Moreover 'the construction of ESL students as troublemakers also undermined the legitimacy of teachers' (Subedi 2008: 64), who were considered less capable and unable to assert control over 'their' students.

Varghese, Morgan, Johnston and Johnson (2005) highlight that interest in teachers' professional identity has come from two different fields of study. Firstly research into teachers' cognition (Borg 2006, Woods 1996) has highlighted that teachers bring their own experiences, attitudes and knowledge into the classroom in a dynamic and constantly changing way, rather than, as had been previously assumed, that they are merely 'technicians' who apply, following teacher training, the prescribed methodology. These attributes contribute to the formation of teacher's professional identity, whose constituent parts, Varghese et al (2005: 22) note, cannot be treated separately, and 'instead the teacher's whole identity [is] at play in the classroom'. The second strand involves the socio-cultural and socio-political dimensions of teaching, and considering the ways in which individual variables such as race, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation and religion become important in classroom practices, and how these identity positions relate to those of the students.

Therefore it is difficult to discuss teachers' professional identity without a consideration of the multiple and shifting aspects of teachers' socio-cultural and socio-political identities, and within English language teaching, one aspect of identity which has received attention is the static notion of the NS/NNS dichotomy and its relationship to teachers' professional identity (Armour 2004, Duff and Uchida 1997, Pavlenko 2003, Tsui 2007). Holliday (2008) argues that NES and NNES are presented as neutral categories, attached to nation and national culture, because it gives teachers and students a sense of certainty about who people are and where they come from. He further highlights the ideological belief that NNES can be a label

for non-white 'other'. This is evident in Liu's study (1999) with students accepting a white English speaker as a NES, despite not being born in America, and likewise a NES of Korean ancestry was not considered an authentic NES. As Kubota and Lin have argued (2006, 2009: 8) there is tendency in the ELT industry to 'equate the native speaker with white and the non-native speaker with non-white' which has obscured the 'discrimination experienced by teachers who do not fit this formula'. The authors assert that while it is necessary to challenge the discrimination of NNES, it is equally important to consider the prejudice faced by NES who are not white.

Although dominant discourses represent ELT as race neutral, as Motha (2006) argues, identities that are shaped within ELT are inherently racialized. Several studies have indicated that beyond the NS/NNS dichotomy, there is an evident hierarchy among NES, with the assumption that a white teacher is somehow more authentic and legitimate than a non-white NES (Amin 1997, 1999, Curtis and Romney 2006, Javier 2010, Lin, Grant, Kubota, Motha, Sachs, Vandrick and Wong 2004, Motha 2006, Ng 1993, Rubin 1992). For example, as a Canadian teacher of Philippine descent, Javier (2010), legitimacy as both a teacher and English speaker were questioned while working in China, so that she felt it necessary to explain her native speaker credentials to new students. In Motha's (2006) study, Katie, a teacher of Korean ancestry, believed that her authority was undermined in the classroom because of her race. The perception of non-white teachers as inauthentic could have a detrimental effect on teachers' careers and consequently their professional identities. Teachers from minority backgrounds could be excluded from particular courses, excluded from the decision making process, perceived as less valued than their white work colleagues, receive less pay and have less opportunities for career progression (Lin *et al.* 2004).

While the perception of ethnic minority teachers, both inside and outside the classroom, impacts negatively on their own feelings of self-worth, it also influences the practices that the teachers enact in the classroom. The teachers in Amin's (1997, 1999) study focused on creating a community in the classroom based on shared experience of being ethnic minorities and NNES, disrupting the belief in the superiority of NES and ensuring lessons were extensively prepared. Similarly Morgan (2004) used personal experiences to challenge his students preconceptions about race, ethnicity and gender. The examination of race and ethnicity is interwoven with the NES/NNES dichotomy (Kubota and Lin 2006, 2009), and the limited number of studies which have investigated non-white NES, do seem to suggest that the continued ideological associations of NES with white and Standard English impacts

negatively on teachers' professional identity within ELT. There are few studies which examine the relationship between race and teacher's professional identity that are not superseded by the NES/NNES identity categorisations, and less that specifically focus on South Asian English language teachers' professional identities, and therefore it is hoped that this study will contribute to this area of research.

3.5.4 Teaching practices

There has been an increasing focus on the teacher's knowledge and beliefs and how this contributes to their practices in the classroom. Freeman (2002) outlines the changes that have occurred since the 1970s, prior to which the role of the teacher was viewed as simply a tool to implement the chosen content and methodology. However, studies of teachers and teaching since have come to accept that teachers' beliefs and knowledge filter through into teaching practices and the decision making process. Teachers are not 'blank slates' when they enter the profession, but are already instilled with preconceptions of what language is, what teaching is and what learning is. Their experience from being in school, travelling abroad, work, interaction with different cultures, and knowledge of more than one language, are just some of the contributory factors which will affect their practices. But these prior experiences and previous knowledge and beliefs are not simply part of the teachers' past, instead they are 'adjusted' through training and teaching experience and drawn upon and made relevant in the present (Freeman 2002).

However, teaching practices are circumscribed by the language policies which are established by government and educational institutions. Corson (1997) argues that educational institutions are required to follow and implement the policies which are dictated to them by the state, and consequently teachers are forced by the archaic structures of formal education to follow conservative patterns in their practices. Moreover the dominance of teaching materials based on Standard English makes it difficult for teachers to accept non-native varieties, or to be able to apply an approach in the classroom that takes an emphasis away from grammatical and phonemic accuracy.

Several studies have examined the relationship between language policy and the curriculum, teachers' knowledge and beliefs, and teaching practices in English language teaching. Burns

(1996) identified two processes of teachers' beliefs in the classroom: those that are related to individual beliefs, and those that are related to professional growth in the classroom, although in some respects it is difficult to distinguish between the two. The teachers saw institutional requirements as a backdrop to the classroom context, and instead the individual characteristics of the classroom, and beliefs about the nature of learning were deemed more important. Woods (1996) also used interviews and classroom observations in his study and proposed an integrated network of beliefs, assumptions and knowledge that affects teaching practices and how the individual teacher interprets the curriculum.

Smith (1996) also examined pedagogical decision making, the role of theory, individual teachers' beliefs and contextual factors in his study. He argues that the perspective of language teaching will impact on the kind of teaching activities that are done in the classroom. Teachers with a product view of language see it as an object to be mastered and would be expected to emphasise grammar and accuracy in the classroom. In contrast teachers with a perspective of language learning as a process would focus on language for communicative purposes and concentrate on functional skills and relate their lessons to topical issues. However Smith found that the distinction between process and product orientation was not evident in teaching practice. Teachers felt considerable freedom in terms of explicit course guidelines and did not see institutional course objectives as prescriptions for planning, with some teachers only vaguely aware of what the intutional objectives were. Context, and the characteristics of the students, had the most impact on decision making and teachers focused on providing activities which encouraged group cohesiveness.

Other studies have sought to understand the differences in teaching practices between NNEST and Native English Speaking Teachers (NEST). Cots and Nussbaum's (1999) study of language teachers examined curriculum development guidelines provided to secondary schools and interviewed language teachers in Spain, one NEST and two NNEST, in relation to the 'new proposal for communication' in Spain. The three teachers differed in their beliefs with the NNEST more closely corresponding to institutional objectives, though the authors noted that for all three teachers, the observed practices did not always correspond to the beliefs that the teachers had. One of the many reasons for the differences between NNEST and NEST was in terms of knowledge of the language. This is also reflected in Reves and Medgyes (1994) study, with NNEST having a negative attitude towards their own language ability, and they perceive that the main difference in teaching practice is attributed to

language proficiency. The participants believed that NEST produced more 'real' language while NNEST were more concerned with accuracy in the classroom. Andrews (1999) also observes that NNEST meta-linguistic awareness contribute to how they perform in the classroom, influencing the type of activities they do and that they also have an uncritical acceptance of materials that are available for them to use for their lessons.

Arva and Medgyes (2000) found that the perception of NEST and NNEST towards each other's teaching practice did not correspond. For example NEST believe that NNEST experience of a very formal education system would mean that their teaching practices would reflect a strict and formal approach to language teaching. In contrast NEST are viewed by NNEST as being too casual, and that their lack of knowledge of the Hungarian language meant that they have weaknesses in terms of cultural understanding and empathy for learners. But the observation component of the study revealed that NEST lessons have a clear structure and encourage discussion about Hungarian culture, while NNEST though relying heavily on course books, do use a variety of techniques and are not overtly strict on insisting on English only in the classroom. Therefore Arva and Medgyes concurred with Woods (1996) and Smith (1996) that there is not a complete correlation between beliefs and practices, and a teacher's perception of what they believe they do in the classroom cannot be used as a reliable compass of what is actually happening in the classroom.

There are several ways in which teachers enact micro LM in the classroom. Being the authority in the classroom, the teacher confirms, modifies and subverts language use, attaches meaning to linguistic forms, and imposes literacy norms, while teacher talk contains persuasion, promotion and discouragement of language use (Lo Bianco 2010). An important way in which micro LM is enacted is through determining the extent of L1 use in the classroom. Auerbach (2000) and Cummins (2009) challenge the notion that the language classroom should be monolingual in the target language. Auerbach argues that the current promotion of the 'English only classroom' originates from language ideologies in western societies that view monolingualism as the norm, and has filtered into current teaching methodologies such as task-based learning and Communicative language Teaching (CLT). However there is little evidence to suggest that restricting the first language in the classroom has a more positive effect on language learning than allowing its use. In fact Auerbach highlights research which shows that the selective and targeted use of L1 is beneficial for learners. It enhances retention and progress, provides a sense of security, and validates

learners' ethno-linguistic identity. Cummins (2009) also notes that L1 use in the classroom helps to link the learning with the L1 schemata, improves translation skills, affirms students' identities and makes them proud of being bilingual. He also argues that the monolingual classroom reinforces the assumption that NES are better teachers, and supports the notion that the home language is the cause of underachievement. The restriction of L1 is also unnatural, with multilingual individuals codeswitching every day in their daily lives, which undermines the teachers' attempts to create a natural environment based on the 'real world' (García 2009, Shohamy 2006). Nevertheless, despite the evidence supporting L1 use in the language classroom, it tends to be resisted by both teachers and learners.

An important aspect of language teaching practices is the attachment that many teachers have to grammar structures as prescribed by standard language ideologies. Teachers are given the responsibility of correcting the language of learners to conform to the standard language, and within teacher education this aspect is fore-grounded as one of a teacher's principal linguistic tasks. It is not specifically an English standard language ideology which influences teachers' practices, but the standard language ideology which is prevalent in many societies. So in Greece, the insistence of NNEST that the students should adhere to the standard language is a reflection of Greece being a largely monolingual society (Sifakis and Sougari 2006), but an English language teacher in a multilingual country like India would perhaps not be so strongly influenced by this. McGroarty (2001: 25) argues that if teachers have 'a firmer understanding and appreciation of the multiplicity of language forms and functions they can become developers of sensitivity toward any variety of language rather than pedantic linguistic enforcers'. Dewey (2012) and Lowenberg (2000) argue that there is also a need for teachers to be able to distinguish between language deficiencies and variational differences in their students' spoken English. This would require a change in current teaching practices in terms of materials and methodologies which are sensitive to different language varieties and to take into account the local social context. In many circumstances communicative effectiveness and fluency are more important than accuracy in grammar (Pakir 2000). Pakir suggests that in the language classroom reading and writing should have a grammar focus, while speaking and listening should have a communicative focus. This would encourage, and open the opportunity for, raising critical language awareness among students and teachers of the existence of English varieties which do not conform to Standard English (Pakir 2000, Timmis 2002).

3.5.5 Summary

With the decision making process of language policy for schools and further education under the authority of government, Shohamy (2006: 78-79) argues that teachers are mere ‘soldiers’ or ‘bureaucrats who follow orders unquestionably’. However though teachers are assigned the role of implementing the language policy of the educational institution, a curriculum assigned by the state only makes generic policies, and the particular requirements and circumstances of the individual classroom require micro LM (Lo Bianco 2010). Although teachers teach within the parameters that are set and because they believe this is correct for their students, this is through the prism of their own attitudinal subjectivity which has been informed by the ideology in their society. While they may espouse the ideological framework of the establishment as a requirement of their job, and teach to specific requirements as is necessary to prepare students for exams, there is a degree of freedom as to the method to achieve this, and many teachers have classroom practices which undermine existing ideologies. The argument that teachers are mere ‘soldiers’ neglects their capacity to provide their own perspective and approach in the classroom. Teachers may not agree with the ideological framework of an institution, but everyone in whatever capacity, has to conform to the requirements of their employment, even academics who wish to undertake research, attend conferences, have their work published and lecture on courses.

3.6 Conclusion

The development of different varieties of English has long been recognised within the academic community, which has resulted in extensive research and literature devoted to the topic. Although in principle all languages are equal at a linguistic level, dialects and varieties are not given the same recognition as Standard English. However, with more NNEs than NES it is questionable whether BrE and AmE are the most suitable standards in all contexts. Furthermore as MacArthur (2002) notes, to speak like an ‘English man’ is not the only or obvious target for second language learners, and indeed some research suggests that BrE and AmE are not the most easily understood varieties (Nelson 2011). Although a lot of research focuses on the acceptability and applicability of a local variety for a local context, it is becoming increasingly apparent that within ‘native English speaking countries’ it is necessary to take into account the development of non-native varieties of English. These native English

speaking countries have received a significant increase of migrants who are taught and tested according to the standard variety. However, many of these migrants already speak a variety of English (Gut 2011) and have reached a level of communicative competence equal to native speakers, or least suitable for their own needs.

This chapter has critically reviewed a broad range of literature from different research fields, highlighting how these relate to this study. First I elaborated on my understanding of the key theoretical themes of the study: language attitudes and language ideologies. In doing this the literature has considered the importance of viewing language as a discursive practice (García 2009, Makoni and Pennycook 2007, Shohamy 2006). Then I discussed the relevant studies that have been undertaken in multilingual communities, World Englishes and the teaching profession. How the participants in this study are involved with and relate to an ethnic community will affect their views on minority languages in Britain, and consequently their beliefs about the acceptability of different varieties of the English language. As McKenzie (2008a) notes, in trying to understand the attitude that multilingual speakers have towards English, it is important to know their attitude to their first language, and the other languages in their repertoire. Moreover the extent of the participants' affiliation to an ethnic community will also impact on how they visualise their social identity and their relationship with British and Asian culture. It is also necessary to take into account how their profession as English language teachers will affect their attitudes towards English varieties. In this respect it will be necessary to consider how language ideologies from both a work context and a social context have influenced the attitudes of participants. I have highlighted the importance of considering ideologies when conducting research on language attitudes. The literature review has also shown the various intricacies of the issues involved in this research, and argued that models of World Englishes, which focus on national and ethnic groups, have limited value given the changes that have been happening to the English language in the last 10-15 years. I have also highlighted the limited number of studies which bring together multilingualism and World Englishes, and how this study hopes to contribute to this.

The following chapter will outline the methodological approach taken in this study.

Chapter 4

Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses methodology in relation to language attitudes and the approach taken in this study. After examining the research questions in more detail I will outline the methodological approaches that have been undertaken in the field of language attitude research, highlighting the relevant strengths and weaknesses of these different approaches. I will also outline my ontological and epistemological position and how this informs the methodological approach taken in this study. Then I will give an overview of the participants in the study and the sampling procedure for the interviews and focus groups, in addition to my role as the researcher. After that I will outline the methodology used in this study, which were semi-structured interviews and focus groups and the justification for this choice in terms of the relationship to my ontological and epistemological position and the research questions. Finally I will consider the ethical issues involved in the study.

4.2 Research questions

As previously mentioned language is a complex area of study and therefore it is necessary to give a lot of consideration to choosing the appropriate apparatus which relate to the research questions and provide data which is quantifiable, interpretable and comparable with other studies. I concur with Mason (2006) who endorses the widely accepted principle that the chosen research methods should be driven by the research questions. However she also notes that in some respects research questions are also guided by the choice of methodology, and the methodologies which are available to the researcher. Both research questions and research methodologies can develop during the research process, and in this respect do impact on each other (Glaser and Strauss 1967).

It is worthwhile at this point to restate the research questions which have guided the literature review and which have also provided a framework for the choice of methodology used in this research. There is one main research question and three sub questions.

Main research question

How do the attitudes of multilingual South-Asian English language teachers towards non-native varieties of English influence their beliefs about teaching?

Sub-questions

1. In what ways do multilingual South-Asian English language teachers' experiences and background influence their beliefs about language?
2. To what extent are multilingual South-Asian English language teachers' attitudes and beliefs about language influenced by language ideologies?
3. What are multilingual South-Asian English language teachers' attitudes towards non-native varieties of English?

These questions have been formulated and refined over the course of the research, and match the criteria set out by Lewis (2003) of being clear, focused but not too narrow, capable of being researched through data collection, relevant, useful, feasible, informed and connected to existing research. The main research question considers how the participants' beliefs and attitudes towards English language varieties might impact on their teaching practices; this is in terms of error correction, assessment, models for teaching, and the control of languages other than English in the classroom. The three sub questions support the main research questions because it is necessary to have an understanding of the participants' background, and their beliefs about the majority language and different English language varieties, in order to fully comprehend how their attitudes impact on their teaching practices.

It is important to take into account how the participants' conceptualise their heritage languages, their ethno-linguistic identity, the level of integration into the majority culture and also their experience of prejudice both inside and outside the work environment. In addition it is important to take into consideration the role that the participants have as English language teachers and their beliefs about the importance of a standard language. A strong belief in the importance of Standard English will influence their knowledge and acceptance of different English varieties. The disparaging of non-native varieties has been observed in several studies, and as Dewey (2012) argues, the treatment of World Englishes, Global

English and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) in teacher training is lacking. This is more so for institutional training in native English speaking countries, something I personally experienced while undertaking the Level 5 diploma¹ at the college. The only mention of language change was in regard to native English speaking countries, while there was also an overt focus on prescriptive rules of correct English. English varieties are usually envisaged as AmE and BrE predominantly, which was evident in the teacher training for the level 5 diploma. Other less prestigious varieties such as Indian English (IE) are strongly associated with pejorative terms such as Hinglish and these speakers' language is seen as deficient rather than different.

It has become customary to view languages as closed systems which attempt to eradicate irregularities and prevent changes, which stems from the ideological values of predominantly European nations. For example Sifakis and Sougari (2006) note that Greek teachers' beliefs regarding International English and its suitability for the context are influenced by their beliefs about their own experience of language in their predominantly monolingual country. In contrast Chand (2009: 414) found that Indian participants, in terms of International English, are more 'inclined to interact dialogically with, challenge, and negotiate the differences between local and global institutionalized ideologies.' Language ideologies within South Asia and Europe are deep-rooted with significant differences between the discourses of pre-colonial South Asia and pre-modern Europe (Canagarajah 2013, Pollock 2006). Pollock (2006) examined discourses from these regions and found that multilingualism was perceived differently. This, Pollock argues might be related to there being no similar biblical story of the 'Tower of Babel' associating multilingualism with a 'divine punishment' in South Asia. Whether there will be some form of transference in ideological belief systems to multilingual individuals living in the UK will determine their perspective on English and are questions that this study seeks to answer. As Ellis (2004) notes, multilingual belief systems appear to have more in common with NNES than monolingual speakers.

The main research question seeks to understand how the participants' attitudes towards varieties of English and Standard English impact on their beliefs about their teaching practices. The principal areas of teaching practices which have been questioned as a

¹ The Level 5 Diploma is a graduate level qualification. All teachers are required to complete a PGCE in post-compulsory education and also the Level 5 diploma which is a part-time one year course subject specialism. The participants in my study did a Level 5 diploma in ESOL (English for speakers of other Languages) which has some similarities in contents with the Delta and Trinity Diploma.

consequence of the global spread of English and the indigenisation of the English language in non-native countries are error correction, learner models and targets, assessment and the use, by students and teachers, of other languages in the classroom. Nelson (2011), for example has argued that the notion of ‘correct’ English is so fully entrenched within language that teachers are unable to see someone’s speech as anything but incorrect if it is not the same as Standard English. Several authors have also questioned the validity of using BrE and AmE as targets for learners in the classroom when they do not reflect the linguistic environment outside the classroom (Dewey 2012, Seidlhofer 2011). Both Menken (2008) and Shohamy (2006) have argued that measuring students’ language in tests against native speaker norms is unrealistic and does not take into consideration the full range of the individuals linguistic repertoire. Finally the assertion that if students use only English in the classroom it will improve their ability to make progress in the learning process has not gained empirical support, but is a commonly held proposition within language teaching (Auerbach 2000, Cummins 2009). Therefore the aim of this research is to examine what multilingual English language teachers’ beliefs are about these issues and whether they conform to prevailing language ideologies within English language teaching.

These research questions can be answered using qualitative rather than quantitative methods, and the methodological tools used in this study are interviews and focus groups. Although qualitative methods do not have a distinct set of practices (Denzin and Lincoln 2005), the methods used are preferable to quantitative methods in this study. This is because it will be necessary to explore the teachers’ life in detail in order to appreciate how their attitudes to language have evolved. Having discussed the purpose of the research questions, I shall now explain in more detail the reasons for choosing qualitative methods in this study.

4.3 Qualitative research

The reasons why I have chosen to use qualitative methods in this research, as opposed to quantitative methods, are because of the advantages that qualitative data can produce. Firstly although the data is open to several different interpretations, qualitative methods are useful for focusing on ‘processes and meanings which are not measured in terms of quantity, amount, intensity or frequency’ (Denzin and Lincoln 2005: 14). When dealing with complex issues such as language, identity and attitudes, and the inter-relationship between them, it is

essential to gain a deeper understanding of the subjects' lives, which is less possible than when using quantitative methods (Snape and Spencer 2003). A survey might give a broad view of general attitudes, but to understand them it will be necessary to uncover how those opinions and attitudes developed in the subjects. In this respect qualitative data is useful for examining the 'what' and the 'how' of a participant's attitude. The participants in this study are all linked through being multilingual and by being English language teachers, but they all have unique life stories, and made choices that have impacted on their beliefs about language. There are also differences in terms of language usage and cultural affiliation which would be difficult to 'unpack' through the exclusive use of quantitative methods.

Secondly, qualitative research enables the researcher to examine the world as it currently exists (Denzin and Lincoln 2005). Snape and Spencer (2003: 3) note that 'qualitative research is a naturalistic, interpretive approach concerned with understanding the meaning which people attach to phenomena (actions, decisions, beliefs, values etc.) within their social world'. This is the aim of this research: to discover the nature of language attitudes among multilingual English language teachers within the context of their working practices and social lives. The context of this research is important to how participants view language and position their identities because of their residence in a multilingual city, their association with multilingual communities, their profession as English teachers, their degree of attachment to the other languages they use and their investment in terms of social and professional capital, which would be difficult to understand using quantitative methods.

Thirdly, qualitative methods are more useful in this study because of their exploratory nature. As Denscombe (2003) argues, researchers are able to keep an open mind and treat the research process as a 'voyage of discovery'. This openness was reflected in all aspects of my study including the research questions, the data that was produced and the themes which emerged from the data. This notion of 'discovering' was also necessary in relation to the selection of participants. Though I had some general ideas about their experiences, having been in the participants' place of work for several years, I was unaware of the details of their life experience or their linguistic history. So for example, despite the large Gujarati population in Leicester, there was a range of different languages spoken by the participants and some were not Gujarati speakers, while for others Gujarati is neither their first or second language, but third or fourth. Moreover it was not clear at the start of the study how many of participants had been born in the UK and how many had not, whether they had received an

English medium education in another country, used English as a second language in another country, or had had moderate contact with English before they arrived in the UK. All of these experiences would affect their attitude to English and other languages. This study is also exploratory in the sense that it is treating participants as multilingual English dominant speakers, while, as noted previously, attitudinal research in World Englishes has had a tendency to divide people into native and non-native speakers of English. Whether these individuals will have the same attitudes as NES will, in many respects, depend on their own personal experience. Qualitative approaches are also beneficial for the selection of a small and purposeful sample to enable the selection of specific individuals (Snape and Spencer 2003).

Finally, there is greater flexibility when using qualitative methods (Dörnyei 2007), which has been necessary in this study in terms of the selection of participants, and in terms of the themes and concept which have been most pertinent to the participants. The greater flexibility in using qualitative methods is evident in the approach to the interpretation and collection of the data, which Bryman (2004) notes is an interactive process. An analysis of the initial data that has been collected may affect the researchers' previous assumptions and lead to changes in terms of the research focus. Qualitative methods allow a researcher to narrow the research topic through multiple interviews with the same the research participants, while quantitative data can only produce a 'snapshot'.

Critics of qualitative methods would argue that theories are drawn largely from the researcher, who decides what aspects of the data to focus on and interprets the data from their own perspective leaving the data open to researcher bias (Bryman 2004). It is important to accept that researcher bias is an unavoidable product of qualitative research and cannot be completely removed. However, by recognising that there is not one reality of the world and that the data is open to multiple interpretations and reflecting on your own position within the research setting, some aspects of bias can be alleviated.

Having outlined the reasons for choosing qualitative research methods in this study, I shall now go on to discuss the theoretical position taken in this study and its applicability to the methodology.

4.4 A critical approach

The distinction between quantitative and qualitative methods also relates to the researcher's ontological and epistemological position. Quantitative methods are more associated with the positivists' and neo-positivists' belief that there is a truth to be discovered. In contrast, researchers who take a critical ontological position argue that there is not one reality and that truth is dependent on the interpretation of the researcher. There are instead levels of reality and therefore it is important to analyse the mechanism, processes and structure that account for observed patterns during an investigation. Reality can be ambiguous when conducting qualitative research which involves human participants. Meaning may be created in non-verbal signals, some in the minds of participants, sometimes participants cannot find the right words and compromise meaning or participants may be saying what they believe they should be saying. They may also say different things in different contexts, in a different research setting with a different interlocutor (Mann 2011). Therefore reality, as it is understood from a critical and constructionist position is person, context and time bound, and the search for some form of universal truth would ultimately be futile. This would imply that the positivist conception of reality is rather simplistic as 'interactions and meaning are a shifting carnival of ambiguous complexity; a moving feast of difference interrupting differences' (Scheurich 1997: 66).

Critical theorists would also argue that 'reality' is embedded in issues of value, ideology, power, domination repression and control which impact on any interpretation of people's beliefs and actions (Talmy 2010). Issues of power and domination are central to this study in the sense that the study involves participants who would be considered members of a minority community. This is both in respect of their ethnicity and also in terms of their language. However whether the participants would view themselves as oppressed in any way because of power imbalance is unlikely. In many respects I anticipate that participants will have an investment in the values and ideologies of British society through their position as English language teachers and within society more generally.

A further consideration is the influence that the researcher has on the data that is produced, with those working from a positivist position asserting that the context of the study needs to be controlled. Furthermore, these researchers would stress the importance for the researcher

to avoid bias in terms of interaction with participants and when analysing the data. However both social constructionist and critical theorists would argue that the researcher can never be unbiased so it is impossible to avoid bias within a research context. The researcher and subjects have multiple intentions, unconscious and conscious desires which are influenced by several variables (Scheurich 1997). Thus it is necessary to take account of my own position within the research, the context of the research site and how these may interact with different variables which are attributable to the participants.

Mann (2011) points out that in several studies researchers present their data without regard to how the location and time of the interview may influence the data, and also fail to mention the type of relationship that the interviewer and interviewee have. Without considering how the situational context affects the researcher's interpretation of the data, issues of power relations between the interlocutors are unobserved (Talmy 2011). As well as overlooking the situational context, Talmy (2011) and Mann (2011) also observe that many researchers do not consider the interactional context and instead focus exclusively on what the interviewee has said. However, each statement, anecdote or exclamation made by the interviewee does not exist in isolation, and is not simply an expression of the reality as they understand it. Instead 'what' is said and 'how' it is said is dependent on what had been said previously with meaning actively constructed between interviewer and interviewee (Mann 2011, Talmy 2011). Both authors stress that qualitative research would benefit from examining how meaning is co-constructed between interlocutors in the same way as it is in discourse analysis.

Where critical theorists and social constructivist researchers differ is the critical belief that the research should have an emancipatory purpose, rather than simply observe and report findings. The ontological and epistemological position taken in this research is a critical one that seeks to promote and question the established understanding of beliefs about language and English teaching practices. This coordinates with the critical position presented in the literature review and the research questions which have been developed during the course of the research. However there is the question of the sense in which this research is emancipatory: whether it can be considered emancipatory, and who it is intended to seek to liberate and from what, which is largely determined by the contributions of the participants. The majority of post-modern research of minority groups seeks to project a deeper understanding of the subjects that they are studying, and the way in which these groups are oppressed. As previously mentioned, the subjects in this study, though notionally members

of a minority community, have an investment in existing ideologies in relation to the English language. Moreover in many respects the participants are not representative of an Indian, Gujarati or Asian community, and some have become detached from their respective communities. Rather I would argue that it is English language students' use of English that requires liberating from the dominance of AmE and BrE models which many teachers insist are the only correct way to use the language. Many students who come to English classes in Britain have already achieved a high level of communicative competence in English and are already norm-orientated (Gut 2011) but not in the same terms as NES, and instead their language is categorised as 'fossilized'. However the participants in this study may not view this in the same way, and instead may assert that prioritising Standard British English in the classroom is liberating students.

The following section will discuss the different approaches that have been taken in attitudinal research and the reason for the choice of methodology in this study.

4.5 Methodological approaches to studying language attitudes

Attitudinal research has taken different approaches and each one has been devised to overcome the problems which other research methods encounter in an attempt to find the 'real' attitudes of people. The two principal approaches to researching language attitudes of individuals are direct methods and indirect methods, though Garrett (2010) also includes societal treatment (ST) methods that are related to language ideologies. Direct methods involve asking participants their beliefs about different languages, either through questionnaires and/or interviews. Another direct method in language research is folk linguistics with participants asked to rank dialects/languages based on their perception of the dialect/language spoken in different regions, which has been mainly associated with Preston (1996, 1999, 2002). The principal criticism of the direct method is that they are unable to capture peoples' real attitudes, and may instead be expressing ones which are socially acceptable, or ones that they believe the researcher wants to hear. Indirect methods have mainly been associated with Lambert (1965, 1960) and Giles (1970, 1971) and the use of the Matched Guise Test (MGT) or the Verbal Guise Test (VGT). Participants listen to pre-recorded speech and rank the language or dialect according to prescribed descriptors. ST methodologies examine the attitude of society, or rather the ideological position of a society,

and how this manifests itself in various institutional and non-institutional contexts, and speculates how this may contribute to how individuals conceptualise language.

Investigating the attitudes of people towards different languages, dialects, accents and varieties using MGT was first formulated by Lambert *et al.* (1965, 1960) in Montreal, Quebec, Canada. The test was designed to overcome the possibility that participants did not give a true measure of their attitudes if they were conducted through direct methods such as questionnaires or interviews. Lambert *et al.* argue that people have a tendency to give opinions which conform to the expectation of society and therefore this method aimed to measure a person's underlying attitudes. However, despite adaptations to MGT, the use of the test to determine attitudes has been criticised for several reasons. Although MGT was devised to observe underlying attitudes, participants may be responding to a language in a way that is considered socially acceptable rather than displaying their actual attitude (Garrett *et al.* 2003). Moreover researchers can become too 'sweeping' in their analysis when using indirect methods, attributing attitudes to a variable such as ethnicity or gender without careful scrutiny (Baker 1992, Hyrkstedt and Kalaja 1998). Therefore the results reproduce and reinforce existing attitudes to languages: a result which is obvious and validates the researcher's hypothesis. The conception of attitudes as cognitively projected is also undermined by Hyrkstedt and Kalaja (1998) who argue that attitudes are not mental constructs but discourse related and change over time. Gumperz (1977) also notes that attitudes can change during conversation, with choices of lexical and grammatical structures triggering attitudinal responses, and therefore psychological models which depend on MGT do not fully investigate the potential range of attitudes that individuals have or how those attitudes develop in different situations.

Societal treatment (ST) methodologies have their roots in Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (EVT) in examining how the relative strength of a language and ethnic group is reflected in society. Unlike EVT, ST methodologies tend to focus on a specific aspect of society and as Garrett (2010) notes is a wide field with several different aspects of society which can be examined. Historical documents and literature (Kramarae 1982, Rickford and Traugott 1985), letters in newspaper (Schmied 1991), advertisements (Cheshire and Moser 1994, Metcalf 1985), languages used in newspapers (Bhatt 2008, Bishop *et al.* 2005, Joppke 2009), Acts of Parliament and government reports, (Julios 2008, Spencer 1997, Verma *et al.* 1994) documents and charters by supra-national organisations (García 2009, Jørgensen 2012) and

policy documents in education (Mitchell 1991) are a few examples of documents which have been shown to indicate societal attitudes. ST approaches can also be valuable as background information when used in conjunction with other methods or as a preparatory study.

However though this approach does give an overview of societal attitudes and how this may impact on individual attitudes, it is worth remembering that documents emerge from the influence of a myriad of social actors which involves systems of compromise and political considerations. Although documents, which indicate societal attitudes, are not the principal means of data in this study it is important to consider that the attitudes and beliefs of participants do not exist in a vacuum, and that there are various external impacts on their attitudes.

The principal methods used in my study are direct, involving both semi-structured interviews and focus groups to elicit the participants' language attitudes and teaching beliefs.

Questionnaires, as a direct method, have also been used to assess attitudes, (Allard and Landry 1992, Baker 1992, Coupland and Bishop 2007, Garrett, Bishop and Coupland 2009) but in this study were not considered suitable given that I am examining a small cohort in a localised setting, and I would not be able to generate any significant statistical result from a such a small group. Many researchers believe that direct methods are a better way to measure attitudes than other ways, as this way information can be elicited 'straight from the horse's mouth'. Moreover Smith and Hogg, (2008: 343) highlighting studies which show attitude behaviour is strengthened in group norms, argue that attitudes are attached to group membership and are 'socially learned, changed and expressed and used to construct a group norm that specifies what attitudes are normative'. Therefore by using both interviews and focus groups I will be able to construct an understanding of how attitudes are formed individual and as part of a group. Studies which have investigated attitudes towards heritage languages in Britain using direct methods include Ghuman (1999), Li Wei (1994), Albrow (1997), Blackledge and Creese (2010), Mills (2001), Modood (1997), Hall (1995) Stopes-Roe and Cochrane (1990). The authors in these studies used interviews, though Li Wei, Blackledge and Creese, Albrow, Modood and Ghuman also coordinated this with ethnographic observational data. Studies of attitudes towards non-native varieties of English using direct methods include Jenkins (2007) and Chand (2009). Both authors conducted interviews with participants, in addition to other research methods, questionnaires (Jenkins 2007), and the representation of language ideologies in society and a variation of MGT (Chand 2009).

4.6 The research context

The next section will outline the location of the research and profiles of the participants in the study and also consider my own role in the research.

4.6.1 Research Setting

The location of the study is a further education college in Leicester, which has three main campuses in the city. The college provides a range of educational courses that includes GCSEs, A levels, vocational qualifications and ESOL. The ESOL department in the college where the study is located is one of the largest in the UK, and operates from an additional three bases, located around the city, in addition to various outreach centres that include community centres, local businesses and the probation service. There are five levels within ESOL, Entry 1, 2 and 3 and Level 1 and 2, and students progress through these levels and once passing the Level 2 qualifications are able to attend vocational courses. There are also mixed level courses and pre-entry level classes, as well as subject courses which run in conjunction with ESOL such as bakery, childcare, sewing, ICT and numeracy.

The ESOL department in the college is one of the largest, if not *the* largest in the UK. Although the department has a core group of teachers, some of whom have worked there for more than twenty years, the composition of teachers in the department constantly changes, with new teachers regularly recruited. At the time of the study there were just under 100 tutors working in the department either as contracted full time teachers, or as sessional ESOL teachers. Contracted teachers teach around 20-24 hours a week with the rest of the hours allocated to particular development tasks and responsibilities, while sessional teachers could teach anything from 2 hours a week to 30 hours week. This is dependent on the tutors own preferences, and the number of classes available after contracted teachers are assigned classes. There is an eclectic mix of teachers with different ethnicities or different cultural heritages. The ethnicity of around 40% of the teachers is South-Asian; India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. However within that group there are both first and second generation migrants, deriving their cultural heritage from different sources. Moreover within that group are teachers who have never visited South-Asia, and instead migrated to the UK, from Kenya and Uganda during the 1970s and 1980s, due to the Africanisation policies of the government in those countries.

The second largest group at around 30% is white heritage, British born teachers. A further 15% are from various countries in the Middle East, and the rest of the teachers are from different European countries and also a small percentage of teachers from the Caribbean and different African countries. Therefore it is noticeable that the ESOL department in Leicester College is very reflective of the multicultural city of Leicester, which is unlike other departments in the college which are predominantly composed of white-British born teachers.

There are different pathways for them to become ESOL teachers at the college. Many teachers come to the college with previous experience of teaching and have a qualification such as the Trinity certificate or the CELTA certificate. Alternatively they may have completed a part time Level 3 qualification: Preparing to Teach in Education and Training (PTET). Many of the ESOL tutors' first position in Leicester College was in administration and then became ESOL tutors after completing this qualification at the college. Irrespective of the pathway into teaching ESOL at the college, within five years of their appointment it is necessary for teachers to complete the level 6 award Professional Graduate Certificate in Education and Training (PGCE), which takes two years part time to complete, and the Subject Specialism Diploma in ESOL, Level 4/5 award, which takes one year to complete part time.

The PGCE is practice based which particularly focuses on the context of teaching within Further Education, and includes the theoretical underpinnings of teaching, as well as the role and responsibilities of the teacher, the external and internal influences on Further Education, and how this may impact on classroom practices, and issues of equality and diversity. It also includes practical support in the planning and designing lessons, and the assessment is through observed lessons, written assignments and reflective practice. The PGCE is for all tutors at the college, and also includes teachers who do not teach at the college, and includes teachers from other departments as diverse as hairdressing and engineering. The Level 4/5 diploma subject specialism in ESOL only includes ESOL tutors, though there may again be external teachers not working at the college participating in the course. The course again comprises teaching practice and material development, but also includes instruction on language features such as sentence structure, phonetics and language change. It also includes approaches to teaching different skills such as reading and writing and the theories behind these approaches. Assessment is through four observed lessons, with a portfolio of lesson plans and reflections, a portfolio of ten materials for classroom use, a presentation on

language change and a 2,000 word reflective journal of the course. The course takes an approach to language centred on a Standard Language ideology. There is some moderate acknowledgement of other varieties of English such as AmE and Australian English, but non-native Englishes are presented as deficient varieties. Even though there are opportunities in the module on language change to address this, language change is considered only in terms of native varieties of English. All of the participants in this study have completed the PGCE and the level 4/5 Diploma subject specialism in ESOL.

The ESOL curriculum is linked to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR), with Level 2 classified as a proficient user C1 the equivalent of IELTS test score of 7-8 and Cambridge English Advanced. The ESOL curriculum from Entry 1 – Level 2 is based on increasingly complex grammar structures as well as functional aspects of language. Although *Skills for Life* developed courses and materials for each level of ESOL, they are not necessarily used by the teachers who are required to organise their own schemes of work and materials dependent on the needs of each class. This is partly because the classes do not have the same number of hours in a week: classes could be 2 hours a week or 15 hours a week or a different number of hours a week depending on the individual student's needs. The students take three separate ESOL City and Guilds exams in reading, writing and speaking and listening. The exams are administered and internally assessed by teachers, which are then moderated internally by contracted teachers (teachers are either employed on full time permanent contracts or sessional, meaning they only need attend the classes when they have a class), and then City and Guilds externally moderates the exams. It is difficult to generalise about the nationalities or heritage cultures of the student population as generally the ESOL department includes students from many different European, African, Asian and Middle Eastern countries. However, presently the largest national groups that attend the college are from central Europe: Poland, the Baltic States, Czech Republic, Slovakia; South-Asia: Pakistan, India and Bangladesh; Somalia, Iraq and 'Kurdistan'. The reasons for these particular national groups attending ESOL classes in Leicester can perhaps be explained by different motivations for migration. Those from central Europe seek work in the local area, those from the Indian sub-continent have friends and relative living in Leicester and those from Somalia and Iraq have refugee status.

In the last three years the government has made unemployment benefit contingent on attending English language classes. These DWP (Department of Work and Pensions)

students may be placed in regular classes, or there might be classes which are entirely composed of DWP students. A further recent change has been the requirement for students to take an exam every 11 weeks in order for the college to gain funding for individual students. This has meant the reorganisation into three separate classes; speaking & listening, reading and writing. The ESOL department operates a roll-on roll-off system, where students can join the class at any point during the term. I have worked in the college for the past 7 years and find that it is a very stressful and demanding environment, with constant changes to classes, exams and administrative processes. This was evident when an interview with a participant was completed and the digital recorder was switched off: the conversation would turn to our shared experience of management decision making, work pressure and administration. These working practices impact, to a certain extent, on the participants' beliefs about their teaching practices and it is to the participants that I will now turn.

4.6.2 Participants

There was a three stage process in the study which involved a semi-structured interview with participants which lasted an average of one hour, followed by a focus group discussion with the participants, and a final interview with some of the participants, and/or follow up questions through email. A 'rolling' process of interviews and focus groups was adopted in this study (Stewart, Shamdasani and Rook 2007) whereby the majority of interviews were conducted, followed by two focus groups, then further interviews and two further focus groups. At the same time transcription and brief analysis of the data was conducted in an on-going process. The principal reason for proceeding with the focus groups before the interviews had been completed was attributable to finding time when the majority of participants would be available given that their teaching timetables differed and they were also located in four different campuses around the city. For several reasons two initial interviews were conducted and fully transcribed and analysed before embarking on the rest of the interviews. Firstly it was necessary to identify the salient themes so that these could be focused on in subsequent interviews. I wanted to try asking questions phrased in different ways and also use different terminology to see which elicited better responses. Secondly I wished to check the contents of the participant information sheet, to see if I had provided sufficient information and also whether some of the terms were appropriate. Thirdly I also wanted to check my own manner and style in the interview. A few weeks after these initial

interviews I asked the two participants for feedback on their own perception of the interview. They both considered that the interview was fine and conducted in an appropriate manner, and none of the questions were deemed uncomfortable. My own personal reflection listening back to the interviews was that I was on occasion too quick to intervene when the participant was speaking or did not give the participant enough thinking time to respond to questions. These were two things which I took forward to the remaining interviews.

The sampling procedure for the interviews was purposeful and selective (Seidman 2006, Snape and Spencer 2003) and as I had been working within the research site for a number of years I was familiar with potential research participants. The four criteria for selecting participants were being resident in Leicester, being bilingual or multilingual based on their own self-ascription, being an ESOL tutor and being of South-Asian cultural heritage. There are several teachers at the college who are of South-Asian descent but do not speak a second language, and likewise there are several teachers who are multilingual but are not of South-Asian descent, so I had to inquire with the participants prior to inviting them to participate. Potential interviewees were approached and given information about the research and were then contacted a week later to arrange a suitable time and place for the interview. A total of 15 interviews were conducted between February 2012 and January 2013 at the participants' place of work. One participant, because of her Iranian descent, did not match the criteria set out in the study, and so the data from the interview was excluded from the analysis.

The number of languages the participants' spoke was different; some spoke only one other language aside from English, while others spoke three or four other languages, with one participant speaking a total of seven languages. Several different languages were spoken by the participants that included Indic languages such as Gujarati, Hindi, Punjabi, Bengali and Assamese, African languages such as Chichewa and Swahili, and also Arabic. Fourteen of the participants were female and one participant was male. This was partly due to the ESOL department being predominantly staffed by female teachers and the availability and suitability of male staff members. The participants had different migratory histories with five born in the UK, five who were born in and grew up in an African country, three in India, one in Pakistan and one in Iran. They all have different levels of contact with their heritage culture in terms of religion, visiting family members living abroad and accessing media in languages other than English. There was a broad age range of participants, the youngest being 28 and the eldest being 64.

The participants were not asked to complete a personal information sheet detailing their background information in terms of marriage, children, age etc. Instead, this information was elicited during the course of the interviews. I felt that the participants may not wish to divulge certain personal information because of my position as a work colleague, and if they had been presented with a personal information sheet asking for details about themselves it might have created problems in the interview, or they may have decided to withdraw. Most participants were happy to divulge personal information of this nature, while some were more guarded regarding their religion or marital status for their own reasons.

The following table shows the full details of the participants. The first 15 participants are numbered 1-15. The number denotes both the chronological order that they were interviewed and also the interview number in the data analysis. The remaining 5 participants only participated in the focus groups, and therefore there are fewer personal details for them. This table is followed by a further table which shows how the participants were organised into focus groups. Again the number denotes the chronological order and also the focus group number in the data analysis.

Ashna. 1	Arti. 2	Nalini. 3	Nayyer. 4	Samita. 5	Mahima. 6
Female	Female	Female	Female	Female	Female
Born in Malawi	Born in Leicester	Born in Kenya	Born in Iran	Born in UK	Born in Kenya
Arrived in England aged 14	Parents arrived from India 1961	Arrived in England 1985 aged 21	Arrived in England aged 18,	Parents from Malawi/Kenya	Arrived England 1970
Age 49	Age 46	Age 48	Age 30ish	Age 28	Aged 56
Separated	Not married	Married	Married to an English speaker	Married	Divorced
Two children	No children	2 children	No children	Pregnant	2 children
5 languages Gujarati, Hindi, Urdu, English Chichewa	2 languages Punjabi English	6 languages Hindi, Gujarati, Urdu, English, Swahili, Punjabi	2/3 English Arabic, Persian	4 languages English Urdu Arabic Gujarati	4 languages English Urdu Arabic Gujarati
Family and friends in India	Few family in India	No family in India, friends	Sister moved back to Iran	No family in India	No family in India
Visits India regularly every 2/3 years	Does not visit India – last visit aged 13	Visits India every year for religious purposes	Rarely visits Iran	Visited Malawi 3 times, India 1	Never visited India
Visits Malawi		Visits Kenya			Only visited Kenya once
Watches Indian Media	Occasionally watches Indian media	Watches Bollywood films	Occasionally watches movies in Farsi on the Internet	Watches some Indian movies	Watches half English half Indian movies
		Educated in English			Educated in English
Semi-Religious	Not religious	Religious	Not religious	Religious education	Didn't mention religion

Firaki. 7	Valini. 8	Harshi. 9	Jivin. 10	Jashith. 11	Maheshi.12
Female	Female	Female	Female	Female	Female
Born in Pakistan	Born in UK	Born in UK	Born in India	Born in UK	Born in India/Assam
Arrived in England Aged 10			Arrived in UK aged 22		Arrived in UK aged 20
Aged about 57ish	Aged 44	Aged 41	Aged 60	Aged 40ish	Aged 58
Married	Not married	Married	Married	Not mentioned	Married
1 child 2 grandchildren	No children	1 child	2 children	No children	3 children
3 languages English Gujarati, Urdu	4 languages English Gujarati Punjabi Hindi	2 languages English and Bengali	4 languages English Hindi Punjabi Urdu understands Gujarati	3 languages Hindi Gujarati English	4 Languages English, Bengali, Assamese Less proficient Punjabi, Urdu Hindi
Family in Canada, South Africa	Some family in India	Husbands family in Bangladesh	Parents still In India	Some family still in India	Family in India
Visits Canada occasionally South Africa	Visits India every 4 years	Visits Bangladesh every two years	Visits India every two years	Hasn't visited India for 20 years	visited India every year until 2006
Media not mentioned		Media not mentioned	Occasionally watches Hindi films	Occasionally watches Hindi films	Not mentioned
Religion not mentioned extensively	Not particularly religious	Not very religious	Religious	Not very religious	Religious
Urdu medium education until 10		English medium Bengali Sunday school	English medium education	Learned Gujarati and Hindi in Saturday classes	English medium education

Naagesh. 13	Saheli. 14	Tanika. 15	Vasuki	Saachi	Tamba	Saloni	Parul
Male	Female	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	female
Born in Kenya	Born in Tanzania	Born in Rhodesia	Born in UK	Born in India	Born in Liberia		
Arrived in UK aged 18, after 8 years in India	Arrived in UK aged 20	Arrived in UK aged 18					
Aged 64ish	48 years	53 years	Aged 45ish	Aged 62	Age 40-50	Aged50	Aged 45
married	Not mentioned		Married	Divorced			Married
2 children, 2 grandchildren	2 children	2 children	Children	Children			
7 languages English, Hindi, Swahili, Gujarati, Punjabi, Urdu Sanskrit	5 Language English, Gujarati, Qatchi, Swahili, Hindi	4 languages English, Gujarati, Hindi, Portuense	Minimal use of Gujarati, English	Hindi, English	English	Guajarati, English	Guajarati, English
One uncle in India	Family in Tanzania						
Often visits India every 5 years	Often visits	Has not returned to Rhodesia					
Not mentioned	Not mentioned	Not mentioned					
Religious	Not mentioned	Religious					
English medium until age 10 then Gujarati medium	English medium education	English medium education					

Focus group composition

Focus group 1	Focus group 2	Focus group 3	Focus group 4
Ashna	Nalini	Maheshi	Mahima
Arti	Jashith	Saheli	Harshi
Vasuki	Saachi	Tanika	
	Parul	Tamba	
		Saloni	

The sampling for the focus groups proved to be slightly more *ad hoc*, as there were several logistical problems involved in organising them. Firstly, the ESOL department of the college has four main bases around the city, and therefore for the convenience of the participants the focus groups had to be organised at the campus where the participants were teaching on that day. Secondly, finding when the participants had the same time free and not teaching proved to be difficult. The one time when all participants had free time was Wednesday afternoons, due to this being the time for curriculum area meetings which occurred monthly. However other meetings and training were organised at this time, which some participants were required to attend. Thirdly, teachers also stressed how busy they were and some had a certain reluctance to give up their time that could be used for completing paperwork and marking students' work. Teachers who had participated in the interviews, in addition to other teachers who matched the profile of the study, were contacted via email with a specified date and time for the focus group and a request for a reply indicating whether they would be available and willing to participate. However some of those contacted did not respond, despite follow-up emails and reminder emails the day before, making it difficult to ascertain the exact number of teachers who would come to the focus group. Moreover just because a teacher did not respond to the email did not mean that they would not turn up, likewise though a teacher had stipulated that they would be able to attend, they may have been called upon to go to a meeting or other related work matter at short notice. Consequently five additional participants were included in the focus groups who had not been interviewed, three of whom were recruited immediately prior to the focus group convening, bringing the total number of participants in the study to twenty. Four focus groups were organised between December 2012 and March 2013, with the number of participants in each focus group ranging from two to five.

4.6.3 Role of the researcher

It is important to consider my role in the interviews and my relationship with the participants. Mann (2011) observes that in some studies there is limited explanation of whether there is a pre-existing relationship between the interviewer and interviewee. Garton and Coupland (2010) note that there are several different types of relationships which might exist between the interviewer and the interviewee that will have implications for the data that is produced during the interview process. There might be no previous relationship between interviewer and interviewee, or the relationship might have developed during the fieldwork, or they could be peer professionals or friends and family members. Even this is not an exhaustive list and there might be different clines of relationships within these four different categories. Therefore rather than the interview solely being about the interviewee, the role of the interviewer has to be taken into account, who have their own conscious and unconscious motivations and bias.

Within my own research the issue of the relationship between me as the interviewer and the interviewee is particularly pertinent. Though the participants are all work colleagues, I have different types of relationships with all of them. Some of the participants I have worked with relatively closely over the past 5 years, having shared courses with them, while others work within the same department as me and I see them on regular basis. However others, who work in other departments, I do not know particularly well, aside from occasional conversations at meetings and training, while others are complete strangers who I have rarely spoken to before. The different types of relationship that I have with participants will affect the nature of the interview. Though there is little that can be done to reduce the interviewer's influence on the nature of the interview, it is necessary to be aware and reflect upon how this impacts on the data that has been produced.

In this respect I would consider myself an 'insider' as I work within the same educational context as the participants and share a 'community of practice' (Wenger 1998, 2002). However in another respect I am also an 'outsider', not sharing the same cultural heritage of participants, or at least only part of their cultural heritage, and I am also a different ethnicity from the participants. Webster (1996), using a team of market researchers who differed in terms of gender and ethnicity, found that the ethnicity of the participants interacted strongly

with the interviewer when the questions related to cultural matters and produced higher response rates. However these were structured survey interviews between strangers, and ethnicity might be less important within the context of semi-structured interview. Moreover this assertion by Webster might be more specific to distinctions between Anglos and Hispanics in America where the study was conducted, which has its own socio-historical context and might not be the same with other minority groups. Fern (2001) argues, in relation to focus groups, that conducting focus groups with minorities is a formidable task for white moderators. While this may be true, especially when the minority group are oppressed in some way, in many respects I am a minority within this study. Nevertheless I have to consider my own cultural identity and ethnicity in relation to the participants. Another point worth mentioning is that the participants were either born in Leicester or have lived in Leicester since they were young adults, whereas I have only relatively recently become a resident of Leicester.

The following section will examine the two principal means of data collection used in this study and the theoretical basis of the use of these methodologies.

4.7 Data collection process

4.7.1 Interviews

It is often noted that we now live in an ‘interview society’ (Atkinson and Silverman 1997), where interviewing is part of the fabric of modern life. Whether it is minor celebrities being interviewed on the television, answering a poll in a local supermarket or being required to complete a survey about your chosen educational institution, interviews are increasingly becoming naturally occurring occasions (Holstein and Gubrium 1995). This has changed the perspective of interviews to the extent that Labov’s (1978) argument of an increased level of formality in interviews, and how certain questions can decrease formality, may no longer be as relevant as it once was as people have become used to interviews and discussing issues related to the self in depth. There are several different approaches to interviewing. While phenomenologist interviews are interested in how human subjects experience life, hermeneutical interviews are interested in the interpretation of meaning. Other forms of interviews are discourse related and focus on how language and discourse practice is

constructed in the social world, while biographical interviews which give free reign to interviewees in their interpretation of their cultural and social worlds (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, Legard, Keegan and Ward 2003, Seidman 2006). However it is unlikely that interviews can be so neatly divided, and it is more than likely that they include elements from different types of interviews. Seidman (2006) argues that for phenomenological interviewing a series of three separate interviews are required, the first interview enables the context of the participant's past history to be explored, the second to reconstruct details of their experience and the third to reflect on what has been said in the previous interviews. He also notes that the three interview process help overcome problems of an interviewer not sharing the same ethnicity as the interviewee.

Kvale and Brinkman (2009) suggest two metaphors for the elicitation of knowledge from participants. In the traditional view, and related to the positivist pursuit for existing truths, the interviewer is a 'miner' digging for information. This knowledge is considered precious metal buried within the participants, waiting to be uncovered uncontaminated by the interviewer. However if it is accepted that the meaning derived from the participant's knowledge has several different interpretations, and may be different on different occasions, then it is not possible to uncover this uncontaminated precious metal. An alternative metaphor, which is more closely associated with social constructionism and post-structuralism, sees the interviewer as a traveller on a journey of experience with the respondent, wandering through the landscape and providing an environment conducive to the production of a range of narrative responses. In this conception the meaning unfolds through the interviewer's interpretation of narratives that are produced from the knowledge divulged by the participants. While the miner pursues existing truths, the traveller is more concerned with the interpretation and negotiation of meaning that derives from the journey.

Another metaphor which is used to describe a traditional view of interviews, is referred to by Holstein and Gubrium (1995) as the 'vessel of answers', and envisages the interviewee as a passive respondent speaking out the knowledge that they have inside them. However a perspective which visualise the interview process as active, views 'the respondents as not only holding facts and details of experience, but in the very process of offering them up, constructively adds to them, takes away from them, and transforms them into artefacts of the occasion' (Holstein and Gubrium 2004: 145). Therefore respondents, to a certain degree, choose the knowledge which they wish to divulge, and are also affected by memory

recollection, producing familiar cultural narratives which can become distorted or have been collectively reconstructed (Edwards 2006, Miller and Glassner 2011).

Although some authors would suggest that interviews are meaningless beyond the context of the interview, and therefore say little about the 'social world', Miller and Glassner (2011: 126) argue that they can 'provide access to the meanings people attribute to their experience and social worlds'. Moreover as both Fontana and Frey (2005) and Holstein and Gubrium (1995) argue, interviews are 'historically and contextually bound'. The knowledge expressed by the respondents may be different in other circumstances: the researcher, location and time of the interview all have a bearing on the meaning that can be derived from the respondents (Mann 2011, Talmy 2011). Pavlenko (2007: 5) notes that as well as taking into account the context, both local and global, it is also important to consider the interactional context in terms of structure, voice and pronominal choice, without which this 'may result in a laundry list of observations, factors or categories illustrated by quotes from participants that misses the links between the categories, essentialises particular descriptions, and fails to describe the larger picture of where they may fit.'

Both Talmy (2011) and Mann (2011) also argue that many researchers do not give due consideration to the role of the researcher. In analysing the data some researchers tend to focus exclusively on what the interviewee has said rather than considering how the interviewer and interviewee co-construct talk by neglecting prior turns in talk and 'instead, selected 'voices' are arranged in what might be termed a journalistic tableau' (Mann 2011: 6). Talmy (2011) shows in two examples how the meaning of the term FOB (fresh off the boat), and its relationship to the participants' identity as ESL students, was not only co-constructed between him and his interviewees, but also prompted by the interview itself and actively performed as part of their identity. In an active interview it is important to understand not only the 'what' – the content of knowledge produced, but also the 'how' – the narrative procedures of knowledge production (Holstein and Gubrium 2004). Furthermore the active interviewer does not dictate an interpretive framework but instead provides an environment which encourages respondents to develop topics (Holstein and Gubrium 2004). The interviewer also encourages the interviewee to switch positions, for example as a wife, mother, and employee, providing a measure of narrative guidance. The participants in my study were given enough freedom within the interview to express their views using open

ended questions. This allowed participants to explore the topic of discussion, empowering the interviewee to respond to questions in the way they wanted (Scheurich 1997).

There were several aims of the semi-structured interviews: to provide a background to the participants' life stories, to explore their attitudes towards language and particularly heritage languages in the UK, to provide information on participants' identity positioning in terms of ethnicity and language, and also to gain an insight into the influence this has on their teaching practice. All the interviews were conducted at a time and place which was convenient for the participants: this was usually where they were teaching on that particular day and between classes. The interviews were between 40 minutes and one hour fifteen minutes in length, though one particular interview was two hours. The interviews were semi-structured and based around three main topic areas: participants' background, participants' views about language and teaching. The questions continually refined and adapted to suit the participant in successive interviews using an interview guide (Appendix 1).

The choice of using semi-structured interviews for this study, rather than structured interviews, was to allow me to respond to the interviewee as topics developed during the course of the interview (Dörnyei 2007). The use of semi-structured interviews can be justified on the basis that the participants in the study have a broad range of experience in terms of migration and language and therefore it was important to have flexibility within the interview process. I conducted a final interview with three of the participants after the focus group that allowed for collaborative reflection from the first interview and a clarification of comments that were made in both the interview and the focus group. The other participants who had been involved in the study were given the opportunity to reflect through email. I emailed all the participants asking if they would like a copy of the transcript from the interview and focus group that they had contributed to and, if they did, these were emailed to them with the request that if they had any thoughts, comments or clarifications it would be appreciated if they could email me. I followed this up with further emails to participants to clarify their meaning of particular details of what they had said in the interview.

4.7.2 Focus groups

The other main method used in this study was focus groups. These have been a feature of market research for decades, and have subsequently become a staple of research in social sciences. It has been observed that focus groups are particularly useful for exploring beliefs, attitudes, experiences and perspectives of different issues, and for understanding how these operate in social networks (Kitzinger and Barbour 1999). There are several advantages to using focus groups when conducting research which are relevant to this study which are outlined by Stewart, Shamdasani and Rook (2007: 42-43) and Edley and Litosseliti (2010: 170-172). Focus groups are able to produce a large quantity of data quickly and are also flexible. Also the dynamics of focus groups may produce data which would not emerge in individual interviews and are also able to provide different perspectives on the same topic. Mitchell (1999) recommends combining interviews and focus groups because some aspects of people's experience is excluded from group discussion. This approach was particularly beneficial in her study as her participants were young and subject to the social hierarchy in the school, which meant that within the group discussion students who were low in the social hierarchy were passive and withdrawn, while 'opening up' in the individual interviews to discuss bullying and their difficult home life. However Stewart, Shamdasani and Rook (2007: 42-43) and Edley and Litosseliti (2010: 170-172) also note a number of disadvantages or limitations to using focus groups. A small number of participants limit the ability to generalise to the wider population, and those who are willing to participate may be more compliant and not representative of the population. Furthermore responses by individuals are not independent, and may be influenced by a dominant participant. Moreover the freer nature that can emerge in a focus group makes it difficult to summarise and interpret the results.

Just as every interview is in some way unique, so too are focus groups, which can be affected by different factors. Stewart *et al.* (2007) and Fern (2001) note that the physical characteristics of an individual can affect a focus group, with the size, height, weight and physical attractiveness affecting how a person is perceived by other members of the group and how they react to each other. Personality, gender, ethnicity, class and work seniority are just a few of the factors which contribute to the interactions between participants and the dynamics of the group (Morgan 1998). The focus group members in my study were all members of minority ethnic communities but the key element which divided them was

whether they were born in the UK, or whether they had migrated to the UK later with their family.

Another element which is important and contributes to the homogeneity of the group is whether the group members know each other or whether they are strangers (Morgan 1998). Within social sciences Kitzinger and Barbour (1999) note that there is a preference for using pre-existing groups which are more likely to be homogeneous. Therefore it would be less necessary for the moderator to build rapport between group members in the early stages of the group. However having group members who are known to each other has its own drawbacks because it may limit what a person is willing to say because they will continue to see other group members on a daily basis, while strangers would not. Certain group members may be unwilling to talk about a particular subject, power dynamics related to seniority might lead to acquiescence by certain group members, or friends may 'pair up' and start private conversations (Morgan 1998). The nature of this study meant that group members were work colleagues and known to each other with different degrees of acquaintance with each other. For this reason some of the difficulties which are produced by using participants who are known to each were off-set by using smaller groups than is usually recommended. Although many authors suggest that the ideal number of participants for one focus group is between 6-10 members, this is derived from its utilization in market research (Kitzinger and Barbour 1999, Morgan 1997), and a focus group of this size would have been too unwieldy for the topic being discussed in this study. Therefore a focus group comprising 3-5 members was considered more beneficial in terms of reaching a consensus, maintaining focus, giving more opportunity for group members to speak and limiting the extent that confidentiality would affect the contributions that group members made. Although I intended to have four participants in focus group 4 (p.94), two participants were unable to attend, meaning there were just two participants. In this focus group it was necessary for me to take a more active role than the previous three groups in order to facilitate more discussion of certain issues. The topics of the focus groups also steered away from anything that was personal, which was restricted to the individual interviews.

Puchta and Potter (2004) provide a useful guide for moderators in the conduct of focus groups, suggesting that it is important to stress at the beginning that there are no right or wrong answers. The moderator should also stay neutral and monitor carefully for breakdowns in communication or when the group drift away from the topic. It is important to

be aware of when some individuals are uninvolved or to intervene when it is necessary to explore areas in more detail (Puchta and Potter 2004). Puchta and Potter (2004), Stewart *et al.* (2007), Morgan (1998) and Krueger and Casey (2009) agree that it is important to consider the order of questions, and that they should move from general to more specific and by the relative importance of the topic to be discussed. However as previously mentioned, due to the teachers' work commitments, I chose not to use warm up questions, and instead the participants chatted while eating the lunch that was provided for them.

For the focus groups conducted in this research, I constructed three discussion cards around the areas of language, error correction, varieties of English, materials, culture in the classroom, functional English, testing and language targets (Appendix 2). They were not direct questions but were what could be considered contentious quotes, assembled from newspaper articles (Jenkins 2004, Meddings 2004a, 2004b) and a short journal article (Farrell and Martin 2009). Fern (2001) suggests, moderators may be unnecessary if written instructions are given to the participants. Using the prompt cards allowed me as a moderator the opportunity to step back from the discussion, giving me greater opportunity to observe the participants. I gave one prompt card to each participant, which they discussed for around 15 minutes, meaning that the total time for each focus group was around 45 minutes. The small size of the focus group allowed the time to be contained, which was beneficial for encouraging participation. The small size of the focus groups also allowed all the participants to contribute.

4.8 Ethical considerations

The participants were provided with an information sheet detailing the purpose of the research and the expected duration of the process, and were given the opportunity to ask any questions regarding the research. Though it was also mentioned in the information sheet that they could choose to withdraw from the research project following the interview and focus group discussion, this was reiterated prior to the interview. I also told participants that if there were any issues which they did not wish to discuss or questions that they did not wish to answer then they did not have to. I did this to reassure the participants of their ability to maintain control over the information they wanted to divulge. As it turned out, and as I had anticipated, this issue did not arise. After the interview the participants were also asked if

they had any concerns about the contents of their interview. They were also informed that they would have the opportunity to discuss the contents of the interview either face to face, or through email, and would be given a copy of the transcript of their interview and the focus group that they had participated in.

The two most important ethical issues to be considered in this study were those of confidentiality and anonymity. I was aware that the study was focused in a specific location and with a specific group of people who might be able to be identified though some aspects of what was revealed during the interview process. Confidentiality was ensured by not using any detail when analysing the data which might lead to the identification of an individual, and also by assuring the participants that any information that was divulged would not be revealed except for the express purpose of this research project. To ensure anonymity all names have been replaced with pseudonyms and personal details adapted to ensure non-identification. In addition I assured anonymity for participation in the research. However, this became increasingly difficult as I conducted the interviews in the participants' place of work, and some participants revealed their participation to each other.

The following two chapters will give a detailed analysis of the data collected from the interviews and focus groups.

Chapter 5

Data Analysis:

Personal Experience and Linguistic Background

5.1 Introduction

This first chapter of data analysis focuses on the participants' background in relation to language, identity and culture and also the dominant theme of prejudice, from both work colleagues and students. The purpose of this chapter is to understand how the participants' language attitudes have developed, and in chapter 6 I will discuss their language attitudes and the effect of these on their teaching practices. The data I have used in this chapter and the following chapter comes from both the interviews and focus groups. There are two reasons why I have used the two data sets together rather than separating the chapters according to data collection processes. Firstly the themes that were discussed in the interviews and focus groups were similar in terms of language attitudes and teaching practices. Also certain aspects of the participants' cultural and linguistic identities that were focused on during the interviews were also evident in the focus groups. Secondly, and as a consequence of this, I was able to compare the contributions by the participants across the two data sets. This has allowed me to observe whether the participants' attitudes were different in different situational contexts and assess the strength of an individual's attitude and the extent to which those attitudes change. As has already been noted, there is a tendency in group situations for normalising attitudes to be dominant, and therefore participants with minority views may be less vocal. The interviews allow those minority views to be heard more fully.

Firstly in this chapter, I discuss the analytical framework that I used to manage both sets of data and how I integrated them together. Secondly I discuss how the participants view their language identity in relation to English and the other languages they use, and how they define a native speaker and position themselves in relation to this. I then examine how the participants relate to different aspects of Asian, British and English culture. The final section outlines how the participants feel about the teaching environment in relation to prejudice they experience from different people within the college.

5.2 Analytical framework

The analytical framework I have used in this study is holistic, utilizing elements from content analysis (Bazeley 2013, Franzosi 2004, Krippendorff 2013), discourse analysis (Gee 1999, Gill 2000, Johnstone 2002, Potter 2004, Tannen 2007), conversation analysis (Clayman and Gill 2004, Heritage 2004, Peräkylä 2007) and constructionist perspectives of grounded theory (Charmaz 2001, 2006, 2008, 2011). In many respects it is necessary for qualitative researchers to use different frameworks to analyse their data in order to understand the potential contained in the data and, as Silverman (2006: 237) notes, ‘thoughtful researchers will often want to use a combination of methods’. For example Bryman (2004) notes that many researchers only use elements of grounded theory in their research project rather than ‘sticking religiously’ to the tenets of the approach. There are also many similarities between different qualitative analytical approaches, with several core elements such as being exploratory in nature, a focus on communication, and the aim to gain a greater understanding of the social world by examining both the explicit meaning and the underlying meaning. Indeed Krippendorff (2013) refers to content analysis as a ‘contemporary grounded method’, and also Discourse Analysis (DA) and Conversation Analysis (CA) are included under the umbrella of content analysis by some authors (Krippendorff 2013). Both Franzoi (2004) and Krippendorff (2013) note that content analysis has evolved into a repertoire of methods of research and is also increasingly being used in various disciplines. Krippendorff asserts that a framework to use content analysis requires a text, research questions and a context to enable the researcher to make inferences and validate evidence ‘in principle’. Texts do not have a single meaning in themselves, but are open to different interpretations by different people, with the specific meaning dependant on the interests of the researcher and built around a context to situate the data. Krippendorff (2013) argues that a careful reading of the text narrows the range of possible inferences, and ‘grounds’ content analysis empirically to enable the researcher to discover trends, patterns and differences, and validate findings.

There are many similarities between CA and DA and, as Silverman (2006) notes, the differences between them are becoming increasingly narrow. For example researchers from both fields see meaning as constructively achieved between interlocutors in discourse rather than as something which is cognitively activated. Although early DA studies used interviews as a research tool, as Potter (2004) notes, increasingly researchers are moving away from

interviews and instead using naturally occurring talk. Potter argues that interviews are contrived situations and it is difficult to extrapolate findings to other settings: a position which CA researchers also adhere to. However it is questionable how 'natural' naturally occurring talk is when the participants have full knowledge that their discourse is being recorded, and without a specific focus is more of a 'fishing' exercise. What is sometimes lacking in DA is reference to all aspects of speech, and a tendency to overlook linguistic features such as particles and pauses, asserting that they have little semantic meaning (Peräkylä 2007, Silverman 2006). Likewise, CA is often criticized for paying little attention to the cultural and political context in which the conversation takes place. By providing a narrow description of the data and considering the cultural and political context, which CA often neglects, I have attempted to utilize different aspects of CA and DA to gain a greater understanding of the data. For Gee (1999) the transcript is part of the analysis, with the researcher deciding what to include and what is less relevant, with a narrow as opposed to a broad transcription creating a more trustworthy analysis, though this is dependent on the research objective.

I organised the interviews and focus groups separately in terms of coding the data. After the interviews and focus groups were broadly transcribed, I read through a printed copy of the transcripts and used open coding to get a sense of the different themes in the data and gain a familiarity with the data (Bazeley 2013, Charmaz 2008). I then examined the transcript more carefully and used focused coding, with no a priori codes, to avoid 'forcing' the data as Glaser (1998) argues many researchers tend to do. As I coded the data I also wrote memos attached to different parts of the data and created links between the different sections. After all the data had been coded I reviewed and refined the codes, removing, re-coding and merging codes (Bazeley 2013). After this was completed I read through the coded data more carefully and wrote down my own notes and thoughts about the different sections. Then I linked together what I felt were the most interesting parts of the data, and 'raised' the most important codes to themes and organised the data into a hierarchical structure (Bazeley 2013). Finally I looked through the data, identified areas which were related to each other and removed sections where there was repetition. The same procedure was used to code the transcripts of the focus groups.

The following four main themes were discussed in the interviews which derived from the topics chosen by myself for the interviews and the prompt material for the focus groups.

- Ethnicity, language and identity
- Prejudice
- Language attitudes
- Teachers' beliefs about their classroom practices

After I completed coding the two data sets I read through them and identified where there were connections between what was said in the interviews and the focus groups. I then thematically reorganised the two data sets and reorganised the chapter headings accordingly. Having decided on the sections of the data that I wanted to focus on, I listened to these sections of the recording again and transcribed the data more narrowly, including prosodic features, to understand more clearly how the participants made meaning while discussing certain topics.

In this research project, as well as taking into account how the social context influenced the data I collected, I also consider the participants' intention for divulging certain information; what they said, how they said it, and to what extent the studied experience is embedded in larger and often hidden positions, networks, situations, and relationships (Oktay 2012). I also take into account the wider context and the researcher's position integrating relativity and reflexivity into the analysis of the data (Gibson 2007, Oktay 2012). There has been recent criticism of the way in which some researchers have analysed data from interviews and not taken into account the contextual background of the relationship between the interviewer and interviewee, or the contributions that the interviewer makes during the interview process. Mann (2011) observes that the examination of the data by many researchers focuses primarily on the interviewee, while limiting the contributions made by the interviewer and therefore depriving the reader of a full understanding of the interaction development, a point also noted by Pavlenko (2007). In presenting my data I have included my contributions, where relevant, to better understand how this influenced what my participants said.

The extracts in the following two chapters come from both the interviews and the focus groups. If the extract is from an interview this is indicated with (Interview.1), the number indicating the participant number which can be found on pp.92-94. If it is from the focus group I use (Focus Group.1), which includes the number of the focus group detailed on p.95. The transcription conventions I used can be found on page ix. The conventions were adapted from Potter (1999) Clayman and Gill (2004) and the VOICE corpus (2013)

5.3 Language, ethnicity, and identity

During the interviews all the participants discuss the different languages that they speak and, as mentioned previously, there are a range of different languages (see participant profiles pp. 92-95). All the participants assert that English is their strongest or primary language and the one that they mainly use both inside and outside the home environment, with a few exceptions. Nalini, for example, stresses that within the home environment she predominantly speaks Gujarati with her husband and her two children, but whether her children speak English with each other or Gujarati was not discussed. Naagesh reported speaking a mixture of Gujarati and English with his children within the home environment. The participants recounted that the other languages they spoke have varying degrees of usage; with relatives, people in the community, in certain shops, and when they visit India or East Africa. The use of languages other than English would also involve code-switching between two or more languages. Three participants also mention that their other languages had proved useful at work: for example to assist students when they come to college for an initial assessment, though these participants are also quick to point out that within the classroom they restrict the use of other languages. Twelve of the participants also note a limitation in their use of some of their languages, with some of these languages only known to the participants orally, and they also mention a restrictive use of the language in terms of vocabulary.

5.3.1 Mother tongue or first language?

The participants present different viewpoints about their own language use, and how they position themselves in terms of their different languages or are positioned by others in relation to their language. This attitude towards their own languages, and how they relate to them, has a direct influence on their opinions about other languages in terms of language maintenance and English language varieties. Four of the participants, who are first generation migrants, state a certain sense of confusion about their language identity: what is their first language, what is their mother tongue, is there a distinction between the two, and is the language they speak a dialect, or informal?

In extract 1 Mahima states that she was offended when someone did not recognise her language and therefore her ethnicity, so the negotiation of identity that is done through language had to be achieved more explicitly because she was not recognised as belonging to the same ethno-linguistic group. Although she is offended in one situation, she later laughs about it in another. In the first situation it appears that it was the manner in which Mahima was told that her language was not the same as another lady's, which threatened her identity as a Punjabi speaker in ll.8-11, whereas in the second situation there is a negotiation of identity through code-switching in ll.26-30.

Extract 1 (Interview.6)

1. Mahima: pun[jabi
2. I: [punjabi:::
3. Mahima: is my first language
4. I: is your first language
5. Mahima: so I am say about le::vel two²:::
6. I: you're probably more level two more than level two aren't you if it's
7. your mother tongue no
8. Mahima: s:: oh it is my mother tongue that that's another issues cause i i got
9. quite offended once when somebody said to me there's two Punjabis'
10. sitting together and er::: (0.7) and she said oh when somebody asked
11. her oh you speak the same language as her and she turned around said
12. oh her accent is very different and i wondered if it was my accent .hhh
13. (.) and since then i've been taking looking into the language .hhh
14. I: mm::
15. Mahima: the punjabi language that i know that i speak is what i learnt from my
16. parents
17. I: yeah
18. Mahima: my mother and father were completely illiterate they could not even
19. read and write to save their names save their lives (.) they could only
20. speak punjabi my father spoke swahili to communicate with anyone
21. who couldn't speak english my mother spoke swahili and punjabi (.)

² Level two is the ESOL classification of language levels which is equivalent to C1 in the Common European Framework of reference for Languages

22. now the punjabi that i learnt was through the speaking and listening
23. throu- with through my parents but I did go to all sikh school from
24. primary education where we were taught punjabi but it wasn't the
25. punjabi that (0.6) scholars punjabi (.) so i wondered if my punjabi is
26. (2.0) formal (.) or informal [...] i remember this guy talking to me i
27. sw- i had a conversation with him in punjabi and then he started
28. talking to me in hindi and i turned round to him and i said why are you
29. talking to me to hindi he says oh i was talking to hindi maybe you
30. don't understand punjabi and i said i just @@ had a conversation with
31. you in punjabi @@@@ where is this boy you know and er like i said
32. when i'm assessing
33. I: yeah
34. Mahima: and er when i sort of like speak in punjabi to them and they look at me
35. and they::: often ask me what part of the world i'm from
36. I: right okay
37. Mahima: am i pakistani::: am i::: (.) this because punjabi is (.) there's sixteen
38. different dialects to punjabi

In ll.5-6 there is a shared understanding of Mahima's perceived ability of her Punjabi. With both of us being English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) teachers, she uses ESOL levels as a benchmark to measure her language ability, and extends the vowel sound as she considers this. Though level two is an adequate level of English for functioning in many different contexts it would not be considered native speaker level. In ll.1-13 the interaction is co-constructed by me and Mahima, and I perhaps make the assumption that mother tongue and first language are synonyms. Although Mahima appears to agree that they are synonyms in l.3 and l.8, the terms highlight a different issue related to her parents, and the level of formality of her language. Although she states she is Punjabi Sikh, she is unable to be positioned by others because of the difficulties for people to identify where she is from through her language in ll.8-13 and ll.22-30. She also expresses a difficulty in knowing how to label her language and whether it is a dialect of Punjabi or informal. Mahima rationalises the reasons for her uncertainty about her language identity in three ways and places stress on several words in ll.18-32. Firstly in l.18 she states that her parents were illiterate, and in l.25 that at school she did not learn 'scholar Punjabi', and finally in ll.37-38 she also notes that there are sixteen dialects of Punjabi, thereby justifying her confusion about 'her' Punjabi.

Despite Mahima's acknowledgement of clines and apparent overlap between different Indian languages, she makes clear divisions between different language codes. Blackledge and Creese (2010) argue that bilingual children treat their different languages and literacies as synchronised, highlighting research conducted in complementary schools which would seem to support this (Kenner 2004, Robertson 2006, Sneddon 2000). However all the multilingual participants in this study make a distinction between named languages which is evident in this extract. Mahima, for example, treats Punjabi and Hindi as two distinct languages in ll.26-31 despite it being difficult for her interlocutor to identify which language she is speaking.

Mahima's language identity in relation to Punjabi, and the recognition of different dialects, may imply that she would be more accepting of different dialects or varieties of English. This appears to be evident in extract 2, ll.2-3 when the participants were discussing whether to correct third person singular. Mahima states that some 'mother languages' do not have rules, perhaps reflecting her own mother tongue. However it could be that the languages she is referring to do not have this particular rule, and she is discussing transference.

Extract 2 (Focus Group.4)

1. Mahima: yeah (2.0) and again depends what part of what background they are
2. (0.5) coming from (.) in some (1.0) cultures some languages you know
3. the mother languages [don't have rules
4. Harshi: [don't yeah
5. Mahima: in the sense that they miss out the -s
6. Harshi: yeah
7. Mahima: they often miss out the -s in plurals

There are some aspects that are noteworthy in the above extract. Mahima uses an uncommon or unique idiom, 'mother languages', some of which, she states, do not have rules. This shows awareness of variation in language, but it is possible that she is referring to languages without a standardized form and therefore she is conforming to a folk belief that non-standard languages are not rule governed (Niedzielski and Preston 2009). It might be that she is

discussing a specific grammar rule in English, plurals, in 11.5-7 to clarify her point for the other participant.

Another participant, Jashith, is more assured of her language identity and how she relates to her mother tongue, but in Extract 3 this positioning of her identity is from other people and societal attitudes that position her as not being English based on her mother tongue. While mother tongue in English is a metaphor, or synonym, for first language, it is taken literally by the majority of multilingual participants in this study as ‘the language that your mother speaks’.

Extract 3 (Interview.11)

1. Jashith: cause they will think well:::: that (0.5) english is not your first
2. language i think people always think of that though
3. I: really
4. Jashith: yes (0.5) and i think i've had that in the past
5. I: but english is your first language [isn't it
6. Jashith: [it is yeah it is but some people don't
7. see it that way
8. I: (0.8) really
9. Jashith: yeah some people don't see it that way
10. I: okay so would you=
11. Jashith: =so they think of mother tongue (.) you know they think what's your
12. mother tongue and then they think well it's not english so you're not
13. english
14. I: right
15. Jashith: i have had this in the past
16. I: have you
17. Jashith: yeah
18. I: what happened
19. Jashith: well:: i i just let it go because i think well
20. I: what was the
21. Jashith: no exactly that:: that well you know t=
22. I: =what someone told you=

23. Jashith: =english is not your mother tongue so

Jashith believes she is positioned by others because English is not her 'mother's tongue', so she is conditioned into an ethnic group on the basis of language. However this is based on other people's assumption that English is not her first language, when she switches to the third person in l.11. Therefore ethnicity and language work in conduit together, in this instance Jashith's interlocutor was unable to accept her as English because she is not white, which by implication means her mother tongue is not English. Although it appears that Jashith uses first language and mother tongue interchangeably, she switches these terms in l.11 to discuss people who do not see her as being English because her mother tongue is not English, irrespective of her first language.

Jashith says she 'let it go' in l.19, accepting her position as not being English even though she does not necessarily fully agree with this. It is societal expectations that condition Jashith into a position of being non-English and, as Butler (1997) notes, in terms of identity people do not only have to conform but actively assume an identity position in order to gain recognition. Jashith states several times 'they' and 'some people' without explicitly stating who, but the implication is that 'they' are white people. Even though I have a good working relationship with Jashith, it is probable that she does not wish to define these people more explicitly because I am white. In l.5 I propose that English is Jashith's first language which she accepts, but it takes some encouragement to get Jashith to elaborate, repeating phrases and eventually cutting off my follow up question in l.10 to elaborate more to make her point, stressing the word 'mother' and 'so' in order to gain the turn in talk. Jashith also professes personal experience in l.4 and l.15 to provide evidence to support her assertion about the way that some people think, though the first time I miss this point. To emphasise this assertion the second time she does not use a contraction on 'I have' as she does the first time. It is also noticeable that she uses the present perfect rather than past simple to make this statement, which may imply that Jashith sees this as an ongoing situation rather than something that happened in the past and finished.

Although all accept one participant asserted that English is their primary and strongest language there is greater ambiguity about their other languages, and therefore for these participants it is more appropriate to consider them all as additional languages, rather than second, third or fourth language. However one participant did note that she learnt Gujarati as

a second language after arriving in UK, though she had been exposed to the language as both her parents are Gujarati speakers. This impacts on her perspective of correctness and acceptance of other English language varieties. In the following extract from focus group 3 the participants were discussing what variety of English should be taught in countries outside the UK. This extract is expanded upon in extract 43, p.173.

Extract 4 (Focus Group.3)

1. Tanika: would you though would you though because chinese would be your
2. mother tongue (.) you'd be learning english with the chinese accent or
3. background or culture or whatever it is so then we're going back to
4. that because it is not their first language in those countries (.) whereas
5. in the uk and the us english is the first language per se .hh (.) therefore
6. it is looked at as british or american english
- 7.

Tanika appears to be using mother tongue and first language interchangeably as synonyms in 11.1-2 and 11.4-5, and perhaps this reflects Tanika's own language background as English being her first language, even though her 'mother's tongue' is Gujarati. However it is noticeable that Chinese is related to mother tongue, while first language is related to English, with 'it' in 1.4 a reference to the English language. During the interview Tanika does make a clear distinction between first language and mother tongue and argues that mother tongue has little relevance to her.

Extract 5 (Interview.15)

1. I: so what would you regard then as your mother tongue then would you
2. say
3. Tanika: (0.7) interesting one (1.0) very interesting see when people ask me i
4. say well i don't call it mother tongue i say my first language is English
5. (1.0) and then (.) cause mother tongue is what i mean my children
6. speak English do you understand (.) i'm not from india (.) my mother
7. tongue then would be (1.2) what is my mother tongue do you
8. understand what i'm saying=

9. I: =yeah I know what you're saying=
10. Tanika: one of my students once said ↑miss you are like a cocktail↑ (.) (xxxx) i
11. said yeah actually yes i've never actually thought of it like that so
12. mother tongue (0.5)
13. I: doesn't really=
14. Tanika: =doesn't really fit within my (.) no
15. I: first [language
16. Tanika: [first language absolutely yeah

In response to the question about mother tongue, Tanika says it is an 'interesting question' and repeats the phrase after a pause, indicating that she believes it is an 'interesting question' in relation to her life simply because she sees it as not particularly relevant and it is therefore interesting. Perhaps to make the story more interesting in l.10 there is a tonal change in Tanika's speech, though she is less of a cocktail in terms of language than most other participants and this might be a constructed memory that did not actually occur, but it serves to make Tanika's story more interesting. Tanika's beliefs about the terms mother tongue and first language is more obviously presented during the interviews. In the interview she rejects the term mother tongue for herself in l.4 even though she accepts that English is her first language. However she does appear to accept the possibility that English can be a mother tongue when she refers to her children in ll.5-6. She also implicitly relates the Gujarati language to a location in l.6, when she mentions that she 'is not from India'.

Harshi makes a clear distinction between these terms, stating that her first language is English in l.8-9, but her daughter's mother tongue cannot be English, perhaps because it does not index her identity, and instead it is her grandmother's tongue which she claims she writes on forms. Harshi places stress on really and not in ll.6-7 to emphasise her attitude.

Extract 6 (Interview.9)

1. Harshi: i find it really strange because erm (0.7) obviously i'm erm
2. bangladeshi of bang- bangladeshi heritage and as i was growing up (.)
3. because i was born here as i was growing up and you'd have the fo- the
4. bit on the form that said mother tongue (.) and it would be quite easy to
5. write bengali because my mum (.) did used to speak bengali and erm

6. we have the same questions now for my daughter and i find it really
7. hard to put bengali as mother tongue (0.5) because it's not it's not her
8. mother's tongue i speak english (.) all the time and that's my first
9. language so i would rub it out and i'd put gran- @ @ @ @
10. grandmother's tongue to show that it's you know two generations up

For all of the participants the terms first language and mother tongue are not synonymous which reflects their bilingualism or multilingualism. It appears that they do not consider English a mother tongue, even though for eight of them English is their 'mother tongue', in respect of an understanding of 'mother tongue' as a metaphor for first language. The principal reason for this might be because, as both Jashith and Harshi imply, claiming English as a mother tongue does not index an ethnic identity. So, for example, Tanika in extract 4, states that Chinese is a mother tongue, but English is a first language. Also in extract 6, Harshi's daughter's 'mother tongue' is not considered to be English and instead she asserts that it is grandmother's tongue in order to index identity. This could suggest that the term 'mother tongue', like 'community' and 'ethnic', has connotations with minority groups (Alexander *et al.* 2007, Alleyne 2002, Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). This does imply that the participants have a view of the English language as more formalised and more standard than other languages, with the use of a term which is more formal rather than a metaphor. English is given a greater hierarchal standing in terms of prestige, which may make the participants less open to different varieties of English.

5.3.2 Participants' orientation towards native speakerism

Also related to the participants' distinction between first language and mother tongue is whether they consider themselves to be native speakers of English. There are various instances of the participants either positioning themselves as native or non-natives speakers of English, positioning other participants as native or non-native speakers, and instances of me positioning the participants as native speakers. The participants reflect on their own status in regard to being English native speakers during both the interviews and focus groups. Nine of the participants do not believe they are native speakers based on their belief about what a native speaker is, which did not necessarily relate to learning English at a young age and was not dependent on whether they are first or second generation migrants. Instead

seven of these participants relate a native speaker of English to accent and more specifically to Received Pronunciation (RP). Therefore for the participants, native speakerism is a subjective position albeit dependent on the perception of other people as to whether they can be native speakers. None of the participants, whether they consider themselves native speakers or not, feel that being a native speaker is important in order to be an English language teacher. Instead six of the teachers mention that it is students who think that the teacher should be a native speaker, and who index native speakerism with whiteness (see 5.4.2, p.141).

Part of the problem for participants in positioning themselves as native speakers was related to their inability to really define who a native speaker is. In extract 7, in an interview with Naagesh, we were discussing whether an English language teacher should be a native speaker and Naagesh responded that English is not his first language but he still teaches English, with the implication being that he is not a native speaker. This prompts me to position Naagesh as a native speaker or rather ‘practically’ a native speaker, which is perhaps a poor choice of words, as if I was implying that, despite having lived in England for a long period of time, he cannot quite achieve that position of native speaker, but can get close.

Extract 7 (Interview.13)

1. I: yeah but practically a native speaker though aren't you
2. Naagesh: yeah (.)
3. I: would you consider yourself a na- native speaker
4. Naagesh: i've been actually in england for last forty
5. I: yeah
6. Naagesh: forty two years and i i (.) read a lot i read newspapers i i watch tv so i
7. think i i do do do consider myself as a native yeah yeah

In extract 7 it is noticeable that Naagesh does not quite accept a position as a native speaker, and instead affirms his native status in relation to the period of time that he has been living in Britain in 11.4-7, and therefore avoids my positioning of him as a native speaker. In response to the same question Maheshi, in extract 8, rejects a position as a native speaker based on retaining an Indian ‘twang’ which suggests an understanding of an English native speaker related to certain accents from Anglophone countries.

Extract 8 (Interview.12)

1. I: do you think er do you think er language teachers should be native
2. speakers of the of the language
3. Maheshi: (2.0) erm hh. i'm not a native speaker (.) my students do well
4. @ @ @ @ @ @
5. I: i don't know you've learnt it from a young age=
6. Maheshi: =yeah but still it doesn't class me as native does it
7. I: does it not
8. Maheshi: i don't know people do say i'm a native speaker but i think i've still
9. i've got a twang of indian °in there somewhere°
10. I: yeah but i think you can have a twang of an indian accent and still be a
11. native speaker can't you
12. Maheshi: or a welsh accent @ @ @ @
13. I: @ @ @ a bit of welsh (1.8) bit of welsh indian twang=
14. Maheshi: =if no actually it depends on the knowledge (.) you could be a native
15. speaker but you may not have the (.) concept of the language hmm
16. I: hmm hmm
17. Maheshi: concept of grammar (.) how its developed yeah writing (.) i have seen
18. some native people they can't spell properly @ @ @ no i don't
19. grammar

Maheshi suggests that other people have positioned her as an English native speaker, but that she does not fully accept this because of her Indian accent or “twang”. This would imply that there is an association for Maheshi between an Anglophone accent and being a native speaker, and because she has an Indian accent this automatically prevents her from being a native speaker. She is also perhaps slightly uncomfortable with my questioning, and her own knowledge of what a native speaker is. Her uncertainty becomes noticeable in l.9 when her speech becomes quieter and then she makes a joke about having a bit of a Welsh accent in l.12, having lived in Wales for a period of time. She also refers to the original question and dismisses the assertion that being a native speaker is a requirement for being an English language teacher, therefore avoiding my questions about defining a native speaker. Her association of a native speaker with accent is also evident in extract 9, with Saloni positioning herself and the others in the group as non-native speakers of English.

Extract 9 (Focus Group.3)

1. Saloni: okay take our examples we're not native speakers but we've learnt
2. English probably for a longer period than your learners have which is
3. why (.) we can speak better than them (.) but we don't speak like
4. native speakers
5. Maheshi: no
6. I: no so so it doesn't=
7. Maheshi: =so do you expect
8. Saloni: it doesn't matter

Saloni positions herself and the other participants as non-native speakers, though no one supports or disputes this assertion, implying acceptance or least acquiescence. Saloni also asserts that it does not matter that they do not speak like native speakers, and perhaps this is because she tends to relate native speakers to an anglo-phone accent. The relationship between an NES and accent is evident in three of the focus groups. The focus group that did not relate NES to accent give examples and anecdotes of NES making errors in spoken and written English. All the focus groups therefore assert that a NES model is not necessarily the model in the classroom. This corroborates with the assertion by all the participants in the interviews that it is not necessary to be a NES to teach the language, and also Ashna (interview 1) and Nalini (interview 3) and Harshi (focus group 4) who indicate that second language learners' accent is part of their identity. In 11.3-4, even though they are fluent English speakers, Saloni implies that being a native speaker is impossible to achieve, and this is perhaps because she appears to relate a native speaker to accent. Nevertheless the other focus groups tend to indicate that a speaking like a NES was achievable target, even though it is not necessarily a target in the classroom.

In another focus group, where the participants were attempting to define a native speaker, I position all the participants as native speakers after Jashith had asserted her position as a native speaker, and Parul agrees that she is too; both of these participants are second generation migrants. In contrast Saachi rejects the suggestion that she is a native speaker, while Nalini does not really respond to this assertion, though implies that she is a native speaker when comparing her language background with that of Sir Trevor McDonald.

Extract 10 (Focus Group.2)

1. Jashith: then it kind of Gujarati going on you know but the majority of times i
2. think i dream (.) in English to me (0.7) to me i feel like i'm a native
3. speaker
4. Parul: yeah
5. Jashith: basically and [i think you feel the same parul
6. I: [you are
7. Parul: [yeah i think so (1.0) yeah i do
8. I: well you're all native speakers [aren't you
9. Jashith: [yes (0.7) yes
10. I: you wouldn't you wouldn't consider yourself a native speaker
11. Saachi: (1.5) to me::: it's different a native speaker to me has a baggage of
12. knowledge which i haven't got (.) [...] but i::f you look at th:: tr::
13. sir trevor mcdonald who for me is the best example of a non-native
14. speaker who is a perfect speaker erm then the boundaries is so foggy i
15. can't tell you what a native speaker is and what he isn't he certainly
16. wasn't born in britain he wasn't brought up in britain but he's a
17. newsreader or was a newsreader and er so in terms of delivery
18. pronunciation grammar accuracy blah blah blah it was all there so he
19. was native speaker so i:: don't know is the answer=
20. Nalini: =but probably like i come from kenya everything was in english all my
21. studies all my primary nursery everything was in english (2.0) so
22. probably his upbringing was not born here but the origin where he
23. comes from=
24. Parul: =as an english place=
25. Nalini: =was an english place because of the british colony you know
26. Saachi: yeah yeah (.) yeah

In 1.2 Jashith states that she 'feels like a native speaker', rather than saying she is a native speaker. Also Parul in 1.7, states she thinks she is, before affirming that she is native speaker. Both of these participants are second generation migrants but nevertheless there is some ambiguity about their native speaker status, and it is me who affirms their NES status. For Jashith, and maybe Parul, this is perhaps related to others positioning her as a non-native

speaker because of her ethnicity in the same way that she is positioned as not being English in extract 3, p.113. Saachi makes a gesture by shaking her head to indicate that she does not believe she is a native speaker, prompting my question in l.10. Both Saachi and Nalini are first generation migrants.

Saachi rejects being positioned as a native speaker, though this is based on her belief that she lacks certain inherent cultural aspects. She also asserts that Sir Trevor McDonald is an example of a non-native speaker but one who is a perfect speaker. Saachi implies that a perfect speaker is related to grammar and pronunciation, and the accuracy of those linguistic features in relation to British English. She makes a distinction between a native speaker and a perfect speaker, suggesting that being a native speaker is not necessarily important when considering the nature of an English speaker. However Saachi recognises that Sir Trevor McDonald was not born in Britain because of his accent, which implicitly links being a native speaker with an Anglophone accent, as the participants in the other focus groups also tend to do. However she seems slightly confused by what a native speaker is, saying in ll.13-14 that 'he is a non-native speaker', and then in ll.18-19 that 'he was a native speaker'. However Nalini raises the possibility that Sir Trevor McDonald could be an English native speaker even though he was not born in Britain. At the same time Nalini draws a parallel with herself implying that she is an English native speaker. Saachi accepts Nalini's suggestion that even though he was not born in Britain he could still be native English speaker. Native speakerism and its relationship to English language teaching are explored in more detail in chapter 6, but in relation to identity several of the participants do not consider that they are native speakers because of their accents.

While all the participants accepted English as their primary language of communication, nine participants would not accept that they are NES, because they believe NES do not have a noticeable foreign accent. In many respects these participants are asserting a societal attitude that semantically links NES with countries in Kachru's (1985a) inner circle. All the participants showed an affinity and affection for their other languages, and attributed English a more functional role and higher hierarchical position than other languages. These beliefs about NES and language are unlikely to encourage an acceptance of different varieties of English, even though all of the participants have experience of Indian English speakers through travel, family and friendship networks and in the classroom. Perhaps these participants relate NES to accent because of recognised varieties such as American, British,

Canadian, and Australian, with the most noticeable difference being accent. Even more prominent in relation to English, was their distinction between English as a language and English as an identity, which none of the participants felt they could accept, with the latter being representative of ‘whiteness’.

5.3.3 Participants perception of their ethnic identity

The participants in my study all resist being associated with an English identity because they believe that this indexes whiteness. Historically, Young (2008) argues, that the notion of Englishness during the 19th century was deterritorialized and de-localised, and transcended the narrowness of ethnicity and race observed in other countries (Kumar 2010). Another observable feature of an English identity is its elision with a British identity, and assumed by some English people within Britain and by those outside as being one in the same (Condor *et al.* 2006, Kumar 2003, 2010). However the distinction between British and English identity has undergone change in the last twenty years (Kumar 2010), which could partly be attributable to Scottish and Welsh nationalism and Britain’s migrants who assert dual identities or locally defined identities, resulting in the need to reassess what an English identity represents. This has contributed to a decline over the past twenty years of English people who give British as their primary identity, and a corresponding increase of English identification (Kumar 2010). Although Condor *et al.* (2006) argues that the white people in her study did not all link Englishness with white ethnicity, it was clear that the British South-Asian participants in my study did make that explicit connection.

None of the participants consider themselves English, even those who were born in England, and indicated that it is their ethnicity and cultural orientation which prevents them from being English. Instead they tend to adopt a British identity, sometimes hyphenated with an Asian identity, which they suggest enabled a more inclusive identity. However it has to be noted that for these participants this identity is not necessarily a choice and instead they tend to express their identity using modal verbs of obligation. This would suggest that while the descendants of white migrants can at some point achieve an English identity, it is one which is, not only seen as elusive for other ethnicities, but also perhaps one that is undesirable. Extract 11 shows Samita’s confusion as she struggles to rationalise her own beliefs about Englishness and why she feels that she cannot accept that particular identity.

Extract 11 (Interview.5)

1. I: okay would you ever describe yourself as english
2. Samita: (3.0) no
3. I: why=
4. Samita: =i i don't know i (3.0) because (.) as as odd as it sounds like i'd (.)
5. describe someone as being english (2.0) as someone you know from (.)
6. from england
7. I: you're from england=
8. Samita: =then i'm from england and i'm born in england but then i'm like well
9. (1.5) i don't know
10. I: but you you wouldn't
11. Samita: like i would probably say somebody from a white background i'd end
12. up saying english
13. I: right okay
14. Samita: but then it doesn't make sense now that you've said (1.0)
15. I: sorry i've
16. Samita: yeah
17. I: upset you now
18. Samita: but yeah (.) i would say i speak english well i'm british yeah
19. I: but you would never never
20. Samita: i've never referred to myself as being english
21. I: okay
22. Samita: but now i look at the word there is nothing wrong with saying it but
23. yeah no i wouldn't i never have

This is a typical response from participants when asked about whether they would consider themselves to be English. There is a lot of hesitation from Samita in ll.4-9 as she considers how strange it would be to describe herself as English, and does not seem to have previously considered the illogical nature of being born in England, living in England, speaking English as a first language, but not being able to accept English as an identity. My questions appear to be puzzling for Samita, as she has been conditioned into being non-English, and on reflection she admits that there is nothing wrong with classifying herself as English, except that she would not.

All of the participants mention English as a language, but thirteen of the fourteen participants who were interviewed would not accept English as an identity because of its association with whiteness and English culture. Valini (Interview 8) asserts that she *did* used to refer to herself as English but this resulted in her becoming embroiled in fights with other Asian girls and therefore she was conditioned into adopting a British-Indian identity. The UK is a multinational state, which has enabled ethnic minorities to assume a British identity and thereby avoid an English identity, to the extent that for many of the participants, English, as an identity has never been considered. While 'Britishness' offers the opportunity for inclusion, the existence of a distinct means of national identity such as English encourages the creation of opposition based on ethnicity and distinct forms of prejudice. Five participants stated that to consider themselves as English would appear to disassociate themselves from their own ethnic group, and would give the appearance that they are not proud of being a certain ethnicity.

The majority of participants chose a dual or multiple identity which was evident in other studies examining minority ethnic groups with a narrowly defined identity (Bolognani 2007, Brah 1996, Chanda-Gool 2006, Drury 1991, Joppke 2009, Stopes-Roe and Cochrane 1990, Verma *et al.* 1994). Only four of the participants said they would refer to themselves as British-Asian, while another three participants said they would refer to themselves as British except when it is necessary to define themselves as British-Asian on forms. There was greater diversity of identity among the other participants: Mahima (Interview 6), Punjabi-Sikh, Samita (Interview 5) British-Asian-Muslim, Arti (Interview 2) Asian-British, Saheli (Interview 14) British-African, Tanika (Interview 15) British-African-Asian, Maheshi (Interview 12) British-Assamese, and one participant who did not wish to be labelled in these terms. This diversity of ethnic and national identities is reflective of the narrowing of identities and away from broad identity constructions as British-Asians, and the increase of religion as an identity among British-Asians. For three of the participants, who had migrated from Africa, including an Asian as part of their identity was 'uncomfortable' because they did not feel an association with Asia and had never been to Asia.

While ethnicity classifies participants as not being English, this does not mean that they do not participate in British culture or feel British, and many participants express their allegiance to British culture in terms of food and festivals, as Ashna does in extract 12. There seems to

be a need among participants to emphasise British culture as a positioning device, perhaps because I am the interlocutor, a white British national, while with a different interlocutor they may minimise this part of their identity.

Extract 12 (Interview.1)

1. Ashna: british-asian that my nationality is british-asian=
2. I: =you wouldn't say english
3. Ashna: no
4. I: never
5. Ashna: because (1.7) em english i don't know
6. I: sounds a bit funny
7. Ashna: i don't know English if i say british in a nationality if i said english i
8. don't know (0.5) i don't know that makes me confused now
9. I: sorry
10. Ashna: you've gi- @ @ @ @ @ (xxx)
11. I: @ @ @
12. Ashna: difficult to answer erm (.) english i don't know i erm no i don't know i
13. wouldn't wouldn't think so=
14. I: =language you think of it as a language=
15. Ashna: =language is english i definitely i would defiantly my primary
16. language is english now there's no doubt about it and even also (.) food
17. my food has become fifty fifty half of my fifty per cent of food=
18. I: =fish n chips
19. Ashna: yes i eat fish n chips i eat you know we have err:::ermm err er roast
20. sundays now and then erm:: you know er a lot of things you know bu-
21. I: fish fingers
22. Ashna: yes fish fingers bubble and squeak we have all that yorkshire puddings
23. and christmas time we never ever have indian food at all we have en-
24. english traditional dinner that's what we do we have a turkey and we
25. have all that we get together we wear hats and we do that it's nothing
26. to do with oh it's christianity but it's part of that it's ↑part of we've
27. adapted english culture as well as being indian having indian tradition
28. culture somehow (.) along growing up the english culture tradition has

29. (.) sort of merged in with them which is fantastic to me it's not a
30. confusion you know

Again, as with Samita, I feel the need to apologise in 1.9 because I feel I have made the participants uncomfortable with these questions. Like Samita, Ashna pauses in 11.5-8 to consider English as an identity, and stresses certain words which emphasise her confusion. Ashna uses the word 'confusion' in relation to identity and also in relation to the mixture of cultures, though in reference to other people being confused. Ashna moves the topic onto a more comfortable area in 11.15-16 by describing the mixture of Asian and British cultures. Ashna discusses her allegiance to British culture, which perhaps is partly a consequence of her children being more British than herself, and therefore she has adapted to this situation. While rejecting an English identity, there is an acceptance of British culture by Ashna, which she mentions in 11.19-30. She mentions several traditional British foods and western festivals, but is also quick to note that it is not related to accepting Christian traditions, but as part of British culture. Ashna later expresses her belief that she wanted her children to have more exposure to British culture, because of the freedom she experienced when she arrived in the UK, and did not associate the Gujarati language with that freedom.

There is a clear distinction in the participants' responses between, on the one hand, freedom and independence that are related to British culture, and on the other hand, traditions that are related to Asian culture and which are viewed as being in conflict with each other. Two specific aspects of Asian culture, caste and arranged marriage, are seen as being incompatible with British culture. They were rarely mentioned: caste by four participants and arranged marriage by three participants, and these participants are quick to distance themselves from these cultural practices, emphasising that they were not relevant in Britain.

However, beyond food and festivals the participants are unable to distil the 'British part' of them that is representative of their identity, and showed a weak understanding of British and English culture. In a second interview with Jashith, when we discussed her understanding of British and English culture, she is unable to really express a distinction between the two. Even growing up in Britain she had a weak sense of British culture, only mentioning multiculturalism as a key aspect, while English culture was an 'other' represented by the English Defence League and the George Cross flag. This suggests that English culture is perhaps viewed by the participants as belonging to fringe groups, increasingly irrelevant, and

distinct from a British culture. It can be speculated that the reason why participants were unable to articulate a clear sense of British culture, and presented English culture as an 'other', is related to their ethnicity which presents a barrier to inclusion.

While eleven of the interviewed participants do not feel that they can consider themselves British without an Asian appendage, at the same time in many respects they still feel a stronger association to Britain than they do to the Asian 'part' of their identity. Moreover, though the participants' struggle to express the part of them which is British, it is still there in an unconscious way, as Harshi describes with the unflattering phrasing - 'I've been called these things as well. I've been called a bounty and a coconut... brown on the outside white on the inside', - and agreeing with that definition of being more British than Asian, if not the phrasing. All of the participants display British cultural traits in terms of cultural manners and mores, suggesting that for the participants', and certainly the second generation migrants, Asian identity is in many respects a surface feature, related to their ethnicity more than anything else, and consequently more overt. For example in Extract 13 with Jashith, which is a continuation of extract 3, p.113, I make a sarcastic joke which she laughs at, showing a shared experience of British humour.

Extract 13 (Interview.11)

1. I: =what someone told you=
2. Jashith: =english is not your mother tongue so
3. I: was this a friend of yours or
4. Jashith: no @ @ @ @ @ @
5. I: @ @ @ @

In addition to this, five of the participants mentioned that when they are travelling they are recognised by the native population as not being from that country. Even though these participants claim they speak the local language of the country fluently and dress in the same way as the native population, there is something more ingrained about cultural manners and customs than simply language and dress. Therefore, although all of the participants tend to express a weak association with British culture, and beyond food and festivals have difficulty expressing that association, it is something which is externally expressed that makes them different from native Indians and in terms of identity the participants are positioned by Indian

citizens as non-Indians, Britishers or Non-resident Indians (NRI).

5.3.4 Participants' feelings of belonging

Nine of the teachers in my sample do not feel that they are part of the local Asian community, although this is partly dependent on whether they were born in the UK or not, and the five participants who are involved in the local community expressed a weak affiliation towards it. The way that the participants' conceptualise the Asian community was principally in terms of religious organisations and community centres, which is only one aspect of community, and affected whether they feel involved or not. Second generation migrants are generally less involved with the local community, but were involved to a greater extent when were they younger as a consequence of their parents participating in cultural activities and encouraging cultural transference to their children. However this does not tell a complete picture, as some of those who migrated while teenagers also feel that they are outside the existing communities. The reasons for this, three of the participants suggest, is that they do not share the same language and cultural practices as existing communities in Leicester, despite sharing the same ethnicity. However two second generation migrants still maintain a relatively high level of contact with the local community. Those of a strong religious affiliation and/or with children professed greater links with the local community group. Therefore there are lots of influences on participants which work in conduit with each other to determine their participation in the local community. Second generation migrants are generally less affiliated to a religious group, and are therefore less likely to conform to traditional Asian family practices, and consequently are less likely to be involved with the local community.

Harshi, in Extract 14, does not affiliate with the community, though for different reasons which are related to her rejection of some of the traditions which the local community try to impose on her.

Extract 14 (Interview.9)

1. Harshi: you can go there and set up a stall and they have again it's not
2. something i actually identify with myself as i'm not really into wearing
3. bangladeshi outfits or (.) you know (.) b- but there is a lot more now
4. you know you've got bangladeshi television channels i think there's

5. two bangladeshi te- television channels we've got the b- you know the
6. shomiti which is the community centre
7. I: right
8. Harshi: mind you it's °all politics you know it's very political° the guy that
9. runs the bangladeshi community centre doesn't °like me°
10. I: right [because you don't
11. Harshi: [you know he doesn't hide the fact i don't fit in the mould i don't
12. fit in that mould so he °doesn't like me° but (.) they're doing a good
13. thing they're doing a good thing you know it's somewhere for bengali
14. people to go to for advice and support
15. I: yeah (1.0)
16. Harshi: it's getting better it is getting better by the community is getting very
17. big it's very vast it's not when we were kids we knew everybody
18. everybody that was from bangladesh we know them and we could fit
19. them all in our house on a sunday

Harshi does not identify with the Bengali community because she is 'not into' certain cultural practices, a phrase which would perhaps be more applicable to use when discussing a hobby or television programme. This reduces the role of cultural practices to a choice, while more devout Muslims would participate in these cultural practices as an integral part of their identity. Harshi also distances herself from the community by saying that she 'doesn't fit the mould'; implying perhaps that Bangladeshi women are 'moulded', and asserting individual independence. She also states that 'it's getting better' and repeats this phrase for emphasis. In an email communication she stated that it was getting better in terms of being more open and adapting, to a greater extent, to the changes that the younger generation are experiencing in relation to British culture. In ll.8-12 Harshi becomes noticeably quieter, suggesting that she feels she is saying something that she should not and perhaps that this is a secret. It is perhaps me being the interlocutor that encourages her to say this, and she might not repeat this to other people with a South-Asian ethnicity. Even though she does not necessarily use the community group, she recognises its importance to the local people. She positions herself away from the Bangladeshi community in ll.1-6, though in some respects she is making the distinction between herself, being born here before there was a large community, and the new groups who arrived after in ll.16-19. While the South-Asian community share the same ethnicity, the contributions by the participants support the idea that there is not one

monolithic South-Asian community within the UK, and instead there are different South-Asian communities divided by cultural practices, ethnicity and language (Albrow 1997, Alexander *et al.* 2007, Castle 2000, Smolicz *et al.* 2001).

Four of the participants believe that the establishment of these communities has contributed to the segregation of different ethnic groups. Although there is a recognisable multiculturalism in the city, it does not necessarily mean that people are mixing and does not necessarily lead to integration. Instead, according to these participants, separate communities are living separate lives and engaging only in the public space, as Jashith stresses in extract 15.

Extract 15 (Interview.11)

1. Jashith: you know how certain communities they they don't like to mix they
2. keep themselves to themselves
3. I: yeah
4. Jashith: and they're [very afraid
5. I: [any particular communities oh you don't want to okay go
6. on
7. Jashith: i'd rather not @ @ @ @
8. I: no go on @ @ @
9. Jashith: yeah some people are very afraid you know they they see it as
10. something mad you know if they're mixing with other cultures and
11. communities
12. I: yeah
13. Jashith: and i don't agree with that you know i think that we should all mix
14. with everybody you know
15. I: yeah yeah yeah
16. Jashith: and i think that's right and we should all learn from each other and (.) i
17. think society would function better like that
18. I: yeah
19. Jashith: instead of having pockets of society that are just (.) you know
20. I: do you think it's like that in leicester
21. Jashith: yeah

22. I: there's pockets
23. Jashith: yeah there is yeah definitely
24. I: why do think it is
25. Jashith: well i think it's a choice that some people make
26. I: (1.5) right
27. Jashith: and also (1.8) well i'm not sure if i'm right about this but when people
28. first come into the country and they're applying for housing (1.0)
29. I: yeah
30. Jashith: they seem to be (1.5) it's kind of set up that they're given a certain area
31. to go and live in so that also increases that (2.0) the ghetto effect

According to Jashith certain communities do not integrate, though she would not go as far as to say which groups, arguing that the reason for this is because groups are afraid of mixing and diluting their culture. In 1.19 she mentions 'pockets', indicating that she believes that these are small specific groups who do not integrate. Jashith shows an integrative attitude, wanting migrants to integrate more in the community. She places stress on 'certain' and 'afraid' in 1.1, 4 and 9, and repeats afraid, perhaps wanting to emphasise her belief about this topic. In 1.5 there is a non-verbal indication that she does not wish to mention who she believes do not mix. It perhaps could be speculated that she is referring to new Muslim migrants; the lack of integration of Muslims is occasionally mentioned in the staff room. However a lot of teachers in the college are Muslims so people are careful when discussing this issue, as they do not want to be seen as racist. Perhaps because I am also a teacher at the college, she does not feel comfortable to explicitly state who she believes does not integrate.

Although Jashith recognises that part of the reason for this segregation is how the local council assigns people houses in certain areas of the city, which is mentioned by Herbert (2008), she also asserts that it is a choice that people make: a commonly asserted reason in the media and institutional organisations (Cooke and Simpson 2012). Jashith's statement that people are living 'parallel lives' reflects the Cantle report (Home Office 2001) following the 2001 race riots, which was widely reported in the media and therefore to certain extent Jashith is perhaps influenced by this in her observation of communities in Leicester. Jashith's belief that it is incorrect for people not to integrate is partly attributable to her professional life, where the college encourages integration among different cultural groups through enrichment activities. This could also stem from the context of the multilingual

classroom, where students from different cultural backgrounds engage in group activities. Her belief may also come from her experience of growing up in Leicester and mixing with white and Asian children and adults. When Jashith was growing up in the early 1970s there were a lot fewer Asian families, and the British government pursued an integrative policy from the 1960s, and then developed a multicultural policy during the 1990s (Spencer 1997).

Although shared ethnicity gives the participants the ability to ‘blend in’ in India, unlike in Britain and Africa, the five participants who mention travelling to India state that they feel different from native Indians and apart from aspects of the culture. The native Indians recognise that they are not from India because the way they talk and walk is different, so this automatically places them as ‘not one of them’. Nalini expresses her inability to belong anywhere, feeling like ‘a fish out of water’ in every context; in India, Britain, the local community and their birth country. Nalini in Extract 16 recalls her treatment in Kenya and Britain, her distance from India and the feeling of displacement in any location.

Extract 16 (Interview.3)

1. Nalini: so i think it he (nalini’s husband) really wants to go there (india) and
2. open a big er c-college an- an- and you know employ people and settle
3. down there and er
4. I: and you’re not so keen or
5. Nalini: i’m not so keen
6. I: because=
7. Nalini: =no because we are very straight forward we don’t know the actual (.)
8. way of life er:::: in that country because we just go (.) for a visit erm::
9. obviously i mean if we had to settle down we could we could learn the
10. culture like we have learned here erm:: again sometimes it it its erm:: it
11. sort of hurts when i was in kenya (.) young boys used to say go back to
12. india they used to dance (.) on the road you know we use- in india in
13. kenya we are called wendies (.) so they used to cry wendies go back to
14. india=
15. I: =wendies
16. Nalini: wendies west indian (.) wendies go back to (.) india (.) so i was a
17. foreigner there when i came here (.) i’m a foreigner (.) when i go to

18. india (.) i'm a foreigner where do i believe (.) belong [where do i
19. belong @ @ @ @
20. I: [i don't know (.) i
21. don't know where do feel you belong
22. Nalini: very difficult question i believe (1.5) i believe in religion and god so
23. much that i feel i'm just believe i i i i belong to him that's it
24. I: okay but you're not part of (2.0)
25. Nalini: but it hurts sometimes=
26. I: =yeah
27. Nalini: you know that i'm a foreigner everywhere you know

Of all the participants Nalini gives the impression of being the most firmly associated with a South-Asian culture and when she travels to India she tries to integrate, and in terms of communication she asserts that she is successful in a previous turn. However the native Indians are still able to recognise that she is a foreigner thereby restricting her ability to feel a sense of belonging. There is a certain sense of continued displacement for Nalini, so religion has provided a haven for her in the same way as a community provides a refuge for others, finding a sense of belonging in terms of a feeling rather than a physical space. Nalini uses a rhetorical strategy of pausing mid-clause throughout this section to allow her to maintain the conversational turn, a device she also uses in the focus groups. She also uses the adjectival 'obviously' and stresses it to emphasise her adaptability in 1.9, even though in the previous statement she said that they 'do not know the way of life'. There is a lot of repetition of the 'wendies' and 'foreigner' in 11.13-27 and Nalini gives the impression of relishing her 'foreigner' status and this being an important part of her identity that gives her a uniqueness.

Several authors have argued that Asians have chosen a hybrid identity to navigate between different cultural and ethnic identities, (Bhabha 1990, 1994, Ghuman 1999, Werbner and Modood 1997). However rather than this being a choice that people have made, it has instead been largely socially constructed by others, and their identity is regulated by forms which require people to stipulate a specific identity. Despite six participants mention that at times they feel that they are outsiders in Britain because of their skin colour or have limited involvement with white people outside the public space, or that they are lacking part of the culture, none of them, or the other participants, express a preference to live in India or another country on a long term basis. The reasons given were that their friends and family

are here, while those born in the UK felt a limited connection to their heritage country. This indicates a strong bond towards British culture by the participants, and part of that affiliation is related to the English language. Moreover, their disassociation from the South-Asian community, as mentioned above, suggests that they may have integrated to a greater degree within British society than other members of some ethnic groups, and are therefore more likely to hold views similar to the ethnically white population in terms of language.

5.4 Experiences of prejudice in the workplace

One aspect of the participant's lives that is continually mentioned is their experience of prejudice, related to both their ethnicity and their language use. All the participants stated that this occurred while they were growing up in England or when they arrived in the UK, and feel that this prejudice has continued into their teaching career from both students and colleagues.

5.4.1 Perceived discrimination from work colleagues

One focus group discussed how some teachers in the department have a sense of superiority in terms of language accuracy, implying that they are white British born teachers. In Extract 17 the participants discuss the prejudice that they have observed and experienced in the teaching environment, where they suggest that other teachers question the capacity of some teachers to teach when their language does not conform to correct English. The participants strenuously assert that it is an attitude they disagree with and also suggest that they are quite offended by this.

Extract 17 (Focus Group.1)

1. Ashna: i i i have heard some of the in in::: in our teaching environment they
2. will say ↑well i just hate it when somebody speaks like that then i [yeah
3. Arti: [they
4. can't use correct english why are they teaching
5. Ashna: they can't teach and I'm thinking to myself well what are you talking
6. [about

7. Arti: [yeah course you do there is
8. Ashna: english is a mish mash of everything so (.) i think you need to go
9. and (.) research your language @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @
10. Vasuki: hmmm
11. Arti: yeah no you're right ashna cause you do hear that a lot (.) and
12. especially with if you're teaching english its always that well if you
13. can't speak it properly [how how do you have the right to teach it
14. Ashna: [↑yeah
15. Vasuki: [how can you speak how can you teach it (0.5)
16. Ashna: you do get a lot of that lots of
17. Vasuki: yeah it's true
18. Ashna: i:: i've [had it erm:::
19. Arti: [yeah i have had it yeah yeah so have i=
20. Ashna: =i've come across i've come across teachers that will say that and they
21. say oh i really hate it you know oh i don't watch that i mean have you
22. seen in the oh i don't think his english correct and i'm thinking well
23. what are you talking about are you saying that your english is=
24. Arti: =perfect
25. Ashna: superior
26. Arti: yeah
27. Ashna: but english general is a language is a is a mish mash of all (.) you know
28. latin anglo whatever i what you talking about @ @ @ @ @
29. Arti: it's quite funny cause i still make the mistake and this is a leicester
30. thing (.) was and were
31. Ashna: yeah
32. Vasuki: was and were
33. Arti: yeah i always say i weren't when it should be i wasn't and you still see
34. a lot of people correcting you (.) e- especially in the teaching
35. environment it's like no i wasn't so okay but again how important is
36. that do you know what mean

Ashna suggests that among other teachers there is prejudice towards teachers whose first language is not English because of the way they speak. Though not explicitly stated, it is inferred that the prejudicial teachers are white in 1.9 with the phrase 'research your language',

with Ashna implicitly giving ownership to 'English' people. The repetition by Ashna in ll.1-5 and ll.20-28, with the stress and heightened speech on certain words, implies a strong attitude towards this. She also stresses the belief that other teachers have a strong attitude towards non-native English teachers in l.2, saying that that 'they hate it', and then repeating this phrase and modifying 'hate' with 'really' in l.21. Ashna also laughs a couple of times in l.9 and l.28, though nobody else does, and perhaps by doing so she is indicating that to her she believes the attitude of some teachers is a joke. It is noticeable that Ashna relates this prejudice in her example towards teachers talking about other teachers, though she admits experiencing it in l.18: 'I've had it'. Although both Arti, in l.3-13, and Vasuki, in l.16, agree with Ashna, Arti's perception appears to be slightly different from Ashna's and more related to prejudice in terms of a formal/informal distinction giving herself as an example of using colloquial English in ll.29-36. Both Arti and Vasuki were born in the UK and perhaps they are creating empathy with Ashna, who was not, by agreeing with her observation and by suggesting that they have had a similar experience, forming a bond along ethnic lines. This would also suggest that some of this prejudice about language use is related to skin colour, mirroring the beliefs that teachers had about student's prejudices toward non-white teachers (see 5.4.2, p.141). This perceived prejudice impacts on how they value themselves as teachers and how they position themselves within the teaching community.

Both Arti and Ashna agree that they have heard this linguistic discrimination in the teaching environment and dislike this attitude that some teachers have, positioning themselves as being more open to accepting language differences. However there are some implicit differences in Arti and Ashna's perception of this prejudice. For example when Arti completes Ashna sentence in ll.22-23 'are you saying your English is' with the word 'perfect', Ashna rejects this word choice and instead uses the word, 'superior'. So while Arti views English as being perfect or imperfect, Ashna is implying a cline of English language ability. Ashna also recognises that the English language has mixed with other languages in the past and continues to mix in ll.8-9 and ll.27-28, while Arti relates correctness to dialectal differences. These differences would imply perhaps that Ashna would have more openness to other varieties of English than Arti, and this is perhaps related to their personal experience, with Arti born in the UK and Ashna not.

Prejudice is also mentioned in focus group 4, with Mahima in extract 18 asserting that during training, the trainer treated the non-native speakers with an accent differently from other

students. Mahima stresses that it is not her who was a recipient of this prejudice from the trainer, but other teachers.

Extract 18 (Focus Group.4)

1. Mahima: well the thing is i mean when i was doing my level four (.) it all came
2. to light the teacher sort of like had never ever taught er er (.) she'd
3. taught literacy but not esol and she'd never been in contact with er er
4. second language speakers like special information background and::
5. she was she already divided the class and she (.) was more friends with
6. erm er:: (1.0) second language=
7. Harshi: =natives the natives=
8. Mahima: =no no second language speakers who had the er refined pronunciation
9. and the ones who had accents she didn't time to speak that much to
10. them (5.0)
11. I: hmm
12. Mahima: and she [was sort
13. Harshi: [no
14. Mahima: of like very cold towards them they needed tutorials she would sort of
15. like make an excuse (3.0)
16. I: mmm
17. Mahima: an- and i put it in my journal and i said er you know that and she goes
18. (1.0) was it like a power i said yes::::: and she goes sort of like kept on
19. coming up to me oh you know some are better than the others [and
20. Harshi: [.hhhh
21. Mahima: so [you don't i said to her
22. Harshi: [what does that mean
23. Mahima: i said look English is not my language and it's not even my subject
24. I: mm
25. Mahima: and erm::: em i'm braving myself to learn this and she goes oh no no
26. no there's nothing wrong with you (.) you're much better than::: native
27. speakers as well
28. Harshi: well that's sometimes the case isn't it cause they try harder
29. Mahima: you know but her attitude towards us as second language speakers and

30. some of us who had the accent (.) you know she was (.) very (2.0)
31. distant and the ones who had the refined pronunciation she was very
32. very (2.0) °you know she would speak to them and°

Mahima states that the trainer was friendlier towards the second language speakers, and she appears to suggest that trainer was not used to second language speakers of English. This leads to Harshi questioning whether Mahima meant native speakers, and Mahima reiterates that it was the second language speakers without an accent. There are long pauses in Mahima's speech with neither me nor Harshi willing to contribute, perhaps related to confusion in trying to understand who she was referring to. The confusion is also related to Mahima's use of the word 'refined pronunciation' in l.8 and l.31, which she seems to use as an alternative to Received Pronunciation (RP), and her pronunciation of 'refined' is difficult to understand. Mahima states that the trainer treated second language speakers differently and that she 'didn't speak to them much' in l.9, 'she was cold towards them', in l.14 and was 'distant', in l.30-31. Mahima does not include herself with these non-native speakers in l.10 and l.14, using the pronoun 'them' and 'they', but then does include herself in l.29-30, using 'us', perhaps to make her comments more relevant. At the same time she also distances herself from ownership of the English language, stating that it is not her language in l.23. However Mahima is quick to note that the trainer believes she is better than the 'others' and the 'native speakers' in l.19 and l.26-27, therefore positioning herself as a capable learner. Her story seems contradictory in some ways as she positions herself as one of the students who the trainer did not have time for, even though the trainer thought that she was better than the other students. Harshi gives the impression of being shocked in ll.13 and l.20 with an exclamation and a sharp intake of breath, although this might be more related to a discourse strategy of showing interest and empathy. Harshi states a stereotypical view of non-native speakers, 'that they try harder', in reaction to Mahima's statement that 'she is better than non-native speakers' in ll.26-27, implicitly referring to Mahima as she does so. It should be noted that this is a perception of underlying prejudice within the college among 'white' staff members towards NNEST. Moreover the trainer is not within the ESOL department, and is not used to second language speakers and therefore may not be representative of the views of other people in the college. Nevertheless this incident, mentioned in the focus group, does indicate that linguisticism still exists in the city despite multiculturalism and multilingualism. However both Nalini (Interview 2) and Harshi (Interview 9) note that discrimination based on language and race is not as prevalent as it used to be.

In focus group 2, it was asserted by Nalini in extract 19 that people ‘accepted’ staff members whose first language is not English. The participants were discussing when students make ‘errors’ with absence of –s in third person singular and plural.

Extract 19 (Focus Group.2)

1. Nalini: there is a perception [then isn’t it
2. Saachi: [there is a rule
3. Nalini: you are not an english speaker you are not English so::: it’s accepted (.)
4. isn’t it
5. I: o::h okay
6. Nalini: it is accepted isn’t it [you know when
7. Jashith: [mmm yeah
8. Nalini: we are communicating in in a staff room or with managers and all that
9. and they’re english or whatever i think they do accept they have this
10. acceptional that okay she is you know she’s accepted
11. Jashith: you’re talking about staff
12. Nalini: staff or anywhere you go
13. Saachi: yeah yeah
14. Nalini: people do accept because of the multi-culture society that we live in
15. Saachi: no problems=
16. Nalini: =so that -s wouldn’t matter for (1.0) because you can’t change you
17. can’t change °you can’t change° (.) that -s is written in you what can
18. you do the other things are there you’ve got lots of skills of life that
19. you can bring to (.) life and to the world but that -s is just not
20. happening what can you do (1.0)

This is a slight divergence from the topic the participants were discussing previously, leading to confusion as to what and whom Nalini was referring to in l.3 and ll.8-10, and the other participants seek further clarification. Nalini states that people are more accepting of people whose first language is not English, both in the staffroom and outside more broadly in the multicultural society, with both Saachi and Jashith agreeing, albeit with Saachi more enthusiastic in supporting Nalini’s belief. Both Saachi and Nalini are first generation

migrants, while Parul and Jashith are second generation migrants. This may imply that both Saachi and Nalini have personal experience of working within the ESOL department, and people are more accepting of errors that they make, perhaps explaining Parul's and Jashith's muted response as they have no personal experience. Nalini positions herself as one of those who may make language errors and is 'accepted', as in 1.8 she uses the pronoun 'we' and then more broadly starts talking in the third person. Nalini point about being 'accepted' despite making language errors is confirmed when she makes two word form errors in 1.10 and 1.14 and the other participants do not consider it necessary to correct in this context, and instead accept them as part of Nalini's speech.

On the one hand, it appears that there is some level of acceptance at a general level of teachers making language errors in day to day communication when English is not their first language. But according to the participants in one focus group there is an underlying negative attitude among some teachers in the department towards non-native teachers' language 'errors'. Their perception of the attitude of 'white' teachers positions the British-Asian teachers as 'second class' teachers who are considered less linguistically competent. However this may be related to the particular members of the focus group as it was not mentioned in the other focus groups and Mahima was talking about someone outside the department. Therefore perhaps the teachers are oblivious to this prejudice or they do not feel it necessary to mention it, or they did not want to say anything about their work colleagues or some participants are more vocal on this issue. However the fact that discussion about prejudice within the workplace emerged within the focus groups, even though it was not an explicit focus in the discussion statements, suggests that this is a concern for some of these teachers. There is a slight contradiction in their attitudes because while these teachers show a firm commitment towards Standard English, and believe it is the model for teaching (see 6.2.2, p.157) at the same time some they feel offended when 'white' teachers make comments about the correctness of the language use of South-Asian teachers.

5.4.2 Teacher's perception of student's prejudice

Although three of the participants mention linguism from particular colleagues in the teaching environment, it is more evident from students, and mentioned more consistently by all the participants in both the interviews and the focus groups. There was a feeling among

all the participants that students tend to associate the English language and native speakers with white ethnicity, and because of this are negative towards British-Asian teachers, irrespective of whether they are first or second generation migrants. However, as already noted, the teachers' themselves also associate English identity with whiteness which may contribute to students' beliefs (see 5.3.3, p.123). While none of the teachers said that they thought a language teacher should be a native speaker of the language, there was an expectation that students would want a native speaker. This is accepted as an attitude that they, as teachers, will have to overcome and they have to prove their capability to teach English and also their knowledge of the English language. Saheli and Mahima in extracts 20 and 21, both assert that there are problems when students are assigned a class at initial assessment and they ask who the teacher is and look at the name. Saheli states that she has experienced student prejudice during assessment, with some students having a preference for white teachers believing that the English will be more 'proper'.

Extract 20 (Interview.14)

1. Saheli: a lot of times especially from eastern european you know well me
2. being asian i've yo- you do feel like they would have preferred a na-
3. °native speaker°
4. I: well you are a native speaker aren't you (.) you are well you are a
5. native speaker
6. Saheli: well (.) a white person i'll put it that way @@@@
7. I: right
8. Saheli: not being racist or what
9. I: right okay so they they sort of equate [native speaker
10. Saheli: [that that is
11. I: with whiteness students do or
12. Saheli: i (.) i i don't know i've noticed this this is my experience being in esol
13. erm (.) whenever you do an assessment or something this is from years
14. i've noticed you'd get learners asking you ↑who who is the teacher (.)
15. is he white (.) yeah so or if they know the name you know oh that's
16. alright because that person is white yeah and it makes me think hang
17. on i'm (1.0) i do the same thing as that person but then gradually i
18. think (.) erm things change and then you (0.5) it that would be the

Prejudice from students is a common experience among the participants who are classified as non-native English speakers on the basis of their skin colour. Saheli positions herself as not being a native speaker in l.1-3 because she is Asian and associates white with NES, and also becomes noticeably quieter. She is slightly hesitant and does not fully agree with my statement in l.12, saying ‘she doesn’t know’, although her previous statement suggests that she does believe this, so it is perhaps a defensive stance. Saheli claims that students would prefer a native speaker and she notes that she has had personal experience in the classroom of certain students who want a native speaker, which they associate with a white teacher. Saheli is quick to highlight her belief that the student’s opinion is not related to racism. There is a shared understanding of political correctness between me and Saheli, as it is difficult to discuss some issues because of accusations of racism within the context of the teaching environment and wider social environment. The adherence to political correctness is apparent in the interviews with some participants cautious about discussing these issues and noticeable with Jashith in extract 15, p.131, and the participants in extract 17, p.135, not explicitly mentioning white teachers. Saheli states that at assessment the students check the names of their teachers to determine the ethnicity of the teacher. She shows that she is unhappy and to a certain extent quite offended about this situation, stating that ‘she does the same thing’, referring to her doing the same job as white teachers in l.17. However she also notes that the students change their minds after experiencing being taught by an Asian teacher.

Mahima in extract 21 explains the reason why students do not want an Asian teacher which is that they believe they would not be able to understand the pronunciation. Also, similar to Saheli, Mahima identifies that this is a particular group of students from Eastern Europe, though she also states later that Somalians want an ‘English’ teacher as well.

Extract 21 (Interview.6)

1. I: erm and do you think it’s important that they should be nati- that that
2. the teacher should be a a native speaker (1.0) of the language
3. Mahima: there’s a very very big question mark against that because erm (1.0)
4. in::: up to four five years ago when we had a lot of polish intake and er
5. they used to come for assessment they used to ask (.) specifically they

6. would like an english speaker of english native
7. I: right
8. Mahima: purely the reason they said they would be able to understand them
9. better
10. I: right (1.0)
11. Mahima: so if=
12. I: =who didn't they want
13. Mahima: they didn't want the erm african with an african accent
14. I: right
15. Mahima: and they didn't want er::: indians
16. I: right okay
17. Mahima: really cause they couldn't they felt that they could not understand the
18. pronunciation and
19. I: why do you think they couldn't
20. Mahima: the pronunciation (.) they felt that they would want more somebody
21. who would speak bbc english

Mahima does not answer my question about what she believes and instead decides to discuss what students believe about this in l.3. Similar to what Saheli implied, it is not related to race but instead it is because they thought they could understand the teacher better if they were 'English'. I encourage Mahima to continue what she is saying several times, using 'right' as acknowledgments, and there is also some caution by Mahima before mentioning African accents in l.13 and Indians in l.15. This caution by Mahima is again perhaps related to the participant's reluctance to talk specifically about these issues that accuse other people of being prejudice or potentially racist.

The teachers presented this situation as being a battle to prove their worthiness as teachers. However in doing so they do not necessarily position themselves as native speakers in order to justify their position as teachers, but instead presented stories of overcoming prejudice through practice. For example Firaki, in extract 22, acknowledges that she is a native speaker, even though the students do not see her as one, and argues that students have to be in class with her to overcome their prejudice towards non-white teachers and their accent.

Extract 22 (Interview.7)

1. Firaki: and in the same way that i i think (2.0) a good teacher (1.5) should be
2. able to overcome those prejudices with w- we still get it from the
3. students obviously from all cultures
4. I: what kind of thing
5. Firaki: yeah things like they would like (.) they want a proper you've heard er
6. er a proper english teacher yeah you know what i mean yes but
7. sometimes you tell them yeah b- b- but i accept that's part of er the
8. language learning
9. I: but surely i mean your English is is i mean if i if i was speaking (.) er
10. to you i would assume you were a native speaker and you are really
11. Firaki: yeah but you see what the student first of all need to:: be: in the class
12. with me
13. I: hm:::
14. Firaki: yes
15. I: right okay
16. Firaki: before they for a while before they::: they::: (.) they get the feel that
17. i'm comfortable with english language

Unlike Saheli and Mahima, who mention specific national groups, Firaki claims in l.3 that these are students from 'all cultures'. Firaki mentions that she has experienced prejudice with students in the classroom; that they want a 'proper English teacher', with the implication that this is a white English teacher. She also mentions that 'we still get it from students' in ll.2-3, including herself in a broad grouping of non-white teachers and suggesting that this is an on-going situation since she started teaching. There is also an acceptance and expectation of this prejudice from some students towards non-white teachers in ll.7-8 as being part of the students' learning process. Firaki considers that learning the English language also involves learning about other cultures and overcoming prejudice. This impacts on Firaki's classroom practices and there is a need for her to assert herself and prove her ability to teach English. While this is true of all teachers to a certain extent, the racial aspect undoubtedly creates an additional complication for British-Asian teachers to overcome. However though these participants state that students wanted to avoid or did not like being taught by a British-Asian teacher, when we discussed which accents they had heard students had problems with only

French, Scottish and local accents were mentioned, with none of the teachers suggesting that they were aware of Indian accents being a problem for students after they joined a class. This does seem to imply that British-Asian teachers have been able to overcome this initial prejudice.

These prejudices generally appear to stem from students from particular national groups who perhaps have had less interaction with certain ethnic groups. However five participants mention experiencing prejudice from people from their own ethnic group, albeit of a different nature, and perhaps explain another reason why these participants feel distanced from the local community (see 5.3.4, p.129). Harshi (Interview.9) mentions students who have come from abroad and brought traditional views with them, and have clashed with her about their view of the world and how they believe the teachers should behave. This is strongly related to the religious beliefs of these groups which clashes with those who have been born in the UK. Three participants also alluded to other prejudice that they experience in the classroom from certain ethnic groups who did not want to be taught by a female teacher. Vertovec (2007: 23) argues that superdiversity ‘has brought with it emergent forms of racism’ and there is some evidence of this in my study, with prejudice from new migrants towards established British ethnic minorities.

5.5 Summary

This chapter has explored the background of the participants and how they experience key aspects of UK society, and highlighted a certain amount of duality in their beliefs. Being native speakers, having English as a mother tongue, and having an English identity are problematic for all of the participants, but English being their first language and being British appear to be unproblematic. Part of this stems from whether they are first or second generation migrants, but it is also partly attributable to how they are positioned by others. The local community does not necessarily include them because of their caste, religion or language. Students do not necessarily see them as ‘authentic’ English speakers. Four of the participants mention that when they travel to India they are positioned as foreigners. In the UK, colleagues and (it is implied) white people suggest that they are not ‘authentic’ native English speakers. Despite this, overwhelmingly, the participants viewed Britain as home, and their British identity is in many respects more prominent than an Asian identity, and display

attitudes that conform to western societal norms, such as liberalism and equality. It might be that the British aspect of their identity is more evident because I, as an ethnically white researcher, enabled this identity to be foregrounded, and perhaps the participants were encouraged to provide answers that they imagined I deemed appropriate. The participants have different backgrounds and different life experiences, the most prominent and noticeable within this group is whether they are first or second generation migrants. This is noticeable in their responses to certain terms such as native and non-native speakers and their sense of belonging, but is more evident in their language attitudes which will be examined in the following chapter.

This chapter has touched on elements of language attitudes when the participants were discussing native speakers, mother tongue, first language and prejudice. Although in various instances their language attitudes appear to conform to a Standard Language ideology, on other occasions they asserted alternative views. The following chapter will examine the participants' language attitudes in more detail and consider how this impacts on their teaching beliefs.

Chapter 6

Data Analysis:

Language attitudes and teaching beliefs

6.1 Introduction

The following chapter examines the attitudes the participants have towards language, and how this relates to beliefs about their teaching practices. In order to understand the participants' attitude towards English it is necessary to understand their relationship to their other languages. Firstly heritage languages are discussed; whether the participants believe they are being maintained in the UK, and who they believe is primarily responsible for this, either parents or the government. I then go onto discuss their attitude to English language varieties in terms of awareness, linguistic differences between varieties, their attitude towards Standard English, and their beliefs about the 'quality' of different English language varieties. The second section discusses teaching practices in terms of error correction, testing, assessment and non-English use in the classroom. In discussing these issues the participants show a strong conformity to British Standard English, though do not necessarily agree that this is a target which all the students should be tested against.

6.2 Language attitudes

6.2.1 Heritage language maintenance

There are differences of opinion among the participants about the importance of transferring the language and the culture. This is based on their own positive or negative experience of language transference, their perception of their own ability to speak a heritage language, whether they are first or second generation migrants, how they were raised in respect to British cultural mores, the extent of their religious affiliation, whether they have children and their age. For example Samita and Arti, who are both second generation migrants, have different perspectives on the issue. Samita is from a younger generation than Arti and mentions that she has several Asian friends who cannot speak their mother tongue and also that her own use is limited in some ways. She suggests that while it would be 'nice' if people spoke their mother tongue, it is not essential.

In contrast Arti, in extract 23, emphasises that if Asians are born in the UK they should accept British culture and language as a means of integration and participation in the wider society. However she also has a strong belief that heritage languages should be maintained. I have a personal friendship with Arti and have socialised with her on several occasions, which might have encouraged her to be more expressive with her views than some of the other participants.

Extract 23 (Interview.2)

1. Arti: when i see younger children now (.) who are asian they can't speak
2. their own language i'm kind of mortified
3. I: but they're english aren't they
4. Arti: ((coughs)) so am i
5. I: yeah b- well er m m
6. Arti: there's no difference cause as they were brought up in a and i d- do
7. find can you believe born in england (.) leicester even and i go
8. shopping and i see the next generation (.) the parents and the children
9. speaking english i am actually shocked (1.0) and i- i'm born here so i
10. should be more aware or be more open to it and i am actually quite
11. thinking oh my god

Arti's use of words like 'shocked' in l.9 and 'mortified' in l.2 and expressions like 'can you believe', l.7 and 'oh my god', l.11, shows a strong attitude towards language maintenance. She feels embarrassed that young children cannot speak an Asian language and thinks it is important that they do. However it is important to note that Arti has no children, so therefore has no direct experience of having the responsibility to maintain the language. She also uses the phrase 'Leicester even', implying that Leicester should be different from other cities because of its high population of Asians. It is also noticeable that on this occasion Arti implicitly accepts being in English in line 4. However when asked directly if she would call herself English, she said 'no', after pausing for two seconds giving a reason that she does not feel that she has the same experience as 'English' children because her father was patriotic towards India. Another participant, Jashith, who also has no children, expressed a similar strong opinion, though also asserting that not being able to speak a heritage language is not a barrier to inclusion in the community.

Jashith links religion with community involvement and heritage language maintenance, while discussing her involvement in the community and the Hindu festival Navarati in extract 24. She stresses her belief that it is important for children to learn their heritage language and later reiterates her point, indicating that she has a strong belief about this and an existing attitude prior to the interview with few pauses.

Extract 24 (Interview.11)

1. I: do they [Jashith's parents] still they still go
2. Jashith: well they're they're less now and they go less as well now you know i
3. think as a you know young families tend to go more because they're
4. trying to teach their children
5. I: right
6. Jashith: you know they're trying to keep the culture going the culture and
7. religion aspect of it going you know i mean to carry it on so the
8. children don't forget you know where their background is [...] because
9. i think it's important to:: keep your::: and to teach your children about
10. your background where you're from i think that's important you know
11. and at the same time to be fully part of the society that you're living in
12. like (.) you know if you're living in england i think it's important to
13. live as you are living in england you know
14. [...]
15. Jashith: again i think that's really important you know that children do learn
16. their own language
17. I: mm::
18. Jashith: so that's what i meant that if if they're born here and it's good that they
19. embrace the you know british culture and the language and everything
20. because you can't °function without that you know you can't function
21. without that you become cast off° you know from society and yeah at
22. the same time (.) your roots your where you're from you know you
23. should try and encourage your children to (.) study that as well (.) if
24. possible

Jashith emphasises a strong belief that culture and language should be maintained for future generations. She links religion with Asian culture in ll.6-7, indicating that this is a key aspect of being Asian. There is an implication of sentimentally attached to Asian culture and language, with the use of words such as 'background' and 'roots' in l.8 and l.22, in contrast to British culture which is attributed a functional role in ll.19-22. The choice of the word 'embrace' by Jashith in l.5, rather than 'accept' or 'to be part of', does indicate a personal attachment to British culture, and with Jashith being a second generation migrant this is logical. However though mentioning that British culture and language should be 'embraced', the functional aspect of integrating into the local society is given greater emphasis. Jashith becomes quieter in ll.20-21, perhaps suggesting that the functional aspect of English is not the main point that she wants to make in this section of the interview, and she is more interested in emphasising the importance of heritage language maintenance.

As mentioned previously, the participants were unable to clearly articulate what British culture is, and this suggests that one reason why many participants have a strong belief about the maintenance of Asian language and culture is to ensure that the younger generation have a relationship with a culture, and did not, as one participant, Maheshi (Interview 12) put it, 'become lost'. In the second interview I conducted with Jashith she clarified why she believes this is important, saying that because the younger generation are not immersed in an Asian culture and because their ethnicity did not link to a local context, it is necessary to know what their origins are and why they are there. Jashith places the responsibility of maintaining Asian culture and language onto the parents, so that children know where they are from, in ll.8-9 and ll.22-23, and implies that integrating into British society is the responsibility of the individual rather than a family responsibility. This does present a difficult situation for second generation migrants with Asian cultural heritage, requiring them to adapt to two distinct cultural values and creating intergenerational conflict. Though as has been noted, many of the younger generation have forged a blend of cultures to overcome the difficulties presented by ethnic differences (see 3.4.3; p.54).

Participants with children had a different opinion, especially those whose children do not speak a heritage language. For example in extract 25, I ask questions about Mahima's children and the languages they speak, and because they do not speak any Asian languages this might be a contentious issue for her. She presents a defensive position in relation to this question.

Extract 25 (Interview.6)

1. I: do you think that to be a to be an indian as it were you should be able
2. to speak an indian language (.) or to be a british indian
3. Mahima: erm (4.0) w- my children are british indian=
4. I: =right [okay=
5. Mahima: [they don't speak an indian language (.) an:::d as::: part of
6. their::: so they have a group of you know all their generation (.) my
7. children's generation the majority of them don't speak indian
8. languages or read and write
9. I: yeah but do you think they should or
10. Mahima: rr
11. I: do you think in some ways their less (.) connected to their culture or
12. Mahima: de:::pends:: depends depends depends on the parents
13. I: right
14. Mahima: i am not connected as much into the community
15. I: right okay=
16. Mahima: =so (1.0) a- as::: (5.0) i think to me a language is::: (1.0) if they're
17. able to communicate with people it would be nice that they're able to
18. communicate with people in different languages make them sort of
19. like a bit more comfortable .hhh but if they're able to communicate
20. with somebody in a certain in one language comfortably and have a
21. good relationship so you don't need to be indian non-indian (2.0) i
22. mean be really really really i mean the shocking thing is that i was (.) i
23. often watch erm community channels on satellite tv

There is a long pause in l.3 followed by hesitations, lengthening of vowel sounds and shorter pauses to give her time to articulate her opinion. Her response to the question appears quite defensive, arguing that the majority of British-Asian children do not speak an Indian language in l.5, asserting that she is not very involved in the community which makes it less important to pass on the language in l.14. She feels it necessary to justify the reasons why her children do not speak an Asian language. In l.17, she states that it would be 'nice' if they could communicate in different languages, which does not necessarily mean a heritage

language. In L.20 she mentions that if they can speak one language comfortably then it is okay, which perhaps suggests communicating through English. In ll.22-23 she moves the conversation onto discussing Asians talking with a crisp English accent on the community channel. It is interesting that she finds this ‘shocking’ in l.22, and can be contrasted with Arti who finds it ‘shocking’ if children cannot speak a heritage language in extract 23, p.150. It is possible Mahima uses this term to emphasise something more interesting than what we had previously been discussing as a deflecting device because it was uncomfortable discussing her children’s inability to speak an Asian language. In a previous turn Mahima expresses some regret that her children did not learn the language, and links this to the widespread belief during the 1970s that if children were ‘affected’ by their ‘mother tongue’ it would inhibit their ability to use English and consequently they would be classified as ‘unintelligent’ (Brah 1996, Darby 2002, Verma *et al.* 1994). So prejudice and the fear that her children would be ostracised persuaded that it would be better for her children to focus English and consequently neglected their heritage language.

Ashna (Interview.1) asserts that being unable to speak a heritage language does disadvantage her children in the Asian community, saying ‘they don’t want to fit they can’t fit’, which she says creates a distance between her and her children. This is also mentioned by Maheshi (Interview.12) stating that the younger generation without a heritage language are separated from ‘their culture’ and are ‘misfits’, and should be proud of ‘their own culture’, blaming the parents for the lack of transference. The other participants in the study, who have children with varying degrees of proficiency in a heritage language, with one exception, Nalini (Interview.3), had a less strong attitude towards heritage language maintenance than those participants who have no children. It would appear that without the personal experience of language transference and the knowledge of how difficult this is to achieve, it is easier to take a ‘lofty’ position of denigrating the younger generation for not speaking a heritage language and as a consequence their parents.

Generally all of the participants suggest that the main responsibility for the transference of heritage languages and culture is parents, with schools and government being secondary. Maheshi (Interview.12) makes the point, as does Arti (Interview.2), that there are a lot of other languages in the city such as Polish and Lithuanian, and stress that it would be necessary to include these languages as well which would be expensive for the local authority. However in some respects they are presenting the societal views during a time of austerity

that there is no money for this sort of investment (Cooke and Simpson 2012). Other participants, Ashna (Interview.1) and Nalini (Interview.3), on the other hand believe that they should have Asian language classes in mainstream education, and questions why the main languages taught are French and German, which makes little sense from a local perspective. Nevertheless, though these participants feel that teaching heritage language in mainstream education would be ‘a good idea’, they still believe the primary responsibility is with the parents.

Nalini and Harshi (Interview.9) mention their own obligation as parents to pass on the heritage culture and language, and felt that it was necessary to take their children abroad to help enhance the transference of language and culture, but the ability to do this obviously depends on the financial income of the parents. Four other participants with children also mention visiting their heritage countries on a regular basis, and though not stating specifically that the reason for this was to assist the transference of language and culture, their children were able to speak a heritage language. Clearly it is a financial and time burden for Asian parents to ensure the transference of language and culture which some parents are unable to meet.

Nalini, in extract 26, positions English language and culture in a secondary role to Asian culture and language for her daughters. She takes her family every year in October to a specific Hindu religious festival in Mathrua, India, the birthplace of Lord Krishna. She feels that this is important religious festival for her and her children to attend along with 5,000 other devotees, where she feels they can receive a more ‘pure’ form of religious worship than they would be able to receive in the UK.

Extract 26 (Interview.3)

1. Nalini: i take all my family my two children my husband and we go every year
2. I: okay
3. Nalini: er::: one because my children can er::: get the influences of religion
4. and keep up with it get a ton of religion so the visit to kenya is a time
5. for vitamin d
6. I: @ @ @ @ @
7. Nalini: and family this one is more religion

8. I: right okay
9. Nalini: culture yeah because m- my i my daughters have been brought up from
10. day one with
11. I: yeah
12. Nalini: culture religion should be maintained english is second

Nalini finds it necessary to explain the reasons why she takes her daughters abroad without any prompting by me, perhaps this is a reflection of negative assertions in the media of parents taking their children out of education to go abroad. For Nalini, the English language and British culture is second to the ability to transfer Indian culture, which is in contrast to the other participants who tend to emphasise the importance of integration into British culture. In this respect Nalini emphasises her opinion that it is her and her partner's responsibility to transfer the Indian culture, religion and language to their children. She spends a lot of money in order to support this cultural transference, using the expression 'money in the bank' later in the interview. She believes that this is an investment in her daughters' upbringing and worth the financial cost, and gives them something that she believes they cannot fully receive in the UK. In many respects the participants' beliefs about the importance of maintaining heritage languages are also related to the strength of their religious beliefs, with Asian languages inextricably tied to religion. A loosening of religious beliefs affects the maintenance of cultural practices which impacts on the strength of the participants' commitment to heritage language maintenance and these beliefs are transferred to their children.

All of the participants were sceptical about whether heritage languages would continue in the future, even though they believe it would be beneficial if they do. However this does come from the perspective of multilingual speakers who have personally made a contribution to maintain the language. In Extract 27 Jashith shows some level of discomfort about the declining heritage languages within the UK based on her own personal observations.

Extract 27 (Interview.11)

1. I: what do you think will happen to er::::: languages like gujarati and er
2. hindi in the future in england
3. Jashith: well its::: people are (.) i know a lot of the youngsters are not interested
4. at all in learning so it is there is a danger that it's gonna disappear

5. I: right okay do you think it will then or do you think there will be=
6. Jashith: =probably probably because (0.5) i know erm people with young kids
7. nowadays they're not even talking to them in gujarati at all they're just
8. using english which is good that they're using english but then they
9. forget about their own (1.0) you know where they come from and their
10. own language you know
11. I: yeah [do yo- no sorry no go on
12. Jashith: [b- (2.0) it's a difficult one because you know the children you
13. know raised in this country they do need to speak good english you
14. know and it's all around them and they need it at school as well (1.0)
15. but i think it's important if that if you've got a background where your
16. mother tongue is different then you should learn it i think

Jashith, like seven of the other participants, believes that the younger generation are not interested in speaking their own language. She asserts that children should speak good English, perhaps influenced by the media and news that children are not learning English properly because parents from certain ethnic groups are not using English in the home and therefore do not have 'good' English. Nevertheless she also notes that children should learn 'their own' language and 'mother tongue' in l.10 and l.16, giving ownership to the younger generation based on their ethnicity. However she uses a stronger modal verb when discussing English; 'need' in l.13. This is suggestive of ownership of an Indian language and culture, but there is no implication that the English language belongs to them even if it is their first language, or that the language belongs to anyone.

6.2.2 Participants' beliefs about the importance of Standard English

As well as the participants' acceptance of English language varieties being influenced by their attitude to their heritage languages and level of affiliation to British and Asian cultures, they are also influenced by their awareness and understanding of Standard English. Six of the participants are unsure about the specific meaning of Standard English, while four of the participants believe it is related to the colloquial terms: BBC English or the Queen's English. Therefore four of the teachers' understanding of Standard English relate to pronunciation and mirrored their opinion of linking a native speaker to accent (see 5.3.2, p.117), with only three

of the participants relating Standard English to grammar. As Standard English refers to the grammar and lexis of the language, and not the pronunciation, it implies that the participants have a weak understanding of what Standard English is. The confusion for the teachers in attempting to define Standard English is evident in the following two extracts.

Extract 28 (Interview.12)

1. I: how would you des- have you err how would describe standard english
2. Maheshi: (3.0) what is the standard english=
3. I: =have you heard of standard english before
4. Maheshi: do they speak standard english
5. I: well no i mean::: do you know what it what it what it is sort o- how
6. would you describe it
7. Maheshi: yeah °bbc°
8. I: bbc yeah
9. Maheshi: Sometimes itv
10. I: okay sometimes itv @ @ @ @
11. Maheshi: @ @ @ @ @ @ yeah to me that's standard english

Maheshi leaves a long pause in 1.2 when she considers my question and asks me what it is. Her lowering of volume in 1.7 when she suggests BBC English implies a lack of confidence. Also in 1.7 she makes a joke about ITV as a model, perhaps as a face saving device to cover her uncertainty. In relating Standard English to pronunciation four of the participants believe that Standard English is a culturally defined system and specifically revolves around a particular British variety which might make them feel a distance from the language in terms of ownership.

Extract 29 (Interview.3)

1. Nalini: so standard english (.) is what i feel is that is reading in action the
2. students like like like er multiplication like you sort of cram it one by
3. one is two so that was how i was brought up in english and this is how
4. you do it and this how you speak and this how you write and that's it
5. grammar is past tenses this and present tenses this and that's it (.) but

6. now it's more technical why do you do this why °do we have to do it
7. why° so we are teaching more of those so the standard english (.) erm
8. (1.0) i don't know what you mean by standard english (1.0) okay the
9. correct way to english i mean i don't know
10. I: i don't know
11. Nalini: you don't know okay @@@@
12. I: well i i i mean i have my own ideas but i want ask i was looking for
13. your ideas=
14. Nalini: =i think standard english is the correct way to speak english but there
15. is lots of slang language as well you know erm:: but to teach english as
16. a second language we have to teach the correct °standard of english°
17. isn't it

What Nalini says between ll.1-8 is not very cohesive or clear, and her speech becomes quieter in l.6 before asking for clarification and then admitting she does not know. In ll.14-17 Nalini relates Standard English to 'the correct way to speak English', semantically linking this variety with being the correct and accurate one and the one she asserts that is taught to the students in the classroom.

However all of the participants distance themselves from being speakers of Standard English by identifying an external source of the standard, rather than presenting themselves as models of Standard English. None of the participants state that it is the language that they speak, implying that they are somehow detached from this monolithic standard, even though it is the model they teach. Neither do they suggest American Standards, or consider the polycentric nature of English, or consider that other standards are being created.

In some respects it is difficult for teachers to distinguish between different varieties of the same language because conceptually the vocabulary does not always exist to explain the differences, especially if they have not received training in world Englishes and English as a Lingua Franca. Canagarajah (2013: 15) finds a similar difficulty, noting that it necessary to use vocabulary such as 'native' and 'non-native', 'community', and labelled languages, to discuss a new paradigm because they are the only terms available. The participants also find difficulty balancing their position as teachers, which includes their role to improve students' language in terms of British English, and their belief system about the communicative

purpose of language. In the following extract for example, Arti finds it difficult to express her views and reconcile the distinction between communication and accuracy, with long pauses in ll.8-10.

Extract 30 (Interview.2)

1. I: so so but by improving the way they communicate does that mean er::
2. does that involve er them (.) being closer to the the like standard
3. english do you think we should teach them (1.0) a standard english (1.0)
4. Arti: yes i do actually
5. I: yeah
6. Arti: yeah i do
7. I: why
8. Arti: just because it's erm (5.0) i think it's i know it sounds really bad this
9. does but i think it's the correct way to (1.0) er i don't know i think it's
10. the correct way to er (3.0) because you need standard english to write
11. basically that's what i'm trying to say it's fu- it's funny that transition
12. (.) do you know what i mean i don't think we should be so hung up on
13. it then you know if articles aren't in the right place or whether you
14. know they're n- they're not using the past perfect for example no i
15. don't think that makes an issue at all right because they are
16. communicating and you know that i- it's enough to get (.) through (.)
17. you're day to day life it's functional

It is noticeable that Arti struggles to find the words to express her meaning in terms of describing Standard English, saying the 'correct way' twice in ll.9-10, but retreating from completing the sentence. She tries to balance her beliefs about functional English and 'correct' English, and as a compromise relates Standard English to writing. Arti mentions articles and the past perfect as features which 'we should not be hung up on' in ll.12-14, but it is not clear why these features are less important than others, and which ones are important. Arti reaffirms her belief in the importance of Standard English in focus group 1 in extract 31, with Ashna agreeing, and with lots of latching and overlapping speech indicating the strength of their beliefs.

In both the interviews and the focus groups Arti and Ashna express the belief that Standard English is the model that should be taught.

Extract 31 (Focus Group.1)

1. Arti: i think personally i think standard english is important to know
2. Ashna: yeah
3. Arti: that's [that's th- what you should strive for to be honest
4. Ashna: [that's what i agree as well that's what i'm saying but at the end
5. of the day=
6. Arti: =then you can make it on your own how you want=
7. Ashna: =you can make it your own when you're outside the environment

Although both Arti and Ashna affirm the importance of Standard English and this should be the target for students, there is also some flexibility in their attitudes, giving ownership to students outside the classroom environment in ll.6-7, and suggesting some openness to variation.

The way that Ashna understands Standard English is related to their personal experience and also the way in which they view language, which itself is related to their profession as teachers. So for example Ashna, in extract 32, transfers her view of the correctness of English from the Gujarati language.

Extract 32 (Interview.1)

1. I: so do you think that we err:: in the classroom we should be teaching
2. like the standard English
3. Ashna: yes i think it's well it's like it's like if i was if i'm teaching gujarati i
4. can't teach gujarati different different dialects or different different
5. gujarati has a set of grammar rules gujarati has a set of rules grammar
6. rules you have to teach that but it's way the person you know person
7. you know

Ashna relates her beliefs about Standard English to correct language in Gujarati. She notes that there are several dialects in Gujarati, but that there is a Standard Gujarati with rules and this is what she would teach. It is also noticeable in this short extract the doubling of the adjective ‘different’ in l.4, which is a feature of Nalini’s speech during her interview, and as both of these participants migrated from Africa, it might be speculated that this is one feature of English in this region. As well as relating Standard English to Standard Gujarati, Ashna also relates correct pronunciation of English to the correct pronunciation of Gujarati in the following extract. Although Ashna herself did not relate Standard English to pronunciation, as noted previously, four of the other participants did.

Extract 33 (Interview.1)

1. Ashna: my er:: my daughter cannot she can understand some words of gujarati
2. but she finds it very difficult to speak and when she speaks (.) she
3. speaks like an english person would speak gujarati it doesn’t sound
4. right (1.0) the [phonemes
5. I: [how is that
6. Ashna and phonetically
7. I: really
8. Ashna: it just doesn’t go
9. I: so it’s like gujarati with an english accent=
10. Ashna: =yes exactly in fact if i if i if i taught you a gujarati word it’s how
11. you’d you’d pronounce it and how you’d say it my daughter would
12. exactly say that you know

Ashna’s opinion of accents and acceptance of different accents for English is influenced by her assessment of the right way to speak Gujarati. Using negative terminology, Ashna states that her own daughter’s pronunciation of Gujarati ‘doesn’t sound right’, in ll.3-4 and ‘doesn’t go’, in l.8. This was also evident in focus group 1, with Ashna relating learning a language accurately to learning Gujarati.

Arti (Interview.2), Samita (Interview.5), Tanka (Interview.15) and two of the focus groups mention the difficulty for students to understand native speakers because of their different accents, the use of slang, and because the students had been learning Standard English, which

did not help them to talk to most native speakers. It is also stated by four of the participants that people in South -Asia speak English more accurately than in the UK in some respects, because they learn Standard English from the written form. However perhaps these participants do not notice the differences that there are between British English and the variety of English which they hear, or think they hear while they are travelling. According to Arti, in extract 34, the language use in India and China is more accurate than British English, because people ‘pick up’ incorrect usage from friends.

Extract 34 (Interview.2)

1. Arti: yeah compared to (.) people who speak english:: in leicester
2. particularly (2.0) because in india again like china i think they pick up
3. they read the language erm cause when you when you study en-
4. english as a second language erm you- you're more prone to you look
5. at the grammatical struc- and you're more prone to look at the
6. accuracy so you produce it like that whereas in leicester you're gonna
7. pick it up from erm (3.0) from your from your friends and you're the
8. people you're co- conversing with basically

Arti relates the learning of English to grammar and consequently to the written form of the language. In a previous extract she relates Standard English to the written form, and in this extract she is making a distinction between formal and informal language. The formal language is related to being accurate, which suggests her attitudes derives from a Standard language ideology, and dialects are informal and inaccurate.

The participants have a strong belief in the importance of Standard English and relate this to BBC English, correct English, accuracy and written English. Four participants, such as Ashna, were influenced by Standard forms in Indian languages. However it is also noticeable that some of the participants had difficulty in uniting the ideas of accuracy and fluency, and which one had precedence. Arti, for example, struggled to find a compromise between the two, and it is an awareness of language variation through her background as a second generation migrant, and also as a language teacher, which perhaps makes this difficult for her. There also appears to be some willingness to give ownership to students in the way that they use the language, which may or may not conform to Standard English.

6.2.3 Attitudes to English language varieties

There were different levels of awareness when teachers were asked about their knowledge of English language varieties. Three of the teachers had never heard the term Indian English before or what it meant, four of the participants mention different pronunciation and specific vocabulary that is used in India, and two of the participants associate it with Hinglish, two participants refer to Indian English as a dialect, one participant suggests it is incorrect language use, while two participants mention that it is codeswitching. For example, in extract 35, Mahima relates Indian English to Hinglish and she also describes it as codeswitching.

Extract 35 (Interview.6)

1. I: have you ever heard of have you ever heard of the phrase indian
2. english before
3. Mahima: er:: what they call erm (1.5) hinglish
4. I: yes some some yes it has been termed hinglish
5. Mahima: hinglish
6. I: a mixture of hindi and english so you've you've heard it before
7. Mahima: yes
8. I: and how would how would you describe it
9. Mahima: its erm what they do is they start of talking in eng- in er start with
10. english then they sort of break it in er: go into punjabi hindi or
11. whatever language they speak and then and if you listen to erm if you
12. listen to their conversation in one sentence they speak there would be
13. at least five or six english words
14. I: yeah (2.0) and then
15. Mahima: it's all mixture of everything it's like (2.0) swahili when we came to er
16. when we sort of like we developed the swahili language for in (2.0)
17. there was a lot of common words that we (.) we thought were (.)
18. punjabi but they're not they're swahili words we thought they were
19. punjabi so if I were to speak somebody from india and use that in those
20. words they'd look at us and say °what is she talking° about but like i

21. said the indian english or hinglish as they call them call it

When I ask Mahima whether she has heard of the term Indian English before, she associates it with another term ‘Hinglish’, which is considered derogatory by some (Edwards 2004a, Nelson 2011). However at the same time she also positions herself as not one of the people who refer to it as Hinglish, using ‘they’ on two occasions in l.3 and l.21. She also refers to Indian English as codeswitching and draws parallels with a mixture of Swahili and Punjabi from her own experience of mixed codes. However, despite acknowledging the mixing of languages, she does conceptualise language as separate codes in ll.15-19. She notes her belief that when she was younger some Swahili words were Punjabi and when she tried to use them found they were from Swahili. So although education provides the ‘habitus’ for the separation of languages into distinct codes (Bourdieu 1991, Fairclough 2001), this also stems from interacting with other speakers, and therefore visualising languages as bounded systems is perhaps inevitable, in some contexts. The way in which understanding is made is co-constructed, with me confirming her interpretation of Indian English. I also contribute to this interpretation by suggesting that Hinglish is a mixture of Hindi and English, although I had meant the word blend of Hindi and English.

The participants were tentative in their response to the question about English language varieties and, perhaps because they see me as an ‘expert’ on the topic, the participants’ require assistance to develop their own interpretation of the term. An understanding of Indian English was a collaborative speech event, with some of the participants asking me for clarification and for confirmation, though most of the participants’, except four, were able to elaborate the term into a meaning in terms of codeswitching and phonetic differences, with two participants referring to Indian English as a dialect. Therefore most of the teachers indicate an awareness of Indian English or have the ability to co-construct a meaning with me, and as a consequence could perceptually envisage other English language varieties. In this way the participants are describing the language as a communicative tool, with differences from British English in terms of pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar as well as codeswitching.

The participants in extract 36 mention Hinglish when I suggest Indian English and Chinese English as other possible varieties of English.

Extract 36 (Focus Group.3)

1. I: so you don't think in fifty years' time maybe we'll be erm (.) we'll be
2. speaking indian english or chinese english maybe
3. Saloni: hinglish
4. Tanika: hinglish [well actually
5. Maheshi: [hinglish
6. Saloni: hinglish
7. Tanika: i don't know about that because it's their perception that the british and
8. the american english is the (.) correct way and perhaps the only way
9. cause their need to want to

The participants' use the derogatory term 'Hinglish', when I suggest Indian English, and Tanika emphasises that British and American English are perceived by 'them' as the correct way to speak in ll.7-8. She seems to indicate that it is second language speakers who think that British and American English is the correct way to speak. The onus is put on other countries to perceive English this way, rather than considering that there are other actors who make this a reality. Within this short section it is noticeable that the participants associate Indian English with Hinglish, and while in academic literature it could be perceived as derogatory, for the participants it is presented as a synonym. Therefore perhaps it is necessary to reconsider the assumption that some terms automatically have negative connotations. Although the participants have contact with 'Hinglish' speakers, perhaps they too are conditioned into an ideological position of denigrating these speakers. Being English dominant speakers the participants are in some way detached from the way English is used around the world, and may differ in their belief system compared to English speakers in other countries.

Arti, in extract 37, suggests Jamaican English as an example of an acceptable variety of English that differs from British English.

Extract 37 (Focus Group.1)

1. Arti: if you look at caribbean language look at the jamaican the
2. caribbean language i mean they don't speak they don't follow the

3. [models
4. Vasuki: [patois
5. Arti: yet they make (.) no just what do you call jamaican english if you like
6. they use their own their sentence structures aren't always they don't
7. follow the models of do they of native speakers yet is it important that
8. they don't no because they haven't actually that's one example actually
9. where they have made the language their own
10. Vasuki: i mean its hinglish as well you've heard of hinglish haven't you
11. hinglish hindu english it's called hinglish and they made it their own as
12. well (.) you've heard of hinglish innit
13. Arti: i think it's what society accepts as acceptable though because if it's
14. that (.) like you said before i think people do make a mockery and
15. they're always testing someone's english and you hear it a lot in
16. college especially i think do you of being judged by your language yet
17. if it was jamaican (.) er that's quite acceptable it's quite there's a
18. different erm

Arti raises her voice in order to gain a turn over the other participants in l.1 and implicitly suggests British and American speakers of English as models of native speakers in l.2 and ll.6-7. Arti argues that Jamaican English is an example of a variety of English where the speakers can claim ownership. However she does not recognise Jamaican English as a native variety in its own right, even though English is the speakers' first language, in l.7. Although Vasuki suggests Patois in l.4, and Hinglish five times and Hindu English once in ll.10-12, as other alternative varieties they are not acknowledged by Arti, who reaffirms her belief that Jamaican English is acceptable. Ashna also does not acknowledge any of these alternative varieties and remains noticeably quiet during this discussion, perhaps accepting the other participants' authority on this subject, not fully understanding the discussion, or disagreeing but not wanting to show this. Therefore it appears that these participants have different perceptions of what they find acceptable as alternative varieties of English, perhaps related to their personal experience.

As noted above the participants tend to describe Indian English in terms of being different. However when asked to describe the way that English is spoken in South-Asia there are conflicting and paradoxical contributions from the participants. For example four

participants stated, as Arti does in extract 34, p.163, that people speak better in India because they focus more on grammatical accuracy, as does Naagesh (Interview.13) Saheli (Interview.12) and Samita (Interview.5) because they are comparing this to dialectal British English. In addition, although, both Jashith and Harshi describe Indian English as being different in terms of pronunciation and vocabulary, but when asked to describe how English is spoken in India and Bangladesh they use negative terminology. Jashith, in extract 38, relates the way Indians speak in India to the students that she has met.

Extract 38 (Interview.11)

1. I: how would you describe the way i mean i'm not sure how much
2. experience kind of had but the way that they speak english in india (.)
3. how would you kind of describe it
4. Jashith: how would i describe it it's different to::: how (1.0) because i've seen
5. students who have come from india and they do they get the word
6. order wrong
7. I: right
8. Jashith: you know and the pronunciation obviously is different (.) so::: even
9. though they have studied there sometimes it's hard to understand what
10. they are saying as well

Jashith describes the way they speak English in India from a negative perspective in comparison to British English. For example, 'they get the wrong word order' in ll.5-6, implying that there is the correct way. However she describes the pronunciation as 'different' in l.8, suggesting that she has a greater acceptance of differences in terms of pronunciation rather than grammatical ones. She also notes a belief that the way they speak makes it difficult to understand, although Jashith had previously stated that she is better at understanding Indian speakers because of her contact with them.

Harshi, in extract 39, in comparison to Jashith, has spent more time visiting her heritage country and is able to give a specific description, but it is also predominantly negative.

Extract 39 (I)

1. I: back in bangladesh how would you describe the english that
2. bangladeshis speak
3. Harshi: oh::: (.) it's it's really robotic very robotic and the way they learn
4. english is very very erm::: rote
5. I: right
6. Harshi: very rote (.) erm::: difficult to have conversation with people in
7. bangladesh one of (.) last time we went two years ago we met this guy
8. who is an english language erm lecturer and he actually lectures quite
9. hi- higher level english and .hhhhh (.) it was a really unnatural way of
10. speaking because i think he was trying to impress us one and he was
11. really happy to be having this full on conversation all in English that
12. nobody else seemed to understand and only he could do this converse
13. with us very much this kind of i'm it's an elite kind of attitude i'm
14. better than you because i can speak this language erm:: it's very poetic
15. as well it's very poetic they try to make it er very beautiful and that's
16. because the bangladeshi language is very beautiful

Harshi gives a negative evaluation of the way English is spoken in Bangladesh, which is referred to as 'robotic', and she mentions 'rote learning' which is associated with an Asian learning style, emphasising this by modifying robotic and rote with 'very' in ll.3-6. However rather than describing Bangladeshi English, she recalls a conversation with an English speaker, with a sigh, expressing frustration or exasperation, in l.9. She goes on to stress that she believes that English is seen as a status symbol, and how she sees this as 'unnatural', but this is perhaps because the speaker did not conform to her conception of how English should be spoken. However she also later mentions her belief the speakers try to make Bengali English 'beautiful' and that it is 'poetic' in ll.14-16, which is a consequence of the Bengali language being poetic. The belief in the notion of the English language becoming poetic when it is used in the Asian sub-continent is also noted by another participant, Ashna (Interview 1), who describes Indian English as 'singing English'. Both Harshi and Ashna imply that the rhythmic pronunciation of Indian languages transfers into English and gives Indian English a poetic sound. Although these participants describe English varieties with

negative terms, they also show a level of affection towards the variety in the way that it imitates the first language in terms of intonation and stress.

When the teachers considered varieties of English they would invariably suggest other native English, or rather monolingual, varieties, as an alternative to British English. Perhaps it is difficult for the teachers, who have not studied world Englishes or taught abroad, to conceptualise other varieties of English. Instead they can only offer alternative native varieties which include American, Canadian, Welsh and Scottish. Extract 40 shows an attempt from different participants to gain control of the turn, with latching and overlapping speech, when I propose alternatives to British and American English. Although Maheshi mentions Indian English in 1.6, and Tamba mentions real English in 1.8, neither of these are noticed by the other participants.

Extract 40 (Focus Group.3)

1. I: so erm are there any other varieties of english that we could teach apart
2. from british or american english (.) [this is more kind
3. Saloni: [we could teach (xxx)
4. I: [of not
5. Maheshi: [indian english @ @ @ @ @
6. I: not necessarily you know in in england but this is more kind of
7. thinking about you know if you're working abroad or something
8. Tamba: teach like real english
9. I: should we be teaching=
10. Maheshi: =scottish english [because
11. I: [scottish
12. Maheshi: one of our friends [one of our friends taught me something
13. I: [should we be teaching british and american english
14. abroad or like you say indian english [maybe nigerian english
15. Tanika: [well british and american
16. schools are very big now in the middle east now and in india and
17. places like that so if you want your children to speak i guess with an
18. american accent you send them to an american school and [if you want
19. Saloni: [exactly

20. Tanika: a british accent you [go to a british school
21. Saloni: [in india (0.7) in india british schools were always
22. considered really good so all the private schools were under the british
23. models

When offered suggestions of multilingual varieties such as Indian English and Nigerian English by me in ll.13-14, the conversation is turned back towards English being taught in the Middle East and India. This attitude is also observed in other focus groups, whose participants mention Australian English, Canadian English, American English, Scottish English and Welsh English. Perhaps this is reflective of their own experience of teaching, as they have only been English language teachers in Britain, and have not studied World Englishes or ELF. While English has internationalised, English in England has stayed relatively static, and this seems to have led to their lack of awareness of Englishes around the world beyond established varieties, but is also reflective of their position as language teachers and beliefs about accuracy.

Nevertheless all the teachers recognise that people around the world do speak English in different ways and that there is a need to teach strategic competence. This would suggest that although they still believe that the British and American varieties are the principal benchmark to judge the use of English, there is awareness that the British and American varieties do not encapsulate the full use of the language as it is used around the world. However the teachers seem to be unable to give authority to other speakers of English around the world and predominantly consider different dialectal varieties of native English. Outer and expanding circle Englishes are not conceptualised as ‘new’ Englishes and are instead seen through the prism of Standard British English and viewed as ‘incorrect’ and ‘unacceptable’. Harshi for example, in extract 41, seems unable to conceptualise innovations being made by non-native speakers.

Extract 41 (Focus Group.4)

1. I: do you think looking at the last bit er many er many of these so called
2. errors er could be considered innovations [so like
3. Harshi: [mm (2.0) i think that’s true
4. cause th- the english language changes we know that it’s continuously

5. changing and it has to (.) you know the language that we speak in
6. leicester is completely different to maybe spoken in the home counties
7. I: right yeah
8. Harshi: and we need to be aware of that and we need to innovate as well and
9. accept that some of the language that is being spoken on the street that
10. yeah could be communication again isn't it

Although Harshi agrees with the possibility that errors could be considered innovations, this is in relation to England and she does not conceptualise that non-native speakers could innovate. Instead she refers to differences in speaking in terms of the 'home counties' and 'Leicester' in l.6, and 'the street' in l.9. So while being open to recognising differences between English speakers, she only seems to give authority to native speakers.

In most of the focus groups it was necessary for me to contextualise the idea of non-native varieties of English with examples because it was difficult for the participants to give authority to differences from British or American Standard English. They could only conceive of the language as the one which they teach and use, and perceived other varieties as being on a cline towards an American or British Standard English. So for example in extract 42, I prompt discussion by suggesting that a large group of people may make innovations to the language and it would be accepted by them as correct. While most of the participants found it difficult to accept this suggestion, Nalini appears to be more open to the notion of different varieties.

Extract 42 (Focus Group.2)

1. I: let's say they all started speaking English and they decided to drop the
2. s is that okay if they all
3. Nalini: if it's okay for them
4. Saachi: .hhhhh
5. Nalini: if i talk about india they have completely different accent they have
6. completely different words they speak you know they speak a lot
7. of language like almost everything you say they say almost there
8. almost it doesn't come to the context when we are in britain that almost
9. doesn't work but they're happy to use that to communicate in english=

10. Jashith: =they use a lot words in different contexts=
11. Nalini: =in different contexts completely you know
12. I: let's say that india and china got together and they had a debate and
13. they said look we're going drop the -s on the language from now on
14. and that's about two fifths of the world population
15. Saachi: but that that would be a new new variety a different variety of english
16. Jashith: yes
17. Saachi: errm errm like american english uses truck for lorries or vacations
18. instead of holidays is a variation of english errm (.) you cannot impose
19. a rule on a language because a language changes and you can't stop the
20. language and say oh we'll all speak like shakespeare used to do or
21. write like shakespeare thou shall not yeah

In 11.5-9 Nalini makes the point that it is acceptable within their context, but that it does not transfer into British English, demonstrating an acceptance of the differences between Indian English and British English. Saachi makes a noticeable intake of breath in 1.4 when Nalini appears to agree with me, suggesting that she disagrees with what I had said. This is also apparent when she uses American English and changes in British English since Shakespeare, in 11.17-21, as a reference point to conceptualise a different variety of English. So while it appears that some of the teachers are open to different varieties of English, others do not consider varieties which are unestablished, which inevitably means non-native varieties. This corresponds with whether they are first or second generation migrants, with first generation migrants being more open to variation in the English language, with two exceptions. Tanika (Interview.15, Focus group.3) whose first language is English and learnt Gujarati as a second language, and Saachi (Focus group.2) who learnt English as a second language when she was a teenager.

In focus group 3 in an extension of extract 40, p.170, Maheshi attempts to suggest that students would learn the English which is spoken in their own country, this is dismissed by Tanika.

Extract 43 (Focus Group.3)

1. Maheshi: but you see if you were in canada then you'd be learning canadian

2. english like if you are erm china you'd be learning chinese english
3. isn't it [i don't think
4. Tanika: [would you though would you though because chinese would be
5. your mother tongue (.) you'd be learning english with the chinese
6. accent or background or culture or whatever it is so then we're going
7. back to that because it is not their first language in those countries (.)
8. whereas in the uk and the us english is the first language per se .hh (.)
9. therefore it is looked at as british or american english (.) do you
10. understand so it's having that (0.5) and learning english then us saying
11. i want (.) it's like for me to learn gujarati i don't think i still have the
12. proper accent [to speak gujarati
13. Maheshi: [no no (1.0) unless you went there when you were like
14. three or four
15. Tanika: yeah because people still they laugh at the way i speak because it it has
16. a cert- my my my (.) [tuts] intonation and my if not absolute
17. pronunciation is not absolutely correct so that's the other way round

Maheshi asserts that there is a distinction between the varieties of English learners need in different contexts. However Tanika disagrees with this assertion and suggests that because it is not their first language, they should still be learning British and American English because that has the authority. However it is noticeable that there are pauses when she tries to express what she wants to say, and also in ll.9-11 her argument becomes slightly unclear. Perhaps she might believe her argument is unconvincing for the other participants, who do not speak British or American English. In order to rectify this, or justify this, she, like Ashna in extracts 32 and 33, pp.161-162, relates accuracy and correctness to the other languages that she speaks in ll.11-17. Rather than arguing her point, Maheshi allows the focus to move away, to discuss how the accent becomes more attuned to the local variant if you are there for a longer period of time.

Tanika's and Maheshi's opinions show a contrast in their beliefs about language, and this is perhaps a consequence of their background. Perhaps there is a difference between Maheshi and Tanika because while Maheshi is a bilingual speaker, Tanika has learnt Gujarati at a later stage in her life. Maheshi grew up in India and learnt English along with two Indian languages, while Tanika grew up in South Africa. Although Tanika's parents were Gujarati

speakers they predominantly spoke English to her when she was younger. She also had an English medium education, and only learnt Gujarati as a second language when she arrived in Leicester. Tanika tended to dominate this focus group and English is her first language, while for three of the other participants English has become their dominant language. This appeared to give her a sense of greater authority in certain areas of discussion, and normative attitudes tended to dominate. This meant that some ideas, for example in this instance, became suppressed.

Saachi, who learnt English at a later stage in life after arriving in the UK, also presents a Standard Language ideological position in extract 44. This part of the discussion moved between talking about innovations, error correction and confidence.

Extract 44 (Focus Group.2)

1. Saachi: innovations i'm not sure (10.0)
2. Parul: innovations (3.0)
3. Saachi: don't think not sure many of these so called errors should be
4. considered innovations i don't think they could be considered
5. innovations [they
6. Parul: [no
7. Jashith: [no
8. Saachi: could be considered minor (1.0) problems
9. [...]
10. Parul: i mean there may be an innovation at some point if if enough people do
11. it[like you get text language
12. Nalini: [you know outside socially is okay
13. Jashith: [hm::: yeah
14. I: hm:::
15. Saachi: yes
16. Parul: instead of you you just write u I mean it must have started off like that
17. [got
18. Jashith: [hm
19. Saachi: [yes
20. Parul: bigger and bigger and more and more people use it and now it is an

21. innovation
22. Nalini: again if you don't accept that (.) language without an -s where is the
23. inclusion you have to include them (.) in this society and the classroom
24. and even though they're not we can't single them out you're not
25. speaking -s's so

Saachi does not perceive that non-native speakers can claim ownership of the language and make innovations, and instead suggests they are 'minor problems', in l.8. This implies that she believes that students need to be corrected in relation to Standard English, in lines 3-8, and she shows a strong attitude by stressing certain words. Parul recognises innovations in terms of "text language", and this is a point also made in another focus group. But again this is native speakers making innovations, and the group are unable to conceptualise innovations by non-native speakers without these being authorised by native speakers. However Nalini appears to be more open to the possibility of non-native speakers' ability to innovate in the English language. She appears to accept speakers whose language, in terms of the absence of third person singular and plurals, does not conform to the Standard variety. This perhaps reflects Nalini's own experience of having arrived in the UK in her early twenties and regularly visiting India. Nalini uses a current education 'buzzword'; 'inclusion' in l.23. Other buzzwords such as 'diversity' 'differentiation' and 'equality' are applied to variables such as gender, ethnicity and disability but are not generally considered applicable to the English language, despite the multilingual nature of the city.

Being more open to different varieties of English is in many ways related to the participants' language background and also their level of acculturation into British culture. The second generation migrants in this study have a stronger connection to British cultural values than first generation migrants, and this is reflected in their attitudes towards language. The first generation migrants appear to have greater awareness and openness to different English language varieties and also tend to view language in different terms. For example, in extract 17, p.135 Ashna appears to view language in terms of a continuum of usage, rather than in strict binary terms. Nalini appears to be more open to English varieties in extract 10, p.121, is less concerned about grammatical and phonemic differences, and stresses that these differences are accepted. Mahima, in extract 1, p.110, suggests that she was unsure of the correctness of her own language, mentioned 16 dialects in Punjabi, and appears more open to

different varieties in extracts 2, p.112 and 35, p.164. Maheshi also suggests that it would be more applicable for English speakers to use their own variety of English in their own countries, before she was interrupted in extract 40, p.170. However at the same time as viewing language in different terms and being more accepting of variation in spoken English, they also tend to support Standard English. These views appear to represent a duality of attitudes among first generation migrants and it is probable that this is a consequence of them being influenced by different language ideologies and greater experience of different varieties of English. These language attitudes affect some aspects of their beliefs about their teaching practices, but in general all the participants tend to conform to a majority view of language as being correct or incorrect within the context of the classroom, and uphold British Standard English as the primary model for learners. How the participants' language attitudes influence their beliefs about their classroom practices is discussed in the following section.

6.3 Teachers' beliefs about their classroom practices

The main aspects of classroom practices that I focus on are error correction, teaching models and targets, assessment, and other languages in the English language classroom, which I felt would be the most relevant in understanding how multilingual teachers related their language attitudes into classroom practices.

6.3.1 Error Correction

What underpinned the participants understanding of error correction is related to theories within second language acquisition (SLA) and the notion that the students' language is fossilised, and that they have formed habits which need to be corrected.

Extract 45 (Interview.2)

1. Arti: i think if people have been here a long long time then what we call is
2. their english has been fossilised hasn't it basically so yeah they should
3. be treated differently because you shouldn't strive for accuracy cause
4. it's not going to happen
5. I: right okay

6. Arti: right but the newly arrived asians who have come here for like si-
7. who've been here for six months and they've learnt english in india
8. then no they shouldn't be treated differently because what's the
9. difference between somebody who's arrived from poland

Arti believes that in terms of accuracy there should be allowances for students who are fossilised, because it is difficult for them to achieve accuracy. However she views this fossilisation only in terms of Indians who have lived in England for a long time, with the implication that English speakers outside Anglo-speaking countries do not become fossilised. She argues that there is no difference between Polish learners and Indian learners and does not consider that English is used as a lingua franca in India, or consider that features of fossilisation could be related to the development of an alternative variety of English.

Likewise, Maheshi argues that certain pronunciation features of the way Somalians speak are fossilised.

Extract 46 (Interview.12)

1. Maheshi: mainly the somalis they can't do that (.) per and ber so i do @ @ @ @ @
2. keep correcting them
3. I: do you drill them a bit or:::
4. Maheshi: yeah @ @ @ @
5. I: ha- have you found it to be effective or:::
6. Maheshi: sometimes some of them have got it but mostly it's very ingrained it's
7. like fossilised
8. I: right okay

While these participants feel that some students have fossilised language features, they also assert that students should not be penalised if this is the case. Nevertheless all of the teachers believe that error correction is an important aspect of their job. They also think that they are effective in correcting errors, but four of the participants mention that in order to be successful the students need to be receptive to change. The participants in three of the focus groups note that it is important not to correct all the time because it may affect the students' confidence or may embarrass them in front of their peers, and that correction is dependent on

the classroom situation. The participants in two of the focus groups, and three of the participants in the interviews also state that it is important to correct students in the classroom, so that the students would not be embarrassed outside the classroom if they used ‘incorrect’ English. Two of the teachers also feel that they have been given conflicting information about correction from other teachers on how and when to correct. And all the focus groups also note the importance of communication in relation to error correction and assert that it depends on the task whether they should correct or not. The participants in three of the focus groups also feel that students want and appreciate being corrected, which is related to the belief that students want to speak like native speakers or learn British English (see 6.2.2, p.157).

The range of consideration that the participants give to error correction would seem to imply that it is an area of the job that they have given a lot of thought to and have developed strong attitudes towards. However the participants have not questioned the ideological assumptions which support error correction within ESOL teaching or consider that non-native English speakers could have an authentic linguistic repertoire which does not conform to British English. Embedded within the teachers’ language when they talk about error correction and other aspects of teaching, and highlighted in bold in the remaining extracts, are words and phrases which conform to viewing language in terms of right and wrong or correct and incorrect. And it is this embedded language within language teaching which makes it very difficult for teachers to accept other varieties of English which do not conform to a Standard variety of English. In fact the very term ‘error correction’ within language teacher education explicitly invalidates the students’ language, which needs to be changed in order to reach a state of correctness.

Ashna, in extract 47, affirms her belief in the need to correct student’s language.

Extract 47 (Interview.1)

1. Ashna: because you are teaching them the main (.) you know purpose of
2. language you know for them to learn in **appropriate way** you can’t
3. teach them all you know because >he’s indian he speak differently<
4. but in the classroom if they speak you know with their own accent if
5. they’re pronouncing **wrong** (.) then i would say you would **interfere**

6. like someone would pronounce it **wrong** then i would say **it's not like**
7. **that** you don't say it like that you actually say this (0.5) >but that's
8. what i mean< but if they're speaking in their (.) dialect you know i
9. don't normally change i've got in classroom you know they speak in
10. their singing english that i was telling them you know but this way i
11. just let it because this what it is as time goes
12. [...]
13. i think we have to try and **change it** as you say we say this is how we
14. would say it the pr- the::: the **proper pronunciation proper way of**
15. **saying** (.) is this way so at least because if you don't do that if you
16. don't do that then you are (.) you know you::: how can i say (.) that
17. i:::f we a::void lesson because the whole point is we are there to teach
18. them the language and the grammar and **appropriately** and it's **for**
19. **them to adjust** and then if they don't you can say that this is what it is
20. and they will listen to the other person=
21. I: =so we give them the option [they can decide
22. Ashna: [yeah (1.5) well i to be honest with you i
23. (.) normally in my classroom this is what i do if it's pre-entry or entry
24. one i normally would say this is not how you say it if you would wish
25. to continue it would be **unappropriate** it won't be (.) in English as as
26. **grammatically correct** this is how you you would notice that mm
27. slowly they do because they realise because they want to (.) but if it's
28. at entry two we say no this is no you say it like this [taps on the table]
29. then you (.) impose your **rules**

Ashna uses several words to describe the language of her students such as 'appropriate way' 1.2, 'pronouncing it wrong' 1.4, 'it's not like that', 1.6, 'change it', in 1.13, 'proper pronunciation' and 'proper way of saying it', 11.14-15, 'appropriately' and 'for them to adjust', 11.18-19, 'grammatically incorrect', 1.26 and 'unappropriate', 1.25. She also places stress on certain words throughout this section which perhaps indicates a strong attitude and belief about this topic in 11.2, 4, 5, 7, 15, 17 and 19 and taps on the table in 1.28. What Ashna appears to be suggesting is that people have their own way of speaking and this is the way they speak, but within her job as a teacher in the classroom, noted in 11.1-4, it is necessary to attempt to correct the students' English in respect to British English.

Ashna reiterates that it is the teacher's job to teach the 'proper' way of pronunciation in l.13, and teach it 'appropriately' in l.18. She states that 'we have to try and change it' in L.13, which underlines the importance of error correction in Ashna's opinion, even though it might not be successful. In l.21 I summarise and clarify what Ashna is saying by suggesting that pronunciation use is a choice, and she reiterates that as part of her job it is for her to inform students what the correct pronunciation is and then it is for them to change in l.27. She argues that students do change their language and conform to British English because 'they want to', but it is not clear if she believes they want to because they want to sound like native speakers, or so that they are able to pass an exam.

Ashna suggests that she responds to the pronunciation of her students, rather than pre-teaching RP phonetic sounds, implying, perhaps that Ashna considers intelligibility more important than conformity to British pronunciation norms. Ashna makes a distinction between the lower and higher level learners in ll.23-28, and she imposes firmer language 'rules' on the students at the higher level. Ashna is also slightly unclear about how she visualises the distinction between dialect and accent. In l.5 she notes that if the accent is 'wrong' she would change it, but in ll.8-10 that if they were speaking in a dialect she would not change it. The 'singing English' which she mentions relates back to an earlier discussion, when she was talking about the rhythm and tone of the way Indian English speakers speak (see. p.169).

It is noticeable in extract 47 that Ashna views it as has her job to correct students' language which does not conform to British norms. However, within the focus group, when the participants were discussing prejudice, (extract 17. p.135) she appeared to be annoyed that teachers in the ESOL department were critical of the way Asians speak English and the way she speaks English. She also stressed the point that English is diverse. This does appear to represent a duality of beliefs in that outside the classroom English is authorised in daily communication even if it does not conform to the norms of British English, but inside the classroom it is necessary for students to conform. At the same time Ashna does give some authority to the way her students' speak, by not changing their dialect, even though it is slightly unclear what she means.

Ashna's views on error correction are also noticeable in extract 48 when she discusses her

opinion with other participants and the importance she places on it.

Extract 48 (Focus Group.1)

1. Ashna: i i sort of do (.) agree not to spend so much time (.) on **correcting the** °
2. **the errors**° but having said that their learning grammar isn't it if
3. they're learning grammar so it is our job to make sure that they're using
4. the **correct** form: in terms of you know verbs simple verbs
5. otherwise (.) what is the point of them coming to learn grammar (.) it's
6. like for me if i went to if i went to learn my language which is gujarati
7. and if i wasn't (.) taught how to pronounce shir sir and when to use it
8. how will i know so i would be using it **wrong** and i don't want to make
9. a fool of myself somebody laughing behind me oh god she doesn't
10. understand (.) that's the last thing isn't it (1.0)
11. Arti: yeah
12. Ashna: so i think it's quite important and also when they're writing .hhh i
13. mean having said that you know when they say does it really matter if
14. they say tree three dree i mean they need to know tree is a t [three
15. Arti: [yeah
16. Ashna: is a th
17. Arti: yeah
18. Ashna: so it's important (1.0) I think anyway as a teacher (.) and **correcting**
19. not mean embarrass them
20. [...]
21. Arti: because you do see a lot of learners at entry one for example who
22. haven't learnt the basics for example present simple (.) and then you
23. go on to (1.0) erm say level one and they still haven't mas- **not**
24. **mastered** but they still haven't understood but there again you see very
25. erm successful speakers or people who are in (.) professional jobs and
26. they **don't actually pronounce things** (0.5) **properly** but you still can
27. understand them

Ashna gives the example of learning Gujarati and suggests that if people did not learn it correctly they would be laughed at, relating correct grammar and pronunciation to Gujarati

and being embarrassed in ll.6-10, which was also noticeable in extracts 32 and 33, pp.162-163. She also mentions this in her interviews, noting that her children laugh at her if she mispronounces a word in English. Perhaps this opinion stems from Ashna's own experience of coming to England, and perhaps her accent was stigmatised when she arrived, though she uses the first person and conditional sentences in ll.7-10 indicting a hypothetical situation. She also claims ownership of the Gujarati language in l.6, saying 'my language'.

Although Ashna suggests that not a lot of time should be spent on correcting errors, she makes the point that the reason to come to class is to learn the correct grammar and her job as a teacher is to 'make sure they are using it correctly' in ll.3-4. She emphasises this by not using a contraction for 'it is' in l.3, though contracts them in the rest of the dialogue. No one appears willing to take over from Ashna in this section of the discussion, with long pauses in l.10 and l.18, and Arti using a discourse strategy 'yeah' to encourage Ashna to continue. Ashna expresses confusion in ll.1-14, believing it is important to correct, but then at the same time questioning whether some aspects are really important for the students. Arti also states her confusion over communication and accuracy in ll.21-27, suggesting that accuracy, in terms of British English, is of more concern when the students develop their language ability. Again in bold there are words and phrases which imply a strong attitude towards language as right and wrong: 'correcting the errors' in ll.1-2, wrong in l.8, 'correct' in l.4, 'correcting' in l.18, 'not mastered' in ll.23-24, 'don't actually pronounce things properly' in l.26.

Nalini has a different attitude towards pronunciation errors and feels that teachers should not change their pronunciation as long as it is clear and can be understood. So for instance in extract 49, Nalini accepts that there is need for correction when there is a misunderstanding, and at the same time recognises that a person's accent indexes their identity. There is also an implicit belief in the effectiveness of teachers to correct students' pronunciation and language related differences.

Extract 49 (Interview.3)

1. Nalini: erm::: i do **correct** their pronunciation like this morning she goes erm
2. legister i said you don't say legister you say leicester and we were
3. talking about problems problems in in the home life you know there is
4. a ligature or there is a she goes block-ed i said no you say toilet

5. blocked you know so you sort of tell them you know because some of
6. them cannot speak th the or th so i tell them the tongue should come
7. out you know a- a- and this is how you should speak i will make sure
8. they learn the **correct way**
9. I: do you think it help do you think it is effective or::::=
10. Nalini: =it is very effective i think i- i- if they don't speak it **correctly** they
11. won't be able to communicate outside
12. I: i know that but do you think that we:::: er you know correcting their
13. pronunciation it does make a difference that they they do change or::
14. Nalini: sometimes (.) i feel that we shouldn't change them (1.0) sort of more::::
15. over sort of it should be changed to a certain extent but keep their own
16. originality kind of thing you know their own culture thing you know
17. their own first language erm as long as it's clear enough for
18. communication
19. I: okay
20. Nalini: i wouldn't change them [totally to be an english speaker kind of thing
21. I: [no no no no no no
22. Nalini: you know because it's a second language
23. I: yeah but do you think we i mean are effective in (.) changing
24. pronunciation
25. Nalini: we should be but if they do it for a::::: you know as much as they can
26. and they can by-pass doing an exam and by-pass going you know sort
27. of er::: communication outside as long as it's clear
28. I: yeah
29. Nalini: because now we have multi-culture society people around us do accept
30. things ages ago they didn't you know we used to live in this hostile
31. society but yeah

In 11.25-27, Nalini reiterates her opinion of the importance of communication over accuracy, noting that if the student's language is good enough for communication outside and they are able to pass an exam, then the language is acceptable. She also maintains this attitude during the focus groups, and does not tend to conform to a normative view of the English language. However, even though Nalini appears to have a more lenient attitude towards error correction, and is more open to different varieties of English than some of the other participants, she uses

language like ‘correct’ in l.1, ‘correct way’ in l.8 and ‘correctly’ in l.10. Therefore although she appears to be more accepting of differences in languages, she is still conditioned into viewing these as errors in relation to her teaching practices. As with Ashna in extract 47, p.179, Nalini questions whether she should change the student’s language, as she implies that it is related to their identity in ll.20-22. In doing this, she rejects the idea that students should be aiming for Standard British English, which other teachers believe they should (see 6.2.2, p.157). Nalini also believes that correction can be effective sometimes, but more significantly she states her belief that people are more accepting of second language speakers than they were in the past in ll.29-31, which she also stated in extract 19, p.140. As well as correcting students when it interferes with communication, Nalini also explicitly teaches pronunciation, mentioning –ed endings and tongue position in ll.6-8.

The participants’ own experience influences their attitude to correction and language, with a cline of acceptance towards different Englishes. For example there were clear differences between Nalini and Arti (Interview.2) in the way in which they viewed language. While Arti expresses an attitude which implies a strong commitment towards Standard British English, Nalini is more accepting of differences in language use, and this could be related to their experience and affiliation towards Asian culture and religion. Arti shows some notional commitment towards Asian language and culture, but Nalini remains immersed in Asian traditions, religion and language, and resists the influence of British culture on her family. However in other instances when Arti is discussing prejudice (extract 17, p.135) and fluency over accuracy (extract 30, p.160), she demonstrates more flexibility in her attitudes towards language variation. Another participant, Mahima (Interview.6), also appears to have a weaker affiliation towards Asian culture and language and a looser connection to the community than Nalini, though not to the same extent as Arti. However she also positions herself as being more open to differences in the use of grammar. These differences between the participants seem to be related to whether they are first or second generation migrants and consequently exposed to singular or dual language ideologies and a deeper experience of different varieties of English.

However, though the teachers differed in their attitudes towards language and English language variation, their opinion of the importance of error correction was consistent throughout the different focus groups. In extract 50 Saloni considers these pronunciation differences as problems that need to be changed by the teacher.

Extract 50 (Focus Group.3)

1. Saloni: and in fact you know when you do it as a group if you have a group of
2. leaners from the same area they practice themselves there are certain
3. sounds that all different communities have a **problem** with [the arabs
4. Tanika: [yes
5. Saloni: with the bers
6. Tankia: there is no letter
7. Maheshi: somalians b's and p's
8. Saloni: gujarati's with their s's
9. Tanika: s's yes
10. Saloni: and a lot of the other communities have their **own problems** as well so
11. it's just (.) its realising that everybody has **problems** in certain areas
12. and they appreciate it when they're shown how it's done but of course
13. it's not done straight away because (.) they need time to settle down to
14. get to know the others and feel comfortable but then especially what
15. i've noticed is that people who come from india especially they expect
16. to be taught
17. Tanika: yes so they don't mind [being **corrected**
18. Saloni: [they don't mind and they appreciate it

Saloni discusses the 'problems' that different students have in the pronunciation of different sounds observing that Gujaratis have problems with -s, and Somalians and Arabs with -b. There appears to be little conception that these pronunciation 'problems' should be accepted as different, and instead they need to conform to British English. The students are 'shown how it is done', and also 'appreciate' being taught how to speak in the same way as British English speakers; l.12 and l.18. Even though the teachers recognise that the different nationalities speak English differently, there is an expectation that they all want to change the way they speak. In ll.17-18 Saloni and Tanika agree that students want to be corrected and welcome it, which is linked to the idea that students want to learn British English (see 6.2.2 p.157). In ll.13-14 Saloni also states that consideration needs to be given to building students' confidence, which allows them to 'feel comfortable' in the classroom environment, and she

resists correction in the interests of classroom management and rapport building. All the groups hold the view that they should not correct everything the students say, which is predominantly related to not damaging the student's confidence.

In extract 51 Saloni views pronunciation features of students' English as habits they have formed which is a reference to fossilisation, noted above on pp.177-179. In this extract the participants also consider how what they teach in the classroom relates to the outside world. When I interject to question whether it is important if the students are not using articles correctly, the participants respond by noting that the reasons for students' difficulty in using this language item is related to language transference.

Extract 51 (Focus Group.3)

1. Saloni: it's also **habit** because it's an effort t- to [make that
2. Saheli: [yeah yeah
3. Saloni [sound
4. Tamba: [yeah
5. Maheshi: and nobody has taught them how to say that isn't it so they don't know
6. any better so I think it is **important to correct**
7. Saloni: and the other thing that i point out to them is that in class (0.5) i can
8. help them **improve the way they speak** or they write because (.) i'm
9. there to help them outside nobody will because it's rude to correct a
10. person who's **speaking badly** people may go and say all sorts of
11. things but they will not help you say the word **correctly**
12. I: what about=
13. Tanika: =again it's how often you do it isn't it
14. I: what about [art-
15. Saheli: [and how you do it as well like what you were saying
16. the word that if they went outside and used it you'd feel guilty so you
17. would take them aside and **correct** or tell them this is what you
18. wouldn't do it in front of people so depending on another one if it's
19. just a common word >you'd think oh it's alright but I can **correct it**
20. make it like everyone else makes the same **mistakes**< depending on
21. the situation as well isn't it

22. I: what about if they drop like articles::: (0.5) does that matter hhh. a an
 23. and the does it i know a lot of east Europeans students they don't use
 24. articles
 25. (all speak at once)
 26. Saheli: iraqi learners put the everywhere=
 27. Maheshi: =everywhere yeah=
 28. I: =do they=
 29. Saheli: =yeah every word would have a the
 30. Saloni: because in indian languages we do not have an article
 31. I: right
 32. Saloni: so we speak without articles so when they're learning articles (.) in
 33. english becomes a bit of **problem** and it's the same with a lot of other
 34. languages
 35. Maheshi: prepositions as well because in gujarati the preposition counts as post
 36. position you know so they would **mix it up**
 37. I: does it matter if they mix it up
 38. Maheshi: it does it doesn't matter if they are talking to somebody you know like
 39. in a social come co- situation but if they go for an interview or if they
 40. go for something else then it would matter because the person will look
 41. at

This section has a lot of imbedded negative language in relation to errors; 'important to correct' in l.6, 'improve the way they speak' in l.8, 'speaking badly', in l.10, 'say the word correctly' in l.11, 'correct' in l.17 and l.19, 'mistakes' in l.20, 'problem' in l.33 and 'mix it up' in l.36. In ll.7-9 and ll.15-16 both Saloni and Saheli make the point that they need to correct the students as part of their job. To gain a turn Saheli raises the volume of her voice in l.15, and states that teachers, using the pronoun 'you', would 'feel guilty' if they allow students to continue to use 'incorrect' language outside the classroom, alluding to the embarrassment that students might experience, which was also mentioned by Ashna (Interview 1). Therefore the participants stress the importance of their views of correction in the classroom and how it is an essential part of their job. As noted in ll.17-20 by Saheli, there is either explicit correction or more subtle forms of correction depending on the classroom situation. In ll.5-6 Maheshi states that she believes it is important to correct because the students have not been shown the correct way to speak in relation to British English. It would appear that Maheshi

means that students have not been shown the correct way in their own country, which would seem to contradict what other participants were saying in 6.2.2, p.157 about learning the correct grammar in India, or perhaps it is related to what Jashith mentions about writing in Indian English (see 6.3.3, extract 58, p.197). When I inquire whether it matters if there is an article or not, the teachers respond from a linguistic perspective and begin discussing languages that do not have articles and Maheshi mentions the same in relation to prepositions in 11.35-36. This would seem to imply that the participants find it difficult to conceptualise an English language which might be different from British English. She also relates how accuracy is dependent on the context, with accuracy being more important in formal situations.

While participants accept that they are expected to correct language as part of their job, and that correction is situated in context and not always applicable, when the participants are confronted with the question of whether these errors ever impede communication they appear to accept that they do not. Instead the position is that these errors do not sound right to them, and this is related to the embarrassment that Ashna mentioned (interview1). Extract 52 is a direct continuation of extract 44, p.175.

Extract 52 (Focus Group.2)

1. Parul: depends how much of an impact it has on the whole message (1.0) if it
2. doesn't impede the whole message
3. I: i don't think it ever impedes does it
4. Parul: no=
5. Jashith: =it doesn't=
6. Parul: =no=
7. Saachi: =it doesn't (.) it just (.) **sounds (.) well**
8. Parul: °doesn't **sound right**° but=
9. I: =he like
10. Parul: yeah
11. Jashith: but if we spoke like that to each other that would be=
12. Parul: =that would be **wrong**
13. Jashith: it would be **unacceptable** really wouldn't it
14. I: well what about if there was a whole group of them all (.) doing it

15. Parul: well yo- you'd have to **correct them** wouldn't you (1.0) you'd have to
 16. **correct them** (.) you could only **correct them** so many times
 17. Nalini: you can't do a whole group saying yes -s **wrong** [that is **not right** (1.5)
 18. unless you've let them do that
 19. Parul: [but not everyone
 20. will get it **wrong** all the time (2.0) maybe they'll learn from their peers
 21. if they don't pick it from you

In extract 52 there is a lot of latching and overlapping talk, which would seem to indicate that the teachers are very engaged with this topic, and it is probably a topic which is often discussed among teachers within the staffroom that they have firm opinions about. The participants tend to agree that communicating a message is a priority for students outside the classroom environment, but also note the importance attached to teaching correct English within the classroom. Again the teachers argue in ll.7, 8 and 12 that language that does not conform to British Standard English is wrong, and in l.13 that it is 'unacceptable' and that there is a need to 'correct them', in ll.15-16. When I suggest that these language differences do not impede communication, the participants agree but Parul and Saachi state that it does not 'sound right', falling back on a position of English being aesthetically pleasing.

The notion of a language being aesthetically pleasing is also evident in the following extract; with Mahima finding it irritating if the students continue to make errors, even if they do not impede communication. She also notes a difference of opinion in regard to whether teachers should correct or not.

Extract 53 (Interview.6)

1. Mahima: so they're sitting there doing these exercises okay present simple they
 2. got to read that that but when they're talking they:: they miss the -s out
 3. in third person and they're doing the plurals they miss the -s out (1.0)
 4. I: yeah (1.0)
 5. Mahima: and i think=
 6. I: =do you think we should be correcting them or just::: think
 7. Mahima: it's a little bit difficult
 8. I: yeah yeah

9. Mahima: depends i mean like sometimes we wou- some say don't **correct them**
10. some say **correct them** so i tend to say yeah that was okay what you
11. said but it should be done this way so i had to do it very subtly
12. I: right yeah rather than
13. Mahima: saying that's no- subtly sort of like
14. I: at the end rather than breaking up the communication i mean really
15. does it matter if they're if they're missing an -s off does it matter
16. Mahima: it can get very **irritating** at times
17. I: @ @ @ @ it's **irritating** yeah but i mean you can still [understand
18. Mahima: [i don't know but
19. can you understand yeah:: i think (.) you know what's happened is (.) it
20. doesn't matter anymore (.) because even the native speakers are
21. becoming like that

Mahima notes grammar errors such as zero marking -s in plurals and third person singular, which are common features of different varieties of English (Jenkins 2009b, Kachru *et al.* 2006), 'among the most slippery grammatical subsystem for English L2 users' (Li 2010: 620), and also a feature of some local English dialects (Britain 2010). Mahima also mentions that correction should be done subtly, which is a point made by other teachers: they do not want to interrupt communicative fluency or to damage their confidence by correcting in extract 48, p.182 and extract 51, p.187. In this particular instance I suggest that error correction should be at the end in order not to break up communication, which is my interpretation of subtly but it is not clear what Mahima's meaning of subtly is. Although Mahima mentions these errors are irritating in l.16, she reiterates that it does not interfere with comprehension and therefore it is not problematic, implying that she is less concerned about accuracy in relation to British English Standards. She also notes that native speakers do not adhere to British Standard English, and therefore questions why language teachers should be concerned about these aspects of language.

In terms of correction, the teachers view it through the prism of their job as language teachers, the focus on the requirements of exams, and also that this is what students want. However again, as mentioned previously, it is clear that conceptually the teachers lack the vocabulary to describe how the students are speaking and consider language forms to be either right or

wrong. This could perhaps be related to their lack of teacher training in respect to World Englishes and ELF.

6.3.2 Teaching models and targets

Related to the idea that students want a white English language teacher (see 5.4.2, p.141), is the belief among the participants in the focus groups that students want to learn British or American English and that they as teachers are just facilitating this need. The participants in extract 54 assert that British English and American English are the models that students want to learn. However Nalini, who has personal experience of using a non-native variety of English having grown up in Kenya, presents a different perspective of the acceptability of learning a non-native variety of English outside England.

Extract 54 (Focus Group.2)

1. Parul: i was going to say that i d- i d- although we don't it it doesn't devalue
2. the language but people aspire to speak like the english [do or
3. Jashith: [yes
4. Parul: like the americans do even though (.) there's **nothing wrong** with their
5. their the way they speak but people all want to speak like the english
6. and they want to speak like the americans don't you find I find people
7. do
8. Saachi: yes
9. Parul: they want to speak like that because they think that (.) once you can
10. speak like that **you're good**
11. [..]
12. Parul: well if if people want to learn english as a foreign language is it
13. I: yeah yeah yeah
14. Parul: then [they would expect to be taught
15. Saachi: [then yes
16. Parul: you know the [british model
17. Parul: [yeah (1.0) yeah
18. Jashith: [they wouldn't be expected to be taught indian english

19. would they
20. I: why not (1.0)
21. Parul: because they want to learn the language maybe with a view to coming
22. to england or whatever you know
23. Nalini: i don't think people who really don't want to come out of their own
24. origin place do want to learn british or or or or [american english
25. Jashith: [but i
26. Nalini: i don't think so if I was in kenya i would stick to my kenya i didn't
27. want to learn (.) how they speak in britain
28. Parul: only if you wanted to come to britain you would [want to learn
29. Nalini: [so there is a need
30. Parul: and often there is a need yeah the people who are learning [you know
31. Nalini: [only if they
32. Parul: want to to
33. Nalini: you are needed to do that if i was speaking a very very you know
34. **wrong accent** i wouldn't be given a job here (.) because i wouldn't be a
35. good teacher so there is a performer act (1.0) there isn't there
36. @ @ @ @ @ you have to act as

Parul places stress on 'want' and 'aspire' in 1.2 and 1.6, which would seem to indicate a reasonably strong belief of students wanting to learn BrE or AmE, as Parul in other parts of the discussion does not tend to stress words. It is also noticeable that she refers to 'people' rather than students in 1.1-6, and notes that they 'all' want to speak like 'the English'. It could be that she is referring to students, but also people she has met while traveling abroad or who have travelled to the UK. Parul equates BrE with being 'good' English in 1.8-9, implying that non-native English varieties are bad, and that people are trying to achieve that level of English to be considered 'good'. There is agreement by Jashith and Saachi with Parul, though not by Nalini, who remains silent in this section of the discussion, suggesting that she does not fully agree with the other participants. Nalini draws on her own experience of using English in another country before she came to the UK, and rejects the idea that she should use British English when she was in Kenya and instead she would 'stick to her Kenya' (English) in 1.26. While Nalini presents an alternative view from the other teachers, she still feels the need to affirm her own position as a language teacher, similar to Mahima in extract 18, p.138, stating that she would not be employed if she had a 'wrong accent', and suggests

that she is performing an act of a British English speaker in order to do her job. This suggests a strong conformity among teachers of what is considered acceptable in terms of accuracy, and a level of conformity to the views of the other teachers in the focus group.

The different focus groups all tended to agree that British English is what students want, which Saloni asserts in extract 55, though she does mention this specifically in relation to students living in the UK.

Extract 55 (Focus Group.3)

1. Saloni: and:: the other thing is that a lot of the polish learners who come here
2. they want to learn (.) the ↑british ↑english
3. Maheshi: yeah
4. Saloni: they're very very clear about it very clear about it (.) and (.) they feel
5. cheated if they are not getting what they want there's nothing wrong at
6. all with american english or say if you go to the west indies th- they
7. have their own style of speaking it **doesn't make it worse** they're
8. **clear enough** (.) but it's where we are (.) its if we were there we taught
9. them that that would be fine but being here (.) this is what the students
10. expect

As with the other focus groups, Saloni also asserts that the students want British English, stating specifically Polish learners in 1.1, and stressing 'British English' in 1.2 in terms of tone and emphasis. This is related to Saloni's teaching context, and Maheshi agrees that Polish students want British English and this might be the case with these particular learners who come to England, but some of the teachers struggled to conceptualise contexts outside their immediate teaching environment. This is suggested with Saloni, like the other participants in 6.2.2, p. 157, perceiving different varieties of English in terms of native English, in 1.6 referring to 'American English' and the 'West Indies' as alternatives to British English. For the teachers, BrE and AmE are the normal standard against which other varieties are measured.

Although nine of the participants find it difficult to accept themselves as native speakers (see 5.3.2, p.117), and note that students believe Asian teachers would be less beneficial for them

because they want ‘proper’ English (see 5.4.2, p.141), they personally feel that they are able to teach the language and this is related to the belief among participants that the native model of English is an achievable target. While the four focus groups were unable to reach a consensus of how to define a native speaker, (see 5.3.2, p.117), what they did agree on was that being a native speaker was an achievable target for learners, basing this on their own experience of becoming native speakers and also of non-native speakers within the media with ‘good’ English. This is noted in the following two extracts, from two different focus groups, which effectively underlines the authority of the native speaker within the classroom among teachers.

Extract 56 (Focus Group.1)

1. I: no no no i was just wondering .hhhh (.) if they can’t ever achieve being
2. [you know=
3. Arti: [they can achieve
4. I: you think they can achieve
5. Arti: yes
6. I: they can be like native speakers
7. Arti: yeah
8. Ashna: ↑yeah
9. I: yeah
10. Arti: well you hear some well you hear some examples and you hear some
11. newsreaders or whate- fo- not newsreaders but anybody’s whose in a
12. say professional job highly paid erm and they’re chinese native
13. speakers they’ve obviously got to that stage (.) you know of becoming
14. erm you know ha- having the accent if you like not having a strong
15. chinese accent as well because they’ve gone through the ph- they’ve
16. done phonology they’ve done all the other systems the models
17. whatever but they can become if they really want to aspire to it

Extract 57 (Focus Group.2)

1. Parul: but at the same time you can’t say that it’s (native speaker model)
2. unobtainable because that’s not true=

3. Jashith: =yes that's not true
4. Parul: cause like we're all second [language speakers and we speak as
5. Jashith: [yes yes it's not unobtainable
6. Parul: fluently as so

In extract 56, Arti states the belief that students can achieve a native speaker model, with Ashna agreeing, and suggests that some people who are in professional jobs have acquired a level of English equivalent to native speakers. Arti mentions professional people again, as she did in extract 48, p.182. On that occasion she was discussing people in professional jobs who do not have good pronunciation but are able to communicate, whereas in this extract she states that there are professional people who are able to reach a native English standard. Therefore it would appear that there are different types of 'professional people' who are able to stand as examples for different language situations. This view does imply a very selective group from the professional class who can achieve this level and have the time, resources and motivation to achieve language ability commensurate with British English. In contrast, in extract 57 in 1.4, Parul uses the example of herself and the other participants to argue that having a native speaker level is an achievable target because they are 'second language speaker'. However the participants' situation is different from second language learners as they are multilingual speakers who learnt English from a young age, and she had also stated in extract 10, p.121, that she is native speaker.

All of the participants tend to think that the British model of English is the correct one, or at least the most suitable one in their teaching context. This is despite the acknowledgement that English is spoken differently outside the classroom and around the world. They also tend to believe that it is important to correct students in relation to the British model, irrespective of whether they recognise that the goal of students is not to speak like an English person, or that students have their own dialect. This indicates that some of the participants have a dual ideological framework in respect to their language attitudes but do not have difficulty in combining these attitudes within the context of their profession as teachers. The reasons that the participants give for correction is related to not wanting students to be embarrassed outside the classroom, because the students want to be corrected, for intelligibility, and also for assessment purposes.

6.3.3 Assessment

The participants noted that an important reasons for correcting students to assist the students to pass an exam.

Extract 58 (Focus Group.2)

1. Jashith: but also you know you get somebody from india coming into an
2. assessment situation and i've seen that i've seen some learners writing
3. and the writing they have a lot of vocabulary but because they've
4. written in indian english (.) they still get put into a er level one class or
5. level two class
6. Nalini: entry one
7. Jashith: not entry one but this is [like a higher say they have studied quite well
8. Nalini: [ahh oh yeah the grammar's **quite good**
9. Jashith: in india
10. Nalini: they say the grammar is very good
11. Jashith: it is but still when you see it when the teacher sees it here or an
12. assessor sees it here they will still find **mistakes** because it **doesn't fit**
13. in with the british english that we know so they will still say okay you
14. need to go to a level one class you know so it's not that we're
15. devaluing it but that's how we see we see that english **should be that**
16. **way** you
17. Parul: we've got an idea [in our head
18. Jashith: [yeah we've got an idea of what english is and and
19. if they're using certain words in the **wrong context** as we er talked
20. about before that means they need [further study
21. Saachi: [hmm (2.0) hmm (2.0) hmm
22. Jashith: you know on that subject which probably might not be the case you
23. know might not be the case [because
24. Parul: [and often we are the assessors and we
25. tend to look at their work and think well it's this level it will pass this
26. exam

27. Jashith: yeah
28. Parul: yeah we look at it with an [exam in mind don't we
29. Saachi: [hmm hmm hmm
30. Jashith: yeah again we're thinking of it [from a british english point of view
31. Parul: [yes
32. Jashith: aren't we
33. Parul: yes
34. Saachi: or::: the restriction is there hm::: given by the government that's what
35. you teach and that's how you compare erm and that's the model given
36. on the other hand there are other englishes which are (.) you know err
37. you you can turn the tv on and and and watch either eastenders or you
38. can watch a soap opera from from australia and that's a different kind
39. of english it's not as if you are only exposed to english english

While discussing the initial assessment which students undertake to determine which level of class they will be placed in, Jashith presents a situation where the student has a good level of English communicative competence but uses a variety of English which is different from British English. Jashith also believes that, or recognises that, Indian English can be in written form in ll.2-4, though even here she states that they are 'quite well' in l.7, and the grammar is 'quite good' in l.8, in relation to British English. This relates to the idea mentioned by four other participants, that the students in India have good grammatically accurate language (see 6.2.2, p.157). However for Jashith 'good' is modified with 'quite' because it does not reach the same standard as British English. Jashith mentions that this occurs during initial assessment, which was already mentioned in 5.4.2 p.141 in relation to students wanting a white English teacher.

The participants agree that students have to conform to Standard British English, Saachi also points out that it is necessary to conform to what the government outlines in its guidelines for teaching, and therefore teachers are to a certain extent constrained by what they teach in ll.34-36. However there is also evidence that these teachers use language management at assessment level, in ll.24-29 and ll.36-39, to determine the applicability of a student to pass an exam at a certain level and accept that this might not be Standard British English. These teachers feel it was their role to teach British English because they believe that this is what the students want (extract 54, p.192) and a need related to exams. As noted previously, in

relation to different varieties the teachers think in terms of native English countries such as Australian English and colloquial English in 11.35-38 (see 6.2.3, p.164)

Another group, in extract 59, also discuss testing the students, and similarly relate assessing the students against what they are able to achieve, and both Harshi and Mahima agree that it is, to a certain extent, dependant on who the teacher is.

Extract 59 (Focus Group.4)

1. I: yeah i was just thinking when we test them like you were saying earlier
2. we test them against erm err::: there erm::: li- like how i would speak
3. wouldn't we would we
4. Harshi: well no
5. Mahima: that's that's er i don't know i think depends (.) depends on who the
6. teacher is
7. I: right
8. Mahima: wh- what perception he or she has about the learners what language
9. they can reach i sort of look at them and i say whatever language they
10. have (.) you know adapted to or developed or whatever
11. I: right
12. Mahima: and then if:: they are (.) it's like especially you know from er:: a lot of
13. from asian backgrounds especially they've been living here forty fifty
14. years and they've been following (.) a person who thought was very
15. clever knew the language full of and that particular person was
16. speaking the **wrong pronunciation** was [**wrong grammar** was **wrong**
17. Harshi: [it's **habit isn't it which**
18. **they've picked up**
19. Mahima: it's just they've followed that and **they thought that was correct** so
20. Harshi: but you know erm the other thing i think to mention here i: in terms of
21. you know the changing language is that (.) i think it's one of the kind
22. of like pitfalls of city and guilds speaking and listening exams because
23. we become accustomed to hearing (.) our learners speaking **in a**
24. **certain way** so i might listen to (.) a script and think yeah i i get that
25. and you might listen and you think i don't understand a word that that

26. women said
27. I: right yeah yeah yeah:::::
28. Mahima: exactly yeah we have (1.0) yeah we have
29. Harshi: we become tuned into that person and also their **little habits**
30. Mahima: yeah we have
31. Harshi: so we don't downgrade them for that=
32. Mahima: =no=
33. Harshi: =because we say well that's just that person that's the way they:: speak
34. you know and that that's a:: (.) **quirk** to that so you know so you do
35. have to accept

Harshi and Mahima discuss testing and measuring against British Standards and whether it is appropriate and they disagree with me in 11.4-5 that students are tested against the way I speak. Mahima states that it depends on who the teacher is, and from her perspective she recognises that some students would have adapted the language, giving the impression that she is more open to language differences. However Mahima also uses some negative terminology in relation to this by saying that they have been taught the 'wrong pronunciation' and 'wrong grammar' in relation to British English. These 'errors' are viewed by Harshi as 'habits' in 1.17 and 1.29 and 'quirks' in 1.34, which is related to underlying beliefs of fossilization (see 6.3.1 extracts 45 and 46, pp.177-178). Harshi argues that teachers become attuned to their own learners and that while they may understand a student, another student or teacher may not. However perhaps this misses a vital point in terms of communication, because teachers are teaching students to be understood outside the classroom and the most important aspect of communication is that they are understood by other interlocutors. An individual teacher may not understand a student but perhaps other students do. Therefore perhaps it becomes difficult for teachers to assess communicative competence when it is based on their own ability to understand.

Vasuki also relates the need for teachers to correct students in relation to the speaking and listening exam in extract 60.

Extract 60 (Focus Group.1)

1. Vasuki: what about when it comes to the speaking listening exam

2. Arti: hmmm
3. Vasuki: i mean what we're doing is we are testing for their speaking yeah
4. Ashna: yeah
5. Vasuki: whether they'll be able to actually (.) **speak properly** their
6. pronunciation as well so erm t- to be able to put in like sometimes
7. you know they they do try to say she but they say he you know and it's
8. the er s::: they've got to understand that as well so you have to when it
9. comes to the speaking for the exam they **do have to correct** them
10. because that's what they're being tested for

Therefore the participants in the focus groups believe that it is important to correct in order for the students to be assessed in the exams. However it is also clear that teachers use their own discretion to ascertain the ability of students, and do not necessarily use British Standard English to measure their language. Nevertheless as mentioned previously, the participants' views are still underlined by a belief in the English language being correct or incorrect.

6.3.4 The 'English only' classroom

There were mixed views on using other languages in the classroom. In extract 61 Arti argues against the use of Punjabi in the classroom because she believes it would be lazy if the teacher did, and also unfair for the other students who do not speak Punjabi.

Extract 61 (Interview.2)

1. I: do you ever use it [punjabi] in the classroom
2. Arti: well i have a policy on that i always say to my students if i know they
3. speak punjabi because again punjabi people think you're being
4. arrogant you don't want talk your own language cause some think
5. they're better than that's how the indians view the indians who don't
6. speak the language
- [..]
7. I: don't you think it's useful makes it [a lot easier doesn't it
8. Arti: [no (1.0) but then what about ermm

9. someone who's german or polish or whatever what would i do for
10. them
11. I: well:::
12. Arti: isn't your job as a teacher to find an alternative way to express
13. I: yeah °yeah°
14. Arti: but i'll explain at the end of the class i'd go back and tell her yes (.) but
15. i think the safety net of some people it's just a bit lazy isn't it but then
16. where do you

Arti does not believe in using her second language in the classroom because there are other students in the class whose language she does not speak, and because she believes it is lazy for the teachers to use another language in the classroom to translate, and claims that it is not beneficial for the students. The notion that it is not beneficial for the students may stem from teacher training in ESOL. She also asserts that it is 'her job' to explain it in English, which is commonly asserted within ESOL and TEFL training, with teachers encouraged to curtail students using other languages in the classroom. Arti also makes a second point about how they are perceived by the Asian students and distances herself from this ethnic group by using the words 'Punjabi people' in 1.3, and in 1.5 'that's how Indians view the Indians', although the phrase 'your own language' in 1.4 would imply that Arti is accepting ownership of the Punjabi language even if she does not fully affiliate with the people who share the same ethnicity.

Other teachers are more open to using their other languages in the classroom and for initial assessment, saying it was beneficial for lower level classes, and for monolingual classes within the Asian community, to help with their confidence as they express in extract 62. In some respects this is related to their own teaching experience, with some of the teachers having not taught low level classes and perhaps not having experienced the difficulty of teaching this level without recourse to using their other languages.

Extract 62 (Focus Group.2)

1. Parul: i erm teach this group and they're asians you know or hindu people (.)
2. and initially when i went to teach them first i said you know oh we
3. don't speak any english in the class i mean we don't speak any gujarati

4. in the class we speak only english (.) this was two years ago i'm now
5. teaching them this is my third year and now i find i'm speaking more
6. and more (.) gujarati with them to explain to them things (.) but they
7. are learning (.) they are learning because i can (1.0)
8. Nalini: i was told off once for using Gujarati @ @ @ @
9. [...]
10. Saachi: i i i (5.0) there is something to be said for that rule which doesn't click
11. (.) to be explained in the mother tongue once you've done your bit in
12. english and you explain the word in English you explain the rule in
13. english (.) and it still doesn't click the mother tongue comes in it's re-
14. reassuring for the people who have got the rule and it's clarify for the
15. people who haven't got the rule and what's wrong with that

Parul admits to using Gujarati in the classroom to help her learners, and finds it beneficial which both Saachi and Jashith agree with. Nalini interjects to say that she was told off for using Gujarati. Within the college and within English language teaching more generally, other languages are considered an obstruction to learning within the classroom. Some multilingual teachers emphasise the benefits that using other languages in the ESOL classroom can bring, using micro LM to do so, though they are also aware that in ESOL using non-English languages in the classroom is frowned on, as Nalini found out when she was chastised. This kind of discipline aims to regulate teachers' practices and attitudes by assuming that their approach to teaching is wrong, and though they may perform this way during an observation it is probable that their true attitudes will surface in their practices when left to their own devices.

6.4 Summary

The backgrounds and experiences of the participants outlined in chapter 5 have an influence on their language attitudes and teaching practices. This was in relation to their association with different terms such as mother tongue, first language, native speaker, English and Indian identities, their feelings of belonging, and the prejudice they have experienced. Clear differences emerge between first and second generation migrants in relation to their language attitudes. First generation migrants' attitudes appeared to be influenced by dual ideologies.

While they conformed to a Standard English ideology on some occasions, in others they appear more accepting of variation in the English language and have a nuanced understanding of language as not necessarily being related to one monolithic standard. There were three exceptions to this; Tanika (Interview.15), whose first language is English and is a second language speaker of Gujarati, and Saachi (Focus group.2) and Nayyar (Interview.4, whose data was not used because of her Iranian descent) who learned English as a second language in their mid to late teens. These participants, and those who were born in the UK, show a stronger Standard English ideology in their attitudes. Nevertheless they too are aware of the differences in spoken and written English in different regions, and tend to highlight the importance of communication and fluency over accuracy in relation to native speaker norms. However there is a tendency for them to give authority to native variants and denigrate non-native varieties of English. This duality of ideologies for the first generation participants presented problems in relation to their position as language teachers. They are more accepting of variation and recognise that British English does not encapsulate the norms of use for many learners and that it is not necessarily the target. However all the participants still feel the need to conform in terms of correcting student 'errors', using British English as the target in the classroom, measuring their students' language against British norms, and monitoring the use of other languages in the classroom. It is highly conceivable that during the interviews and focus groups the teachers give their beliefs about what it is expected that a teacher should be doing in the classroom. But as discussed in 3.5.4, p.68, teaching beliefs do not necessarily relate into teaching practices. It is probable that within the classroom the teachers enact their own micro language management, and the influence of non-western language ideologies becomes foreground.

I shall now conclude the thesis by relating the discussion in the literature review with the findings in the data and in doing so answer the research questions.

7. Conclusion

In this final chapter I will discuss the main findings of the study in relation to the research questions. I will also outline the limitations, the implications for pedagogy and language policy and planning, and potential areas for future research.

It is important to understand not only what attitudes are but also how attitudes are formed, which is one advantage of qualitative research. A quantitative methodology would have undoubtedly provided a validation of consensus views about language. However through the interviews and focus groups it is clear that there are differences between the participants in their attitudes, which are directly related to their backgrounds and their experiences both as language teachers and as individuals. There are some limitations with using qualitative methods, outlined in 4.3, p.78, with data open to different interpretations. However given the time that I have spent in the research field and being reflective about the interpretation of the data and its relationship to the research questions, I am confident that the inferences that I have made are a valid representation of the attitudes and beliefs that the participants have. However it is evident in comparing the data from the interviews and focus groups that some attitudes and beliefs are susceptible to change, though other language attitudes show significant stability across the two data sets. In the focus groups there was a tendency for normative attitudes to prevail. Niedzielski and Preston (2003: 305) speculate that the ‘origins of particular folk beliefs about correct language are based on school years’, and this is perhaps noticeable in my study. The participants have different educational backgrounds and differences emerged about correct language between the first and second generation, even if their attitudes to correction in classroom were similar. In addition other attitudes related to native speakers and English language varieties showed more instability.

A noticeable division in the language attitudes of the participants is between first and second generation migrants. The following table details the participants’ migration background and their participation in the interviews and focus groups. There are more first generation migrants in the study overall, 13, compared to 7 second generation migrants. There is also more first generation participating in the focus groups, 9 compared to 6 second generation migrants, and there twice as many first generation migrants interviewed, 10 compared to 5 second generation migrants interviewed.

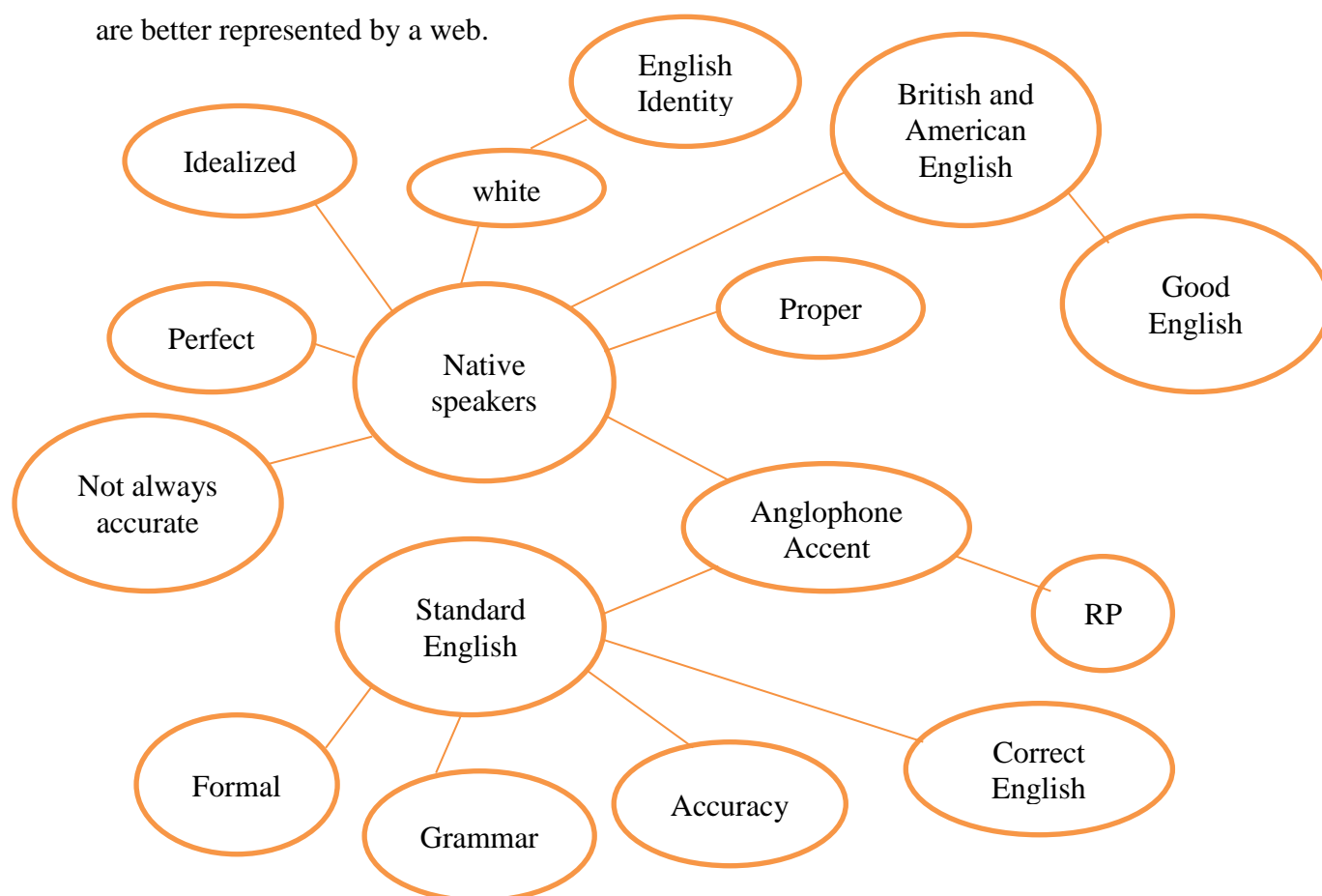
Ashna	Interview 1	Focus group 1	First generation migrant
Arti	Interview 2	Focus group 1	Second generation migrant
Nalini	Interview 3	Focus group 2	First generation migrant
Nayyer	Interview 4		First generation migrant
Samita	Interview 5		Second generation migrant
Mahima	Interview 6	Focus group 4	First generation migrant
Firaki	Interview 7		First generation migrant
Valini	Interview 8		Second generation migrant
Harshi	Interview 9	Focus group 4	Second generation migrant
Jiven	Interview 10		First generation migrant
Jashith	Interview 11	Focus group 2	Second generation migrant
Maheshi	Interview 12	Focus group 3	First generation migrant
Naagesh	Interview 13		First generation migrant
Saheli	Interview 14	Focus Group 3	First generation migrant
Tanika	Interview 15	Focus group 3	First generation migrant
Vasuki		Focus group 1	Second generation migrant
Saachi		Focus group 2	First generation migrant
Tamba		Focus group 3	First generation migrant
Saloni		Focus group 3	First generation migrant
Parul		Focus group 2	Second generation migrant

The second table details the time and length of the interviews and focus groups.

Interview 1	13 th February 2012	1 hour 4 minutes and 56 seconds
Interview 2	18 th February 2012	1 hour 23 minutes and 40 seconds
Interview 3	14 th March 2012	1 hour 9 minutes and 29 seconds
Interview 4	29 th March 2012	1 hour 23 minutes and 3 seconds
Interview 5	11 th April 2012	54 minutes and 33 seconds
Interview 6	16 th May 2012	59 minutes and 57 seconds
Interview 7	6 th June 2012	56 minutes and 29 seconds
Interview 8	14 th June 2012	38 minutes and 35 seconds
Interview 9	20 th June 2012	2 hours 2 minutes and 25 seconds

Interview 10	15 th September 2012	Participant asked not to be recorded
Interview 11	3 rd October 2012	51 minutes and 49 seconds
Interview 12	7 th November 2012	1 hour 9 minutes and 23 seconds
Interview 13	30 th November 2012	50 minutes and 27 seconds
Interview 14	16 th January 2013	47 minutes and 2 seconds
Interview 15	23 rd January 2013	55 minutes and 48 seconds
Focus group 1	5 th December 2012	1 hour 4 minutes and 50 seconds
Focus Group 2	6 th December 2012	1 hour 5 minutes and 56 seconds
Focus Group 3	30 th January 2013	56 minutes and 57 seconds
Focus Group 4	6 th February 2013	36 minutes and 33 seconds

Before discussing the research questions I shall outline an overriding theme from the research. Initially I had envisaged an ideological chain of semantic associations between words that support the dominance of a particular variety of English, but after examining the data in more detail it became apparent that it was not a chain, and these semantic ideological associations are better represented by a web.



Perhaps what is most noticeable from the links between associated terminologies is the indirectness of the connection between certain terms. So for example, the terms native speaker and Standard English are not directly associated. In fact it is noteworthy that while Standard English is associated with being correct and accurate, and native speaker has similar associations of being perfect and proper, native speaker also has more negative associations of not always being accurate and also of being idealized. The participants indirectly associate Standard English and native speaker with an Anglophone accent and most prominently with Received Pronunciation. Considering that an Anglophone accent is not a determinant of native speaker status, and Standard English does not refer to accent, I would suggest that aspects of ESOL teacher training are lacking in the college. A closer examination of the relationship between 'power' and English language teaching, and a deeper consideration of terminology would serve to undermine the ideological associations that the participants made within the study.

It is clear from the data in my research that the association of these terms used within English language teaching operate as a barrier for these teachers. This is the primary reason that particularly restricts the second generation migrants' ability to see beyond visualising the English language as a single code. The participants recognise the existence of other varieties, but only the first generation migrants view them as acceptable alternatives to BrE or AmE. These varieties are perceived very much as belonging to a white ethnic group, formulated around an Anglophone accent and native speakers; even if the participants assert that they are native speakers there is continued deference to a particular native speaker with a particular ethnic identity. Giving ownership to white English native speakers influences the teachers' ability to conceptualise and give authority to 'non-native' varieties of English. They are instead perceived as deficient Englishes which are in the continual process of achieving a prescribed British Standard English. This in turn encourages the participants to perceive language use in terms of wrong or right, and a need to correct students' language according to British Standard English. This is evident even among those participants who appear to be more open to different varieties of English. These ideological associations keep attitudes in place and though they have been weakened in recent years, the study indicates that these ideological associations appear to remain relatively intact. Therefore while it is admirable, and indeed imperative, to argue for changes at the level of teacher training to take account of the ever evolving nature of the English language, it is questionable how effective this would be, given how imbedded attitudes towards correct language are within UK society.

This notion of connections between the terms used in English language teaching is evident in the participants' responses and noticeable in answering the research questions.

7.1 Research Questions

This thesis was formulated around one research question and three sub-questions.

Main research question

How do the attitudes of multilingual South-Asian English language teachers towards non-native varieties of English influence their beliefs about teaching?

Sub-questions

1. In what ways do multilingual South-Asian English language teachers' experiences and background influence their beliefs about language?
2. To what extent are multilingual South-Asian English language teachers' attitudes and beliefs about language influenced by language ideologies?
3. What are multilingual South-Asian English language teachers' attitudes towards non-native varieties of English?

In the conclusion I will first discuss the three sub-questions which contribute to answering the main research question.

7.1.1 Sub question 1: Influence of experience and background

One clear difference between the participants is their perception of language which is dependent on whether they are first or second generation migrants. This is perhaps a consequence of second generation participants being products of the British education system, which insists on conformity to British Standard English in terms of the classroom and assessment (Blackledge and Creese 2010, Corson 1997, Heller and Martin-Jones 2001, Julios 2008, Martin 2007). The British education system also insists on separate domains of use for

different languages and dialects, with the home the domain of heritage languages and dialects, and school the domain of the majority language (Corson 1997, Creese *et al.* 2006, May 1994). Moreover the second generation participants in this study grew up during the 1970s and 1980s where an assimilatory ideology predominated within the western school system (Cameron and Frazer 1988, Martin 2007, May 1994). In contrast the first generation participants were educated in a non-western environment, even if they were taught through the medium of English. This difference is evident in the participants' attitudes towards language, with first generation migrants appearing to be more open to speech variation than second generation.

Both Makoni and Pennycook (2012) and Canagarajah and Liyanage (2012) argue that people in some multilingual non-western countries are more open to variation because the 'language ideologies and values that still exist there sustain plurilingual practices' (ibid; 51). Elements of this belief system appear to be retained by the first generation migrant participants in my study. However, there appears to be no ideological transference in the belief system to second generation migrants. As research has shown, second generation migrants tend to lose their L1 influenced accents when they begin attending school and are influenced by their peer groups and the school environment more than by their parents (Chambers 2002, Chambers 2003). In the same way, it appears that societal ideologies have a greater influence on the attitudes of children than parents' beliefs. Perhaps this contributes to disagreements between generations with conflicting belief systems in relation to culture and language (Brah 1996, Ghuman 1999, Modood *et al.* 1997). Interestingly those participants who migrated at a young age and have been living in Britain for thirty or forty years still retain this openness to language variation to a certain extent. Societal ideologies in relation to language variation appear to impose a strong attitude on participants and become relatively fixed when people are children or young adults.

There are also differences of opinion related to the participants' attitudes towards heritage language maintenance, though this is not necessarily dependent on whether they were born in the UK or not. Eight of the participants who were interviewed appear to be ambivalent towards heritage language maintenance at societal level, while two participants have strong views and appear 'aggravated' that heritage languages are not being maintained, and the remaining four participants, though in favour of heritage language maintenance did not express a strong view. In some ways this appears to be related to whether the participants'

have children or not and, if they do, whether their children speak a heritage language. The participants whose children do not speak a heritage language believe heritage language maintenance is not very important, while the two participants without children and those with children who speak a heritage language have a stronger belief that heritage languages should be maintained.

However it appears that the attitudes of individuals towards heritage languages are also related to their personal experience of heritage language schools and the associated community organisations. In their efforts to maintain the language and culture, local community groups are perhaps alienating the British-born Asians who have an expectation about the teaching methods from their experience of the mainstream education system. This is evident in the responses of the participants to questions about heritage language schools and community organisations. For example four participants draw parallels between the caste system and community organisations, mentioning ‘arranged marriages’ and the strictness of the teachers in heritage language classes. These observations by the participants suggest one reason why minority organisations find it difficult to maintain language and culture. While people have adapted to the culture around them, some community organisations remain, to a certain extent, steeped in tradition and conservatism with the purpose of trying to maintain ‘true’ cultural and religious practices. Two of the second generation migrants also mention having to ‘learn’ an Asian culture with the implication that it was a chore. Therefore, because it is more ingrained in their daily activities, second generation migrants would perhaps not feel a connection to Asian culture in the same way that they feel a connection to British culture. Although the majority of the participants, twelve, are generally indifferent towards heritage language maintenance at societal level, none of the participants agree that a second language inhibits the learning of another, and if anything suggest that having a second language is beneficial.

All the participants have an affinity with their own heritage languages, irrespective of whether they view heritage languages at societal level as relevant and important, which corroborates Mills’ (2001) and Modood’s (1997) participants’ opinions about their heritage language. The participants in my study also indicate a certain level of affection towards the English language which was not reflected in either Mills’ or Modood’s studies. Although all the participants’ have personal experience of maintaining heritage languages, and professional understanding of language, they tend to place the burden of heritage language

maintenance on parents, and a greater emphasis on the need for ethnic minorities to integrate into British society. Limited enthusiasm for heritage language maintenance at societal level may translate into a decline of heritage languages. However these attitudes could be particular to this group of first and second generation migrants, for example Sharma and Sankaran (2011) note different attitudes between different generations. It is also possible that the participants' position as language teachers is a stronger influence on their attitudes towards language than would be seen among ethnic minorities working in other professions.

Therefore it seems that the background and experience of the teachers has a significant effect on how the participants view language. Although different language ideologies also impact on their attitudes, in respect to this study, they cannot easily be separated from the participants' background and experience. This is because first generation migrants are influenced by non-western ideologies as a consequence of their background and experience. Perhaps, then, it is not only important to consider concepts such as third cultures (Ghuman 1999) and hybridity (Werbner and Modood 1997) but also dual or multiple language ideologies (Canagarajah 2013). Pre-colonial ideologies coexist with western imposed language ideologies in some non-western states (Canagarajah and Liyanage 2012, Makoni and Pennycook 2012), while in Europe and America, migration and globalisation has led to the questioning of existing ideologies (Duchêne and Heller 2012, Heller 2008, Pujolar 2007). These competing ideologies are evident in the attitudes that both the first and second generation migrant participants in this study have towards language.

7.1.2 Sub-question 2. Influence of language ideologies

As outlined in 3.2.2, p.33, ideologies are an important influence on how individuals conceptualise language and reveal how certain beliefs become normalised within society. In Britain a standard language ideology helps to create language hierarchies with Standard English as the primary code, negative attitudes towards non-standard English, the connection of a language to a particular ethnic identity, and monolingualism. While twelve of the participants in the study tend to conform to the view that a standardised variety of English is more important than other dialects and languages, they unsurprisingly show resistance to other aspects of western language ideologies. All of the participants believe that a standardised variety of English is the proper way to speak and that teaching it empowers the

students. The participants expressed a belief that English leads to personal mobility for their students, but they did not necessarily agree that the promotion of a national language should be at the expense of other languages.

However the participants understanding of the meaning of Standard English is different. Three of the participants relate Standard English to grammar, four related it to pronunciation, two ambiguously related to the correct way to speak, and three did not know the meaning, and it was not mentioned in two of the interviews. It should also be noted that even academics do not agree on what Standard English represents (Seidlhofer 2011). Although some of participants were unclear about the specific meaning of Standard English, they show their support for it through their denigration of non-standard English, as evident in section 6.2, p.149, and also in their teaching beliefs about correction and correct language. Native speaker and native varieties of English such as British English and American English were more relevant to the teachers in their understanding of what English represented which was discussed in the focus groups. In three of the focus groups the participants tend to relate the native speaker to 'accurate', 'good' or 'perfect' and implicitly relate a native speaker to Standard English and explicitly to RP. Two of the participants in these focus groups also imply that this is an idealisation and an unrealistic target for the students, even though all the focus groups agreed that it was an achievable target. The other focus group focused on the inaccuracy of the language of native speakers and how they or their students had encountered problems because this inaccuracy. Nine of the participants, from both the interviews and focus groups, consider themselves to be non-native speakers and of these four of the participants in some way denigrate their own English language use, with it not being 'perfect'. However the other participants, who classify themselves as non-native speakers reaffirm their linguistic identity, by arguing that it is not important to speak like a native speakers, and all of them reaffirm this by noting the wide variation in the use of English language both within the UK and outside. All of the teachers also resisted a commonly held view within English language teaching that in order to teach a language it is important to be a native speaker.

Several authors, including Dewey (2012) Jenkins (2007) Modiano (1999) and Seidlhofer (2011), have argued that native varieties are not necessarily applicable teaching targets in countries where English is not a first language. However I would also suggest that Standard English is becoming increasingly less applicable as a model for teaching *spoken* English in native English speaking countries. I disagree, for example, that fluent native speakers of

English from countries such as Liberia, Ghana and Jamaica who study in the UK or America should be assigned ESOL classes because their language does not conform to Standard English (see Makoni and Pennycook 2012). Furthermore within the UK, superdiversity, resulting from increasing migration to the UK, has contributed to changes in the linguistic features of English speakers. These changes are evident mainly in urban contexts where speakers use non-standard varieties of English and create hybrid languages (Cheshire *et al.* 2011, Rampton 2011, Vertovec 2007, 2010).

These issues are mentioned by four of the participants in respect to Indian speakers with their own fluent distinctive varieties of English. Three participants, and in two of the focus groups also mention that some students found native speakers difficult to understand because of their local accent and slang. The need for intelligibility is a commonly asserted justification for the promotion of BrE or AmE English, though, as Kachru and Smith (2008) point out, people should not be expected to understand every variety of English. Moreover as House (2003) argues, many breakdowns in communication are caused by gaps in knowledge of the world rather than in variation in spoken English. Although the majority of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) research has focused on the communication practices between non-native speakers and on contexts outside native speaking countries, ELF does not exclude native speakers and it is becoming increasingly important to consider its importance within the UK. This is not necessarily restricted to informal contexts such as the market place or social situations, but also in professional occupations, which include academia and media.

Six of the participants, five of which are second generation migrants, relate accuracy to their beliefs about their heritage languages and the need to speak accurately in Gujarati or Bengali for example. Sifakis and Sougari (2006) argue that because Greece is a monolingual country and people have a monolithic attitude towards Greek this influences their participants' attitudes towards Standard English. I had anticipated that beliefs about accuracy would be different among multilingual individuals. Although several authors (Canagarajah and Liyanage 2012, García 2009, Makoni and Pennycook 2012, Shohamy 2006) have argued that multilinguals in certain non-western countries do not necessarily view language in the discrete terms that they do in most western societies, it is perhaps dependent on which multilingual individuals are being asked. The idealisation of one language for one nation was never exclusively a western one and individual attitudes appear to be more closely related to

standardisation and schooling, rather than related to being multilingual or being from a multilingual society.

The participants clearly separated their own languages into distinct codes. All of them made distinctions between their different languages, despite some being closely related, conforming to a perspective of multilingualism which envisages languages as separate codes rather than as one semiotic system. The participants' make this distinction irrespective of whether they are first or second generation migrants. This separation of language is evident when participants are discussing their own languages, different varieties of English and codeswitching. Several authors have argued for the need to examine linguistic resources, and 'the way they are deployed in communicative practice' (Blommaert 2010: 180), rather than languages as a distinct entities (Canagarajah 2013, García 2009, Makoni and Pennycook 2012). These authors also argue that language should be conceptualised as a process, and that, rather than multilingual individuals switching between different codes, individuals are translanguaging (García 2009, García and Wei 2014). However these conceptions of language are not transparent in my study, with the participants appearing to view language systems separately.

May (2001) notes it is important to take into consideration what peoples' attitudes are and the reality is that language hybridity and translanguaging might be less relevant to many multilingual speakers, as is evident in the participants' views of language in my study. Language hybridity appears to be more relevant to children and young adults, which is apparent in the research reported by Creese and Blackledge (2010). For example, Kenner's (2004: 59) participants were 6 year old children and though aware of different codes, 'tended to integrate and synthesise their [linguistic] resources'. Likewise Robertson's (2006) longitudinal study of the literacy practices of 5-7 year olds found that the participants were not confused by learning three different language systems in parallel literacy classes. Instead the children became aware of the different uses of the codes in different contexts but also used their knowledge to blend different codes and create new forms. This does seem to indicate that the education system contributes to the separation of codes, which become fully formed in the attitudes of people who are required to visualise languages as separate bounded systems. However it is conceivable that the type of methodology used influences how the attitudes of the participants are represented. If I had been able to observe the participants'

language use in the classroom, in the staffroom or at home, a different set of attitudes may have been noticeable in their language practices.

Unsurprisingly the participants do not believe that monolingualism is the normal state, because for them at a personal level multilingualism is the norm. The attitudes of migrants in the UK, who have brought with them alternative conceptions of language, may have been instrumental in modifying government policy towards teaching heritage languages in mainstream education, encouraging links between mainstream schools and heritage language schools, and also instituting language learning in schools for children at the age of seven (Codrea-Rado 2014, DfES 2002, 2003). This would appear to indicate a growing acceptance of multilingualism in society and within the education system. Language ideologies change and the reason for this is that attitudes change, which can be partly attributable to migration. Superdiversity has not only created diversity in terms of hybrid languages and the multiplicity of languages that are spoken within predominantly urban settings; it is also affecting language ideologies in European states, influencing policy at state and super-state level. For example, monolingualism, and its connection to the nation, is not as readily accepted in society as it once was. Although there have been moderate changes in the attitudes towards language, as Heller (2008, 2010) states, these attitudes co-exist with older ideologies.

7.1.3 Sub question 3. Attitudes towards non-native Englishes

The second generation migrants in the study show a minimal awareness of the construction of different varieties of English beyond 'native' varieties. Although they are aware that people speak English differently around the world, these non-native Englishes tend to be perceived as wrong or inappropriate. Although they are able to imagine or co-construct a meaning of non-native varieties of English in terms of differences in grammar, pronunciation and lexis, these varieties are not considered to be accurate representations of the language. First generation migrants are more open to the notion of different varieties of English and tend to describe them in a positive way as dialects or code-switching. Nevertheless all the participants apply a 'teacher' perspective towards the English language in respect to their teaching context, with the teachers in the focus groups describing the errors that students make as fossilized; a concept which they learn from teacher training. Also eight of the

participants mention specific lexis from their heritage country, which they present as ‘interesting curiosities’ rather than as acceptable words. All of the participants also note differences in terms of grammar which they tend to find unacceptable, and not representative of what they would consider English. However all the participants, irrespective of whether they are first or second generation migrants, are more accepting of pronunciation which they view as different. Their views of varieties of English are thus consistent with other empirical studies of attitudes towards different Englishes (see 3.3.2, p.43 and 3.5.2, p. 63), with a tendency to assign BrE and AmE an international prestige status, and viewing non-native varieties as only relevant in a local context.

One reason why the participants’ are unable to consider non-native varieties as fully formed language systems in their own right is because they do not feel that non-native speakers have the authority to make language innovations, which is apparent in the responses in all the focus groups. Although the participants in the focus groups recognise that language changes, they argue that the authorisation of this change is exclusively the preserve of native speakers. Innovations therefore, according to the participants in the focus groups, could not be made by non-native speakers and instead differences in spoken English are perceived as ‘problems’, with prescriptive rules regulating the participants’ opinions. These participants do not appear to recognise language change can be induced by language contact (Mufwene 2001). To the participants in the focus groups, ‘persistent errors’ could not be considered innovations in the language but are instead fossilised inaccuracies by second language speaker which have to be overcome to conform to British Standard English. Despite the teachers in the focus groups tending to view one standard as the only acceptable English, they generally feel that communication is more important than accuracy. However this is in relation to ‘beginners’, and in two of the focus groups it is suggested that accuracy becomes important as the students become more proficient in the language.

The participants’ support of Standard English is intimately tied to their orientation to non-native varieties of English. During the interviews and focus groups, when the second generation migrants discussed different varieties of English, they only consider other native varieties such as American, Australian, Canadian, Welsh and Scottish English, and on one occasion Jamaican English (which was not considered a native variety), to compare to British English. Other non-native varieties of English, which are suggested such as Indian English and Chinese English, are viewed predominantly as deficient English or as mixed codes. It is

perhaps because these non-native varieties have not been fully standardised which makes it difficult for the participants' to recognise them as fully formed languages in their own right. Therefore although the participants recognise that there are differences in the way English is spoken around the world and that these Englishes are acceptable within their own linguistic context these Englishes are not deemed appropriate in Britain, and migrants, with their own variety of English, should be required to conform to British English. Generally the participants in the focus groups feel unable to give authority to non-native varieties and attribute aesthetic reasons for this rather than linguistic ones. Two of the focus groups discuss certain features, such as the omission of 's' on plurals and third person, and non-standard article usage, as 'not sounding right' or sounding 'funny'.

Despite normative attitudes prevailing during the focus groups, there are differences of opinion between the first and second generation migrants, which is more evident during the interviews, with first generation migrants appearing to be more open to the notion of different Englishes. Ellis (2004) argues that there is more of a distinction in attitudes between monolingual and multilingual speakers rather than NES and NNES. However this is not necessarily transparent in this study and perhaps it depends on which multilingual speakers are being investigated. I would argue that it is the environment in which the multilingual person grew up in which has the most significant impact on their language attitudes. Most of the first generation migrants in my study grew up in an environment where multilingualism is respected and translingual practices are supported by the language ideology in those societies (Canagarajah 2013). This was evident in their attitudes to different varieties of English and also their beliefs about language.

7.1.4 Main research question. The influence of language attitudes on teaching beliefs

Freeman (2002) outlines changes in beliefs about how teachers' attitudes are made relevant in the classroom through their judgements and management of the classroom, and this would appear to be noticeable in this study (see 3.5.4, p.68). The four areas I focus on in relation to teaching practices that are discussed by participants in the interviews and focus groups are:

- error correction
- teaching models

- assessment
- the use of other languages in the classroom

These are aspects of teaching practices which I feel have been questioned as a consequence of the internationalisation of English. The participants' beliefs about these aspects of teaching practices are influenced by their experiences and background that are determined by societal language ideologies and I shall discuss each of these in turn.

Nelson (2011: 84) argues that the notion of error is embedded in language teaching and that native speakers assume the right to innovate while rarely giving 'the same right to English language learners whose deviations are classified as mistakes.' This is evident in the ways that the participants related learner English to 'problems', 'difficulties' and 'errors', despite being multilingual, and as nine claimed being non-native speakers. Their beliefs about correct language is underpinned by seeing features of their students' English as being fossilised or as habits, rather than seeing the learners as speaking a fluent stable system of a variety of English. Kennedy and Trofimovich, (2008) unsurprisingly showed that listeners with more experience of L2 Englishes are better able to understand L2 Englishes than people with less experience, and this could explain why my participants are more accepting of L2 accented Englishes. While there are degrees of acceptance to variation in speech by all the participants, this is predominantly related to pronunciation and perhaps this is related to the participants' greater familiarity with accented English through their parents, friends and also by being ESOL teachers.

All of the teachers in my study used negative embedded language to discuss the students language such as 'proper pronunciation', 'wrong', 'problems', 'change', 'appropriate' and 'errors', to describe speakers of non-native varieties of English and their students' spoken English. This kind of embedded language prevents the teachers from seeing non-native speakers' English as anything but incorrect. It is also noticeable that the teachers' attitudes appear to be stronger when discussing error correction than when they were discussing different varieties of English, Standard English or native speakerism. This is evident in the prosodic features in the teacher's dialogue, with fewer pauses when discussing error correction and lots of latching, suggesting a preconceived attitude in relation to the importance of correcting students' spoken English. The teachers in the focus groups justify the need to correct students on a few principles. The most important of which is that it is

their job to correct the students' English which is mentioned by eight of the participants and in the focus groups. Two participants said that they would feel guilty because they were not doing their job properly and the students would feel cheated if they did not correct their errors. Another reason why the participants feel that it is important to correct the students is because they believe it is what the students want which is mentioned in three of the focus groups and has been observed in other studies (Borg 1998, Young and Walsh 2010). Two of the teachers also mention the need to correct speech because of intelligibility and give examples of where the students' pronunciation had impacted on their ability to initially understand. Finally the participants in the focus groups feel it is important to correct students because the students are required to display their ability to use English in relation to British English norms in exams, which is also mentioned by one participant in the interview.

The participants in the focus groups assert that their students want to be taught British English, and they also agreed in three of the focus groups that native models are achievable targets for their students. This belief is based on their own experience and also non-native speakers in the media who have achieved 'native like' proficiency. This seems to absolve the teachers' responsibility for really questioning the ideological position of Standard English in relation to ELT. The students, the teachers believe, appear to have no interest in claiming ownership of the language and instead depend on British Standard English to give them the model to aim for. It has to be noted though, that this is only the impression that the teachers have of students' beliefs. Because the students want British English, the government want teachers to teach British English, and the students are assessed against British English, this leaves little option for teachers to take an alternative position. Instead teachers position themselves as facilitators who are carrying out the task that other people want, without the need to analyse what they are actually doing and promoting in the classroom. This would seem to suggest that teachers are, as Shohamy (2006) argues, 'soldiers' instructed to carry out tasks without question. However to a certain extent teachers do not have time to conceptualise these issues especially when concepts of English language varieties and language management are not covered extensively in teacher training (Spolsky 2004, 2009). Moreover, as I argued earlier, the attitudes which are given by the teachers in the interviews and focus groups are not necessarily reflective of their actual teaching practices. It is probable that some of the participants who are first generation migrants and consequently have been subjected to dual language ideologies would enact different teaching practices in

the classroom. This might be in terms of less focus on language correction in respect to British norms, and perhaps a greater leniency when assessing the students' language.

The ESOL exams that the students are required to take at the college are internally assessed by the teachers. This gives the teacher a certain amount of authority in determining the extent that students are reaching the level of English that is required. Although the focus group participants' argue that it is necessary to correct students' language so that they are able to achieve the required level in the exam, two of the participants in the focus groups also mention that there should be flexibility when assessing students. They note that when they are assessing students' spoken language they are not automatically considering their language measured against a native speaker. Instead they are assessing what they believe an individual student can achieve, and they also make allowances for aspects of their speech which do not conform to British English or have become, as the participants' interpret their language, fossilized.

There is a difference of opinion amongst the participants in terms of whether using other languages in the classroom are beneficial or unacceptable. Six participants are opposed to using their other languages in the classroom to communicate information. The argument that these teachers give for this is that they would be unable to assist, for example, Polish, Slovakian or Somalian students. One participant also suggested that it is part of their job to find a way to communicate information without resorting to translation. Four of these participants also feel it is part of their job to stop students communicating in their L1 because it is disruptive for other students. Although these participants avoided using other languages in the classroom and 'policed' students' language, they agree that translation could be beneficial for initial assessment. Four of these participants suggest that using Gujarati or Hindi helped students to complete application forms and other documents. Though they saw the benefits of this when the students first arrived at the college, this type of assistance, they feel, had to end in the classroom. However four of the participants assert that using Gujarati and Hindi in the ESOL classroom can be helpful for lower level students. This would seem to support Auerbach (2000) and Cummins' (2009) argument that the use of other languages in the ESL classroom can be beneficial. Therefore, for many of the participants, being able to speak another language is seen as an additional tool which can be used in the classroom to help students. The perception of teachers as to the acceptance of other languages in the classroom could be related to the proficiency level of their students. Perhaps those who teach

higher levels are less inclined to believe in the acceptability of other languages in the ESOL classroom.

7.2 Summary

In terms of how the participants position themselves in relation to ideological concepts such as identity, ethnicity and ‘belonging’, they generally give a consistent view. Although the participants could be divided between first and second generation migrants, there is agreement in some aspects, such as their resistance to being described as English, which is consistent with previous research (Eade 1997, Modood *et al.* 1997). The participants also highlighted emergent forms of prejudice, which Vertovec (2007) argues, are one consequence of superdiversity. As well as existing prejudice from white British people towards older migrants and their descendants, Vertovec asserts that there is also prejudice towards newer migrants from both the white British population and the existing migrants and their descendants. He further argues that there is prejudice from new migrants towards established ethnic minorities within the UK, who are not perceived as ‘authentic’ British people. These different types of prejudice were evident in the responses and anecdotes of the participants (see 5.4 p135).

It is also clear from the study that distinctions between multilingual and monolingual and native and non-native are too simplistic in this context. For example the participants in this study are all multilingual, but give a variety of different views in terms of identity, language and their teaching practices. This would seem to suggest that attitudes are more dependent on their migration history and family status, and the consequent influences that these entail. Although some of the participants do not think that they *are* native speakers, there are also suggestions by one participant of *becoming* a native speaker. Therefore consistent with conceptions of language and identity as a process, it is also perhaps applicable to consider native speakerism as a process.

The participants’ participation in the local community is limited or negligible. Instead the community is presented as a distant ‘other’ that others participate in, and all the participants’ tend to display an integrationist ideology. This would seem to concur with other studies (see 3.4.2, p.51) which argue that ethnic minorities, rather than belonging to a stable

homogeneous community, have an association with a locally established ethnic group, as one part of an open multidimensional network (Albrow 1997, Alexander *et al.* 2007, Castle 2000, Smolicz *et al.* 2001). The findings from the study suggest that examining community from a perspective of being stable, closed and homogeneous would appear to be less relevant in superdiverse urban cities in the UK. These communities, represented by centres, temples and mosques, form only one part of an individual's 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983), and, in relation to the participants in this study, they are one of the least important ones.

It is clear that the participants' backgrounds, and its interrelationship with different language ideologies, have a significant impact on the language attitudes of the participants and their beliefs about their teaching practices. This is evident in the differences in the attitudes between first and second generation migrants towards English language varieties and language more generally. First generation migrants seem to be more accepting of non-standard Englishes and non-native varieties, and have a different conception of language use which is viewed more as a continuum of ability, rather than in binary terms of right and wrong. This is a consequence of their experience of different languages and being exposed to language ideologies which are different from language ideologies in the UK. All of the participants assert that it was necessary to correct the students' language in respect to British norms. For the first generation migrants, their attitudes towards Standard English, non-standard Englishes and error correction might be anticipated to be conflictual. This attitudinal conflict between a belief in the appropriateness of Standard English and recognising that it is perhaps unnecessary to speak like native speakers has been observed in ELF research. For example, Jenkins (2007: 225) notes the conflict and tension that the teachers in her study felt between their 'commitment to their student' NS-dependent success in *practice* and their positive views of NNS English accents and ELF in *theory*'. However in many respects the first generation migrants in this study appear to accept two seemingly conflictual positions without extensive consideration, and perhaps this is a possible consequence of being exposed to multiple ideologies. This is in contrast to second generation migrants who, on occasion, struggle to coalesce the ideas of language as a communicative tool with the need to conform to language norms, as is evident with Arti in extract 30, p.160. Unfortunately there is not enough data to draw any substantive conclusions from this, but it would seem that how multiple ideologies impact on individual attitudes and why there are differences is an area of investigation worth pursuing in the future.

Given the differences of opinion by the participants it is impossible to generalise, though most of the teachers tended to conform to an ideological perspective of the appropriateness of Standard British English as a target for the students within the UK. Their views of correct language targets for students is compounded by their belief in the importance of correcting students spoken English to conform to British English grammar and pronunciation. This translated into the participants lacking the vocabulary to describe non-native varieties in a positive way. The point that there are semantic links between certain terms is not new, and has been observed in race and ethnicity studies, cultural studies, CDA, ELF and World Englishes. My study also indicates semantic links between these terms, creating an 'ideological chain' of terminology within English language teaching, which are supported by the normalising of these links by the people who are subjected to it.

Although all the participants' demonstrate their support of Standard British English, and correcting students according to that standard, all of the participants also stressed the importance of communication over accuracy and that it is necessary to consider the context in which the students' needed English. For example for informal contexts and for daily activities, communicative effectiveness is deemed more important than accuracy. However as students' language develops, the teachers feel it is more important for students to conform to British Standard English, and that this is necessary for formal contexts. It would appear that Blommaert's (2010) notion of trajectories and scales are relevant, and that the teachers, to a certain extent, appreciate and apply the idea that there are different types of English for different situations. Five of the teachers are also open to the idea of a multilingual ESOL classroom in principle, with the targeted use of other languages in certain situations. This suggests that they may use strategic language management of the classroom to adapt to situations as they occur. Moreover although their underlying belief is for students to conform, to British English, the participants appear to be adaptable and accept the principle that there are different requirements of English for different situations.

7.3 Limitations of the research

Although I have outlined the benefits of using qualitative research for examining complex issues such as language attitudes, there are also disadvantages which are evident in this study. Qualitative data is open to different interpretations and for this reason have been criticised for

being self-serving, not producing hard evidence, and instead producing ‘narrow’ theories (Dörnyei 2007). Although this is true, it is important for the researcher to look at the range of potential interpretations within the data and to be open to different interpretations. When dealing with the data I have found it useful to read and compare different sections of the data several times, in order to ensure that all different potential interpretations of the data have been considered. Using a constant comparative method (Charmaz 2006, Glaser and Strauss 1967) has also been important to reduce researcher bias. It was also important for me to not have *a priori* assumptions about what I intended the data to show and to be open to the possibility of other interpretations. As for producing narrow theories, it is in the finer detail of an issue where qualitative data is the most beneficial. It is in this detail where using qualitative methods are able to uncover ideas which resonate in other contexts and create a consistency with other similar studies. For example there is a very small selective cohort of participants in a specific location in this study, which may not be easily replicable in other contexts. However other researchers may observe similar patterns in my study as I have observed in other research, as well as differences which are unique to a particular study.

A further limitation, which is related specifically to me as a researcher and the participants in the study, is my ethnicity. As noted previously, (see p.96) Webster (1996) argues that differences in ethnicity between the interviewer and the interviewee may affect the responses by the participants, particularly in relation to questions about culture. This problem has been off-set to a certain degree because I have a working relationship with the participants, and also because participants of the same ethnicity interact with each other in the focus groups, where my participation was limited. It is also possible that people give different views about a subject depending on which language they are using, and these interviews and focus groups were all conducted in English. While it would have been advantageous to have conducted interviews in other languages, the range of languages spoken by the participants would have made this a difficult task involving a team of researchers. Moreover it is still valuable to understand their attitudes from the perspective of their ‘British’ selves.

Finally these participants are representative of ‘old’ migrants who were either born in the UK or arrived in the UK in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Newer migrants, who have arrived in the last twenty years, and the younger generation of second generation migrants might have different views about language, given the policy changes at state level in relation to languages. Nevertheless the participants’ attitudes are representative of the views of first and

second generation migrants with a broad age range and are therefore valuable in tracing the changing attitudes of ethnic minorities within the UK.

7.4 Implications for English language teaching pedagogy

It is clear from this study that many of the participants are influenced by two different sets of ideological positions which are represented by their two different identity positions. On the one hand their ‘multilingual self’ integrates to varying degrees with family, friends, the local community, and internationally, is open to ‘non-standard’ Englishes and seeks communicative models derived from their linguistic repertoire. On the other hand, their ‘professional self’, as ESOL teachers encourages students to conform to British Standard English in terms of pronunciation, grammar and lexis. These different ideological influences are evident in the participants’ attitudes, and noticeable in their beliefs about their different teaching practices. There are four main aspects of teaching practices that I focused on in the interviews and focus groups which are error correction, models of English, assessment and the ‘English only’ classroom. The pedagogical implications of these teaching practices and the implications for teacher training will be discussed in the following section.

It is noticeable in this study that all of the participants are open to variation in spoken English albeit to varying degrees, which is generally dependent on whether they are first or second generation migrants. Despite these differences, all the participants give more importance to communicating meaning over adherence to BrE norms in their teaching practices. This is undoubtedly derived from their training which is based on the Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) approach placing an emphasis on communication skills and fluency. Swan (2012) observes that many teachers respect the reality that learners do not fully conform to NES and do not place an overt emphasis on formal accuracy and instead promote fluency and communicative effectiveness, and this would seem to be evident in this study. The principles of the CLT approach, which stress the importance of giving equal consideration to rhetorical functions and language for communication as is afforded to grammar (Brumfit 1979), became prevalent in the 1970s and 1980s and is still the supposed superior approach today within English language teacher training. However as Brumfit observed, in 1979, a fluency based syllabus is harder to stipulate than one organised around grammatical structures, which

perhaps explains why the majority of English teaching course books continue to use grammar structures as a basis for their design (Cogo and Dewey 2012, McKay 2012b).

Despite the participants' assertion that they promote function over form, this stance does not preclude all of the participants from viewing their students' spoken English as 'problems', 'errors', 'difficulties' or 'mistakes', and judging learners' English in comparison to BrE. The participants' attitudes in this study are consistent with other research that demonstrates teachers' negative attitude to errors (Brumfit 2001), because, even though the CLT approach has given more emphasis to fluency in ELT, English language teachers are trained to look at language primarily with regard to the notion of correctness with a significant focus on error correction (Cogo and Dewey 2012). However it should also be noted that the focus groups in this study did encourage conformity to consensus views about error correction. During the interviews first generation migrants tend to give opinions which were less prescriptive in relation to language, and are less concerned about accuracy than second generation migrants. However the first generation migrants subtly modified their views during the focus groups and sought conformity and agreement so beliefs about language norms became foregrounded.

Jenkins (2006, 2014a: 26) argues that the notion of what constitutes an error is different, depending on whether it is seen through an English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) or English as a Foreign language (EFL) lens. An EFL perspective is influenced by research in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) which determines that language that does not conform to Standard English is deficient or an 'interlanguage', and the retention of non-standard forms is classified as 'fossilized'. In contrast, an ELF perspective considers these 'errors' as different and potential innovations and therefore 'deciding what constitutes an error is not only a complex issue, it is possibly not an ELF compatible way of thinking about language' (Cogo and Dewey 2012: 78). An EFL perspective which views language as bounded and static will undoubtedly consider, as Swan (2012) does, that 'correct' and 'wrong' are relevant concepts in English language teaching.

Swan (2012: 386) highlights that emergent grammar features that have been identified by ELF practitioners are merely 'stock entries in accounts of 'typical learner errors' published half a century ago'. However rather than lending weight to his argument, this would seem to support an ELF orientation by indicating that these grammar features are the most susceptible to change, and also recognising the obvious similarities that is evident between EFL and ELF

speakers (Seidlhofer 2011). In many respects the difference between these speakers is contextual: when EFL speakers leave the classroom and use English they immediately become ELF speakers, proficient or not, and therefore perhaps an ELF approach in the classroom would serve to create a more natural learning environment.

Swan (2012) also dismisses the re-branding of learner errors as creative by ELF practitioners, as this suggests learners are making a choice to use these ‘errors’. However this tends to overlook the importance of identity in language (Kirkpatrick 2007) and that learners are implicitly making a choice as an expression of their identity. As Brumfit noted in 1979 (188) it ‘is not *whether* to accept learners resistance to an idealized model for accuracy but *how* to,’ which remains a challenge for English language teachers today. What is true of grammar for the expression of identity is more so for pronunciation with the aim of the Lingua Franca Core (LFC) being for English speakers to be both intelligible and maintain their identity (Jenkins 2000, Walker 2010). Walker (2010: 52) argues that trying to impose RP on learners is asking learners to give up part of their identity and that the continued insistence on an RP ‘fails to recognise that people can reach the end of the English language learning process without necessarily sounding like a native speaker’.

The observation that beliefs about ‘errors’ in ELT are attitudinal and not linguistic (Walker 2010), and that alternative grammatical forms have a negligible impact on successful communication (Jenkins 2000) is evident in my study. The participants agreed that there is no problem linguistically with some of the grammatical features that we discussed, such as third person singular, plurals and verb forms, and that they did not interfere with communication. However, these features were deemed problematic by the teachers because they ‘did not sound right’. On the other hand, Jenkins (2000) observes that pronunciation has a significant impact on communication breakdowns in comparison with other language features, such as grammar and lexis. And this was evident in my study, with four of the teachers’ noting the importance of pronunciation for intelligibility, and giving examples of where pronunciation has caused a breakdown in communication. Although the first generation participants suggest that they are less inclined to correct students in relation to BrE norms, all of the teachers, from their training and the influence of a standard language ideology, are more inclined towards an EFL perspective on error correction.

The embedded notion of language ‘errors’ observed in this study suggests that training is needed to re-orientate existing approaches to teaching by incorporating critical language awareness (Seidlhofer 2011, Sifakis 2014). Teachers need a greater awareness of alternative conceptions of language as fluid, dynamic and variant which would give them a better understanding of language features which may be emergent, rather than being deviant features of Standard English (Brumfit 2001). Several authors have also argued that there should be a greater focus on accommodation and negotiation strategies in the classroom rather than an approach that penalises non-ENL norms (Brumfit 2001, Dewey 2012, Jenkins 2007, Kirkpatrick 2007, Seidlhofer 2011, Walker 2010). However there are limited suggestions of how teachers should incorporate this in the classroom or in what ways this differs from a CLT approach. Walker (2010) offers some practical suggestions for teachers to facilitate the teaching of accommodation and negotiation strategies, which have many similarities to strategies in CLT (Swan 2012), including information exchanges and reconstructing sentences from memory. However an analysis of pragmatic strategies of accommodation and negotiating in ELF (Cogo and Dewey 2012), suggest that in many ways these communicative strategies cannot be taught, and can only be learnt, with the teacher providing opportunities for communication.

Tied into the notion of what is ‘correct’ or ‘incorrect’ is the language model that is chosen. Although I have some sympathy with Swan’s (2012: 384) assertion that ‘learners need clear and consistent learning models’, as Tupas observes (2010), non-standard Englishes have been excluded from the debate and any model that deviates from an NES model is considered inaccurate. There are several reasons for the dominance of an NES model predominantly related to power: economically, politically and culturally. An NES model has more prestige and legitimacy than non-standard Englishes, materials available for teaching English are predominantly based on NES norms, and is viewed by both students, teachers, educational institutions as being the best (Kirkpatrick 2007).

Logically it would seem that the most appropriate model that should be used in ESOL classes in the UK is British Standard English, because this is model that is taught in schools and it is also the model used in the media and other formal contexts. However as has already been noted in the literature review the ‘changing demography of all so-called inner circle countries challenges the notion that some unsullied form of native speaker English is the dominant code’ (Pennycook 2009: 197). Moreover, as highlighted by Gut (2011), many learners who

come to the UK are already orientated to a norm that is not British Standard English. Furthermore the multilingualism which has become more prevalent in ‘native English speaking countries’, undermines the perspective that a BrE or AmE model in classroom would be the most beneficial for EFL speakers when they step out of the classroom and become ELF speakers. Both Kirkpatrick (2007) and Walker (2010) also observe that there is no common accent among NES, and therefore this raises the question of why RP and GMA are considered the most suitable for all contexts and promoted in the classroom. Kirkpatrick (2007) also points out that many host universities in ‘native English speaking countries’ employ NNES, and therefore the dominance of a NES model in the classroom could also be detrimental for students learning if they are just provided the NES model.

Several researchers, including Dewey (2012) and Seidlhofer (2011), argue that the application of local norms and openness to varieties is mainly relevant in the classroom in non-native English contexts. Although this is true, it is also important in the classroom in ‘native English speaking countries’. As highlighted in the literature review, (see 3.4.2, P.53-54) and also observed by some of the participants, the English spoken within many cities in the UK does not conform to Standard English in terms of grammar or RP in terms pronunciation. This relates to the spoken English of new and older migrants and the many dialects in the UK. Therefore I would suggest that frameworks such as World Englishes and ELF are not only relevant in countries where English is a second language, but also in ‘native English speaking countries’.

The implication of the dominance of a NES model in the classroom is evident in the contributions of the participants, most of who are not perceived by students as being ‘proper’ English speakers which also impacts on their authenticity as teachers. Consequently, this model can not only be demotivating for students (Kirkpatrick 2007), but also for teachers who do not use the model that they are expected to teach. An ELF understanding of the English language as fluid, dynamic and varied would help to reaffirm the participants own identity as English speakers. Although the participants argue that a NES model is achievable, first generation migrants implied that they had not achieved this model of English, by dismissing themselves as NES, based on their accent. Three participants are able to give examples of speakers who had achieved a NES model though another three participants also note some students are fossilized, and do not achieve that level of English.

One problem implementing an ELF approach to teaching is the resistance by educational institutions, (Jenkins 2007, Tupas 2010, Walker 2010). Jenkins (2007: 246) argues that

‘teachers who attend courses on varieties of English to World Englishes may respond positively to the notion of ELF. However, when these same students begin or resume work as English language teachers, the institutional constraints imposed on them to teach ‘standard’ NS English by traditional communicative methods prevent them from making the links between what they know in theory and what they do in their classrooms’.

Although this could change in the future (Jenkins 2007, Walker 2010), with Jenkins observing that the younger generation were more positive about ELF, at present it is necessary for teachers to promote a particular model because of institutional constraints and also to enable students to pass assessments that use British Standard English as a benchmark to measure other Englishes.

The participants in the focus groups agree there is a need to correct students’ errors to prepare them for assessment with the teachers using the ESOL curriculum, which is based on the CEFL, to measure students’ language. However, in the college, the teachers internally assess students and participants in the focus groups tend to agree that they do not exclusively consider NS norms when measuring students’ language, but what they can achieve, implicitly applying an ELF approach to language assessment. Assessment is a complex issue within the college and the method of assessment is constantly changing depending on government initiatives and related to funding. Therefore, that the participants might overlook students not successfully meeting the targets outlined in the core curriculum, may be related more to the particular constraints within the teaching context, rather than a fundamental belief in an ELF approach to testing.

Tomlinson (2010) outlines several reasons for the need for tests: so that teachers demonstrate they are doing their job, to uphold standards, government selection procedure for migrants, placement test to determine level, predicting suitability for university. However with only one standard used to determine language ability it seems clear that testing has not kept up with contemporary developments in English (Jenkins and Leung 2014, Tomlinson 2010). Instead, it is necessary to understand what sort of relationship the student is aiming for with what type of English speaking community (Brumfit 2001) in order to determine whether the

students have been successful. Students should be tested on their intended use of English, and judged against norms of successful varieties of English. At present learners are being tested on a variety they do not use, and are therefore effectively being punished for their inability to be British or American (Tomlinson 2010). ‘International’ tests of English only utilize NES varieties as an assessment criterion, but an ELF speaker may not necessarily be orientated to NES (Jenkins and Leung 2014). Jenkins (2007) and Jenkins and Leung (2014) argue that testing should refrain from penalizing forms that are emerging as potential ELF variants, reward successful use of accommodation and penalise forms that are not mutually intelligible, effectively testing what learners can do instead of what has been taught. This is a particular area of research that needs further investigation of how to design and implement tests orientated to the local context, an evaluation of their effectiveness in assessing learners’ language and how this could be incorporated into teacher training in terms of both preparing learners for tests and in assessing these tests.

The final aspect of teaching practices which I consider in my study is the ‘English Only’ classroom. Although several authors, including Auerbach (2000) and Cummins (2009), have outlined the benefits of multilingual classroom (see p.70), this appears to have had minimal impact on the ideologies that are present in teaching institutions, derived from a CLT approach, which emphasises that English should be taught monolingually. However in reality, multilingual speakers do not communicate monolingually in their different languages, but instead utilize all their linguistic resources, suggesting that English taught monolingually is an unnatural approach to language teaching. Kirkpatrick (2007) argues that an ELF approach could also be considered a bilingual approach, framed within the aim of creating bi or multilingual citizens, unlike the current approach that uses monolingualism as a basis for classroom practices. Therefore there needs to be a more nuanced approach to current teaching methodology in respect to the use of other languages in the classroom. There is divided opinion in my study among the participants on this particular issue which suggests that this topic should be more fully debated within teaching training and at institutional level than it currently is. At present within most institutions there is an insistence that teachers should create an ‘English only’ environment, and are chastised if they do not conform to this principle.

The contributions of the participants in this study suggests that there needs to be a ‘paradigm shift’ in English language teaching to reflect the context outside the classroom, with English

speakers engaging in a repertoire of codes in transnational contact situations (Canagarajah and Liyanage 2012: 58-59). While this would appear to be imperative for teaching in non-native English speaking countries, it is also within native English speaking countries, given the demographic changes in these countries. There is a need to raise awareness within language teaching of the relationship between models and the variable nature of language in interaction, enabling teachers to make informed choices about the significance of ELF (Jenkins *et al.* 2011, Kirkpatrick 2007, McKay 2012a). Although there have been changes to the DELTA to include World Englishes, Global Englishes and ELF there is little integration into teacher's practices (Cogo and Dewey 2012). As Dewey (2012) notes reference to ELF comes in the unit on language skills and learner problems, and this module is rooted in traditional approach to language that is concerned with correctness.

The paucity of knowledge by the participants in relation to Standard English, World Englishes and ELF implies that certain aspects of training are being neglected. Critical language awareness would help to validate aspects of both teachers' and students' use of and beliefs about language. Therefore I would agree with Seidlhofer (2011) that there needs to be a comprehensive change not only in the content of what is being taught, but in attitudes within English language teaching, which are in danger of becoming 'out of step with changing social conditions' (Canagarajah 2014: 768). There needs to be a deeper understanding of the nature of language within teacher training, particularly in relation to spoken and written English because, as Brumfit (2001) observes, written forms tend to dominate spoken forms. Consequently tying the spoken languages to the written form means that 'orthographies become ever more inaccurate reflections of speech, dictionaries become repositories of archaisms and usage guides become edicts of ritualized grammar' (Milroy 2004: 276). The participants recognised the differences between written and spoken language, but implicitly evaluated the spoken language in relation to the written. I would argue that teaching spoken English should be more focused on communicative strategies than striving for accuracy, while written English is more applicable to accuracy, albeit dependant on the context and the function. This again is in some ways reflective of a CLT approach to language learning, though underlying the CLT approach is the belief that the spoken language should be same as the written language, and it is through communication that learners' language will eventually conform to a NES model.

Although new approaches in teacher training would be beneficial to re-orientate the language attitudes of teachers, the responses of many of my participants' reflect societal attitudes. This would seem to imply that this view of language stems not only from their training and experiences as language teachers, but also from language ideologies that they were exposed to as children. In this way conformity to what society deems to be normal is stronger than their personal experience of English variation. This study supports Niedzielski and Preston's (2009) assertion that attitudes to correct language are deeply embedded and formed in childhood, and perhaps for a transformative change to take place in the attitudes of teachers it might be necessary for them to conduct a PhD in this area, thereby removing them from the teaching profession.

One on-going investigation into teacher training in respect to ELF is Sifakis and Bayyurt's (2015), using a transformative framework (Mezirow and Associates 2000). The authors argue that the transformative approach goes beyond the critical approach by attempting to reformulate the world view of the teacher. There are three phases in the transformative approach: the theoretical phase, where students explore the concepts of World Englishes and ELF; an application phase with the teachers linking the theories they have learned to their own teaching context; and finally a reflection of the success of implementing theory into practice. The authors observed that this training for teachers resulted in raising self-awareness as NNS, and a reconsideration of the teaching practice of error correction. However, as Illés (2016) argues that this does not constitute a transformative change in teachers' beliefs, and are similar to changes in beliefs that an orientation towards CLT had already achieved.

In addition Illés (2016) asserts that this approach might not be suitable for ELF because language beliefs have a strong affective component and are resistant to change. Pajares (1992: 317), for example, argues that 'the earlier a belief is incorporated into the belief structure, the more difficult it is to alter, for these beliefs subsequently affect perception and strongly influence the processing of new information'. This might help to explain why Jenkins (2007) found that the younger generation were more open to an ELF perspective. Because English has become an integral part of education among the younger generation perhaps the conditions exist within their language ideological framework to allow a greater acceptance of ELF. The difficulty of making a significant impact on teachers' beliefs is evident in Borg's (2011) study where he interviewed six teachers studying the DELTA.

Although the teachers became more aware and able to articulate their beliefs, and strengthened their understanding of their beliefs, the training did not lead to a profound change in their belief system (Borg 2011). Illés (2016) suggest that if the transformative approach is to be relevant, it is necessary to find out the existing beliefs of teachers, which would indicate whether they could be susceptible to the concepts in ELF.

7.5 Potential areas for further research

Generally this study has achieved its aims and objectives and provided results which address the research questions. However the limitations, which are outlined above, suggest several potential areas for future research. For example Árvai and Medgyes (2000), Smith (1996) and Woods (1996) observe that there is not necessarily a correlation between what teachers believe they are doing in the classroom and what they are actually doing. Due to time constraints it was not possible to observe the teachers practices in the classroom and it would be valuable to extend this research to observe some of the participants from this study in the classroom. This would enable me to examine if and how they use correction for spoken errors in the classroom, and their use of other languages in the classroom. This could be compared to their responses given in the interviews and focus groups, in order to identify the extent to which they correlate. As mentioned previously, the attitudes which the participants display during the interviews and focus groups may be different when using a different methodology. Observing the participants in the classroom may indicate that they are more ‘open’ to language variation and less concerned about accuracy than they suggest during the interviews and focus groups.

It would also be valuable to extend the research with new participants, teachers from different ethnic backgrounds and also people engaged in other professions, to ascertain more clearly the extent that training influences teachers’ attitudes. As already mentioned, this is a small cohort of participants, and it would be beneficial to use the same methodological apparatus in other contexts. This could be multilingual English language teachers, and also monolingual English language teacher in other teaching contexts. It would also be beneficial to conduct research in different educational establishments such as language schools and universities. It is important to identify language attitudes in different contexts to understand how they may change in the future, as well as the implications of this in English language teaching.

Finally this research has highlighted that the teachers are constrained to a certain extent by a standard language ideology in their application of teaching practices. Standard English language ideologies demand that certain teaching practices should be avoided, while others should be implemented in the classroom, irrespective of the beliefs and attitudes of the teachers. The English language has changed as a consequence of its nativeization in non-native English countries and the consequent migration into native English countries of speakers who are already norm-orientated from their experience of learning the language in their own country. The theoretical position within my study is that teachers, the educational establishment, and material developers need to respond to the changes to the English language. This requires further research which identifies how these changes can be implemented at different levels of English language teaching, and the effectiveness of these changes.

Appendix 1 - Interview guide

Family and background

Visit India/ contact family and friends in India/Pakistan
Return/living in India/Pakistan permanently/ Why/Why not?
Indian media?
Growing up in Leicester?
Communities - Do you feel part of a
Special about being Leicester-Indian?
Experience of school like/ religious education as school/
experience of racism?

Language

How many? first language? school?
Attend extra lang classes
Heritage lang in mainstream schools?
When use different lang? In the classroom?
Mix language/ differences between Gujarati in Leicester and Gujarat
No heritage less Indian? relatives cannot speak an Indian/Pakistani language?
Why
Do your children speak Gujarati? Do you think they should? Are British-
Indian/Pakistanis in Leicester less Indian
Responsibility for minority language? best way to support the languages? Better
to abandon their language? future?
Indian-English? English in the future?

Teaching

How became teacher?
classes you teach/ successful activity in the class
Testing? Allowances for differences?
aiming for the Standard English? Inform students about varieties
correct students grammar/how often/ pron/writing
good English
Can a teacher correct pron

Appendix 2 - Focus Group prompts

"Teachers shouldn't spend a lot time on correcting errors. If your learners, when speaking, do not remember to insert the "s" in he/she/it simple present or don't always use articles, so what, the sentence can still be understood without these features. Likewise if your student doesn't pronounce the two "th" phonemes correctly does it matter? It is possible to understand the speaker if they say "tree", "three" or even "dree" from the context. Anyway many of these so called errors could be considered innovations."

"Insisting on British or American English devalues other varieties of English that exist around the world. There is no single correct choice for a language target for learners, and instead teachers should choose an appropriate model based on location and learners' needs. So regional users of English who are learning English in order to speak to Indians, Chinese, Russians or Nigerians do not need teaching materials based exclusively on native speaker norms and "Anglo" cultures. English language teaching materials are needed that promote the local or regional variety and represent the cultures of the speakers of these newly developing varieties."

"It is unrealistic to insist on a native-speaker model, when second language learners can never become native-speakers and is an unattainable goal for many of them. Instead teachers should encourage learners to take the language and make it their own, to use as they wish. More importantly teachers need to prepare learners for future international English encounters by exposing them to other varieties of English and by teaching them strategic competence when interacting with speakers who speak other varieties of English."

Appendix 3 – Transcript interview 1

ROBERT: I do want to ask about this (.) did you have a read through this

ASHNA: I did yeah but its okay=

ROBERT: =a bit boring

ASHNA: (laughs) lets just go what's there there's nothing there I-I-I'm n-n-not doing something in illegal situation

ROBERT: Well no no no but ermm no I was just wondering you know about some of the language in here cause I you know [I kinda wrote it=

ASHNA: [I-I-I read it I thought oh my god this quite like oh forget it eh yeah I understood all that=

ROBERT: =Yeah, Yeah, I kn-kn-know I-I just just things like ermm British Asian

ASHNA: Yeah

ROBERT: Is that

ASHNA: I am a British Asian British Asian that's it

ROBERT: Yeah

ASHNA: ↑Yeah?

ROBERT: Yeah

ASHNA: No problem

ROBERT: You don't have a problem [nerrr

ASHNA: [No, ner I don't have any problems (on this stuff/let's start please)

ROBERT [Yeah no I

ASHNA: I'm serious I don't have problems (on this stuff/let's start) get it over and done with it

ROBERT: Yeah

ASHNA: Yeah come on then go for it

ROBERT: Okay what about this word in here er communi ethnic community

ASHNA: ↑Yeah? It's fine

ROBERT: Yeah

ASHNA: Yeah

ROBERT: You think you're (paper rustling)

ASHNA: I-I class myself as British Asian

ROBERT: Right okay=

ASHNA: =That's it I class myself as British Asian and I'm part of the multicultural society

ROBERT: Right

ASHNA: And I'm part of being the you know the ethnic society which is to the Asian side but at the same time I am part of the English side as well all the culture that's mixed together es-especially be-being in Leicester

ROBERT: emm

ASHNA: multicultural isn't it really

ROBERT: Yeah

ASHNA: Yeah

ROBERT: I don't know whether the term ethnic community is a bit

ASHNA: No no to me no=

ROBERT: =It-it doesn't bother you=

ASHNA: = It really don't bother me to be honest it really don't bother me at all I'm British Asian that's it ((laughs))

ROBERT: Ok so I don't need to I just you know [you never know if you're being a bit you know some of the language some people might be offended by by being described as a eth-member of an ethnic community

ASHNA: [No we don't no I don't I-I
I don't no I don't get offended about any
no no but that's what it is isn't I am Asian I Asians I am part of ethnic
community=

ROBERT: = I-I wouldn't describe myself as a member would I do you think I could be an ethnic community

ASHNA: but see the thing is if you look at my background being Asian

ROBERT: Hmmm

ASHNA: But then again the ethnic community but then I'm part of the diverse community too but if we (sieve) it down it is I am British Asian aren't [I so makes sense isn't it my culture is like so I celebrate Diwali Asian thing that is attached to me

ROBERT: [Hmm yeah
Yeah Yeah Christmas

ASHNA: Yeah Christmas as well Christmas is a very big thing to me (laughing)

ROBERT: So you do it all best of both worlds then

ASHNA: So there you are so I am part of both I have best of both worlds yes (laughing)

ROBERT: (laughing) I just I got this consent form this is just

ASHNA Yes which I have to sign [you're being so formal now

ROBERT: [well well I have to be I have to be formal

ASHNA: Right you want me to

ROBERT: You have to well you have to read these things first (laughing) don't sign it before you read it

ASHNA: okay (.) so I just have to tick this don't I

ROBERT: ermmm (.) yeah, yeah, yeah you just tick if are you going to read it first

ASHNA: Ner

ROBERT: Oh man (6.0) do you think you should read it

ASHNA: Not really why do I need to read it it's not something you're not asking me to co-commit suicide or kill somebody are you

ROBERT: No no no

ASHNA: Well there you are then (3.0) there you are

ROBERT: Well it might say it there you know (laughing) (indecipherable)

A (laughing) I don't think you would do that I don't think I don't (indecipherable)

ROBERT: Please you've committed yourself to what's the date today (3.0)

ASHNA: Today is the erremmm 13th because tomorrow is Valentines Day

ROBERT: Yeah I've got to [ermmm

ASHNA: [what a clique (man) things are happening

ROBERT: I've got to go and buy a card:

ASHNA: I know (.) for your lovely wife (.) are you going to buy a nice gift for her [or not

ROBERT: [I don't

know its difficult well its difficult women women are difficult to buy for

ASHNA: no no they're not (1.0) perfumes creams if you know she likes creams or underwear that she likes

ROBERT: [yeah but its got to be the specific stuff hasn't it

ASHNA: hhhhh – well then you should know

ROBERT: yes exactly that's what women think I should know you know I should know these things but err (1.0) you know maybe men aren't that observant ↑ anyway anyway? so

ASHNA: right this is on

ROBERT: yeah yeah yeah it's going (laughing)

ASHNA: (Laughing))

ROBERT: Do you feel like a student

ASHNA: No::::: I feel terrible

ROBERT: I was just going to ask c-can you obviously I was just going to say actually you don't have to anything you don't want say

ASHNA: yeah yeah

ROBERT: anything you don't want er you don't say it

ASHNA: Yeah

ROBERT: Anything yeah erm y- but can you tell me a bit about your er your background

ASHNA: My background ((water)) well ermm (2.7) ermm I'm obviously I'm a Hindu and my ermm my caste is bramin (1.0) in Hindi we have caste system

ROBERT: Oh right

ASHNA: We have a caste system not that it's important to me

ROBERT: No

ASHNA: But err in in in in terms of ermm the the casteing of Hinduism it goes erm I am bramim so we consider it to be we coming we come from the Priest family

ROBERT: Right

ASHNA: Although my dad wasn't a a Priest but he he was able to perform certain ceremony you know religious ceremony erm my mum comes from a priest family because my grandfather my mums side he was a priest and my dad's side my granddad wasn't a priest he was business man ermm (0.7) my grandfather from my mums side and my dads side they migrated from India to Africa err to be with railways because that time in Africa which is known as Malawi now it was known Nyasaland and it was ruled by Queen's mum (2.0) yeah I think the ruler was queen's mum she it was called (Nyasaland)

ROBERT: nn Not near South Africa is it=

ASHNA: =Yeah central Africa Malawi is central Africa is surrounded Zambia [Botswana

ROBERT: [Right
Uganda

ASHNA: Er No Uganda is near to Kenya there was Zambia err now it's in South Africa but that (indecipherable)

ROBERT: yeah

ASHNA: Rhodesia and err I think Zimbabwe=

ROBERT: =Yes yes=

ASHNA: =And they were in the middle of that and they went there to build railways and obviously to seek a future and they just settled there and under the British rule and ermm they became business people and then my obviously my parents were born on both side and then they got married and err I was born in Malawi too

ROBERT: Right

ASHNA: And when I was just about ermm 14 just before I became 14 my er my father died my father used to work for a a a very well known (water) Italian company and my father was a supervisor there and we th-they provided the accommodation because we was working there and my mum was a housewife er my mum did

ROBERT: This is in Malawi

ASHNA: This is in Malawi and five we're you know five bro- I've got three brothers and two sisters and we've adopted one sister here since [we came to this country

ROBERT: [oh right

ASHNA: Then when my father passed away there was no money

ROBERT: Right

ASHNA: There was no money at all

ROBERT: Right yeah

ASHNA: we had to vacate the the house and then we went to live with my grandmother my grandmother was a widow she's been a widow she was a widow for a very long time and she used to live er the southern part of Malawi which as more like a to to describe it's it's basically like a jungle

ROBERT: right, yeah yeah yeah=

ASHNA: = because my grandmother herself she wasn't very rich and she lived in the jungle she had this little shop that she used to run and my mum didn't have money so the only person who took under their wings was my grandmother so then we all went to live with my grandmother and then we applied for a visa to come to this country we didn't have the money to come to this country so what happened the firm that my dad used to work for ermm he came the the owner came to see my mum and he said to my mum and he said that your husband had you know contributed quite a lot to towards the company ermm if your daughters or son were a bit older we would have given them the position [

ROBERT: yeah yeah yeah

ASHNA: but since they're young we would like to offer some amount of money if you would like a ticket you know a ticket you know like ticket we would pay for all of you to go to England or where ever you wish to go we'd be happy to do that so that was like a miracle that

happened and then ((coughs)) then my mum decided to come to England because of education my mum already had a British passport

ROBERT: Right

ASHNA: Because she was born under the British rule within Nyasaland and then ermm

ROBERT: what what year was that

ASHNA: We came here in 1977

ROBERT: Right okay

ASHNA: So when we came here 1977 you can understand it was like a culture shock

ROBERT: Yeah yeah yeah

ASHNA: very frightened very scared [no money

ROBERT: [and you were

ASHNA: New world completely new world you know we came to somewhere that we just felt well we felt an aliens you know another planet

ROBERT: Did you come straight to Leicester

ASHNA: ((Coughs)) Originally we were going to stay in London but regarding something with issues with the family we we came to Leicester because one of uncles' had already been here so he came to collect us and then we ended up staying in Leicester so so wh- when we when we came we used to live on Upper Chanwood street near Nedland street (1.0) Highfields

ROBERT: Oh in Highfields yeah

ASHNA: We stayed there first we stayed with some relatives of my uncle with friends sorry not relatives and then afterwards we had our own we rented accommodation and we stayed there and then we found out that we can apply for council house and then we did all that and then that's it I went to school my brothers and everybody went to school ermm went to college

ROBERT: How old's your bro- How old were your brothers how was the oldest was he

ASHNA: I'm the eldest

ROBERT: You're eldest

ASHNA: I am the eldest and after that I've got my two brothers then I've for a a sister and a younger brother now

ROBERT: Okay

ASHNA: So their fair- fairly quite young when I came here I was just about turning into 15 and I wanted to continue my education so when I went to school they said to me that oh you know by the age of 16 you'll have to leave but I didn't want to leave I wanted to do my

GCSE so they said okay we'll give an extra one year and I stayed at er Montergal school which was actually office park road which is a girls school and my brother went to boys school which was based on Melbourne road now I think it's become a health centre and part of its Mosque or something it's a some kind of community centre

ROBERT: Where's that

ASHNA: You know on Melbourne road you know when you go through Nethan street you if you going through Nethan street all the way as if you're going to St. Peters road

ROBERT: St. Peter yeah yeah yeah yeah

ASHNA: Before that

ROBERT: Near Sparkenhoe no no

ASHNA: no that is the other side

ROBERT: Right okay yeah yeah

ASHNA: That used to be mod boys and then mod boys is just a boys school and my brother was there and then I was in Montegal School and just going through thingerm park across that and it was there so then I went there then after that I went to college ermm that time used to call now its called Regent College but that time its called Colleged and I went there and when I was studying ermm there was a pressure I wanted to study I wanted to go further but then ermm family pressure they wanted me to get married and I don't have a dad

ROBERT: Right

ASHNA: My dad died in Africa as I said that we came because my dad died my dad died by electric shock

ROBERT: Really

ASHNA: Yeah it was an electric shock and he died my that time my younger brother was one and a half years old so it was quite shock

ROBERT: Yeah

ASHNA: lots of things were happening and then when my mum came here the in-laws were here my granddad on my my mums side they they decided and they were giving pressure to my mum oh it's not good you know for girl you know she older and we don't want her to study ba ba ba ba ba you know we would like her to get married so every other weekend that'd be a proposal coming through ((laughs cough))

ROBERT: (Laughs) Well some women some women would like that [a proposal coming through

ASHNA: [It was horrible it was horrendous

ROBERT: [really

ASHNA: Every weekend I'd have butterflies thinking god now who was going to walk through that door=

ROBERT: =did they have that someone they used to come [once a week and you'd just look em up and down

ASHNA: [yeah yeah yeah that couple of times that happened once wh-

ROBERT: Didn't think there was any you know there must have been a couple you thought mmmhherr

ASHNA: No because I think what it was I'll be honest with you I was just like I just come to this country and was exposure and a kind of freedom as well away from everything else I wanted to study I wanted to do so much and then again there was a pressure on my mums side my mum you see that time it was difficult at that time I was getting angry on my mum but why is my mum behaving like this and why is my mum putting me through this but I didn't realise my mum had a pressure coming from the in-laws (1.2) you see the now things have changed but when my mum became a widow the background that the family that she was married into my grandmother was very strict my mother was not allowed to speak with anyone my mother my mother had to wear a white sari and sit in the corner and that was it she had she had a very minimal a verbal communication with anybody else so the in-laws would take over that's why we ended up going to my grandmother we stayed at my grandmother we had more freedom there and we would do what ever we could

ROBERT: So the m-mother in-laws a bit

ASHNA: Yeah my mum said she was what can I say the the grandma from hell she was really and then that was it and ermm they decided you know for me to find somebody and I wasn't very happy about that

ROBERT: So how err- so you're in -in the education system for a couple a couple of years did you like it

ASHNA: No I loved it I really wanted to study I really to be honest I really wanted to become a doctor

ROBERT: Right

ASHNA: That was my my wish and my ambition was you know that I really wanted to become a doctor but the pressure was on so when I when I was a still at college when I was doing you know when I was at college they said that's it you do one year and that's it you're

not going to do it anymore you're going to get married and you're going to be off because if you won't get married you might run away with a white guy

ROBERT: ((laughs)) really

ASHNA: Yes Yes I was blatantly told that I'd run away with a white guy or I'll end up coming pregnant I don't know where they got this scenario from but that was my granddad's perception of ermm sending girls to=

ROBERT: =to college=

ASHNA: = college yeah and especially not having a dad you know like a authority was not there

ROBERT: So did they when you errr so did you that they kind of stopped your freedom quite a lot when up until

ASHNA: of course of course

ROBERT: Up until how old were you

ASHNA: Well all the way through my life I find that my how can I explain I-I-I feel that my life was just controlled by whatever was given to me because when I was young I had to do what everybody else had wanted me to do and when I came here I had to do what everybody else wanted me to do and then it came it came a point that ermm then ermm whilst I was (2.0) err at college ermm when they decided you know to er bring in the arranged marriages I kind of got fed up of it so one of uncle was in London so I juts ran away to London well literally not run but I left I went to London and I wanted I started doing you know in house training nursing in house training and worked as a nursing assistant and carried on and then did a community nursing but that time my mum kept on coming every weekend I come and my mum would cry please you do come back and you know things will be different and then I came back to Leicester when I came back to Leicester we I started getting involved in my community and in the community which is based on Belgrave gate there is a Leicestershire Brosamarch it's a listed building if you look now right it's derelict completely but that time there there were youth group going on and I was asked if I could go in you know and contribute myself well I can do acting I can do you know dancing and singing so we formed a group so I took a quite active part in the community I used to sing I used to we used to do dramas ermm we used to do dancing and all that and through that ermm there was a there was a a a boy in that group my mum really liked him his family liked me and my mum said well I like him I would like you to get married to him

ROBERT: Right

ASHNA: So again

ROBERT: Got approval but errr your choice

ASHNA: But then I thought to myself I thought to myself rather than getting someone anyone from anywhere out of this country or in this country and move away from Leicester I'd rather be here surrounded my err my loved ones and friends so then I said okay and then I fell in love with the guy that I was going get married I fell in love and then I got married

ROBERT: So err did sooo his fam his family presumably there all around Leicester are your family

ASHNA: Yeah

ROBERT: And they stayed in Leicester

ASHNA: And they are Bramin as well same caste as I am

ROBERT: Oh right

ASHNA: Yeah same Caste as I am but

ROBERT: Does that make a difference [does it does it matter

ASHNA: [that time it was [that time it did matter that time when I chose=

ROBERT: =But now

ASHNA: Now it doesn't now things have changed completely

ROBERT: Really

ASHNA: Yes if if I was a teenager now oh my god I would have fantastic time ↑I would have fantastic time? I would do things I never did oh my lord

ROBERT: So do you ermm do are you still involved with the erm the community like

ASHNA: Not anymore I'm not involved with the community as such because then erm when I got married and obviously my married life and I had kids very young age I was quite young myself I was I was a like you know just into teens myself erm then I had children so it was very difficult and lived with my in-laws I lived my my mother in-law

ROBERT: Do you still live with them

ASHNA: No I'm separated from my husband

ROBERT: Oh are you

ASHNA: Yeah I'm not with my husband I'm separated ermm but that time it was it was just a different world the world was so closed and you know and then things change but now ermm err I continue with my acting and we are I am part of comedy festival

ROBERT: Comedy festival what are you doing a stint

ASHNA: Well you know I do we do er we do comedy it's called Gujarati comedy ermm group if you google it you'll see my name will come on it yes I I script my own

ROBERT: You do you get up and do performances

ASHNA: I perform I do my dance I do my own choreography

ROBERT: It's a comedy

ASHNA: Yeah [So I do do

ROBERT: [It's a comedy dancing or

A Yeah I know we do er what we do dialogues which have comical things in it so wha we've done the Gujarati language it has sounds which quite high it's like English grammar you know how it's how the Queen speak and how the dialect has you know gone down and er make it err very basic for everybody to understand so we've actually literally ermm sieved down the language so that youngsters can understand it as well so I do we do acts different different acts on the stage I do different different roles I do my own choreography for a dance I script write my own some of my ere scripts you know on the stage

ROBERT: Yeah

ASHNA: So I'm very active part of that yeah ermm so every year every

ROBERT: So I wouldn't understand it would I

ASHNA: So next week this coming week this err this Friday no Saturday

ROBERT: There's some comedy festival isn't there

ASHNA: So this Saturday and Sunday I'm performing in (burger) neighbourhood

ROBERT: I wouldn't understand it though would I all in Gujarati yeah

ASHNA: It would be in Gujarati some it in English but not totally in English so yeah er quite active and then er from nursing to I did various job and then I went after getting married after I had my children then I went to university

ROBERT: Right okay

ASHNA: Then I went to university and I did my media studies obviously I did my degree in media studies I was I worked with BBC radio Leicester yeah I also worked for MAT I did a backdrop err stage setting camera work I did all that I really wanted to go into media cut into media but that time you know my daughter was quite young so it was all that you know childcare issue travelling going to London move I couldn't do it physically I could but financially I couldn't

ROBERT: How old is your daughter

ASHNA: My daughter now the younger is 14 now

ROBERT: You don't look old enough I thought you were younger than perhaps I'm not going to hazard a guess at your age it's the erm it must be the creams

ASHNA: (laughing) what do you call it

ROBERT: It must be attention to the attention to looking after yourself

ASHNA: Lypo-suction lypo-suction just joking no I've not had lypo I think it's just I've kept myself young but then you see when I went to university you know when my marriage broke down when my marriage broke that was a time for me it was learning a big learning curve for me because then the whole loads of change came into my life I just changed I decided to be what I wanted to be I went to uni I mingled with friends then I started to you know detach myself from other things which I normally did and followed I started questioning because obviously university gives you those skills don't they and then that's it

ROBERT: Hmm So I was going to ask you err (1.0) you speak Gu-Gujarati yeah just- Gu-Gujarati and English

ASHNA: No I speak Gujarati I speak Hindi I understand Urdu and I also speak chechewa language well I also can read and write the African language

ROBERT: African language

ASHNA: I can also read and write and speak

ROBERT: Okay ermm do you ever do you ever visit I mean presumably I don't know do you still have links with India have you got family in India

ASHNA: Yeah I've got my err my err my Auntie my mum's side my mum's eldest sister is in India

ROBERT: Do you ever visit

ASHNA: Yes

ROBERT: Yes

ASHNA: Yes a couple of years ago I was there I went to because I took my mum because my mum was very ill if you remember I did say that to you my mums not been very well so I took her to India to the hospital and then afterwards I took her Gujarat which she she at the moment she currently resides in Gujarat and erm all my cousin brother and sisters are there they are in extended family out there so we went and we we were there for about a week and we still keep in contact and yeah very much part of erm India because of my err mum's side family still there and we've made friends as well a few friends and as you know I am part of this comedy festival so I've had people coming into groups from India who come and you know do singing so I've made friends within the groups over there in India so we liaise not through not through facebook I'm not on facebook but we contact each other on the phone=

ROBERT: =on the telephone but not social networking

ASHNA: ner ner ner don't have time for that yeah yeah so yeah

ROBERT: Yeah

ASHNA: Yeah

ROBERT: So how how presumably you don't ermmmm do you ever visit Ma-Mawi

ASHNA: Malawi I went 4 years ago I went to Malawi before because I really wanted to take my daughter so I took my daughter to Malawi and we went to the place where I was born where my mum was born we went to see that it has changed quite a lot because now it's got a lot er I think the American company has put in all the money so it has modernised quite a lot in some parts they've got supermarkets but the areas where my parents my grandparents were those have gone really run down because the Asian people left that when Asian people left that it just

ROBERT: Took all the money did they did they take all the money out

ASHNA: Yeah they took the shops they took some of the shops are even gone there not even there but I went to a village where you know where my grandmother was I went right in the jungle right in there and for two days I went and I

ROBERT: Is she still alive

ASHNA: No my grandmother died here she came here and when I went I taught I went in there and I was teaching English couple of days

ROBERT: Oh really a little busman's holiday

ASHNA: Yes like under the tree I just drew a like my blackboard was like on the floor and I gave some books and pencils to the kids unfortunate kids and ah that was my way of just contributing to the land that I was born so that was yeah but I would I would love to go back again

ROBERT: Do you have family there or nothing=

ASHNA: =No got nobody but we've got friends we've got friends err very good friends who you know every year they come here they're very rich now they come every year when ever they come here obviously we visit them they they would like us to go back again like my mum but my mums health not been that good but maybe one day my brothers they do want to they are they are actually you know pondering on this thing that they they wish they go back and take their kids with them they want to show their kids where the roots started in where they were born so maybe when that happens in the near future then I'll go I'll defiantly go with them again yeah but it was good to see Malawi some parts are still they had like a photographic memory and some parts when I was young and how it was and when I went and how it had changed and some things hadn't changed amazing it was an amazing experience amazing sad

ROBERT: Yeah

ASHNA: Shock

ROBERT: Yeah

ASHNA: Yeah

ROBERT: err but yeah do you erm err do access any what kind of media do you watch err

ASHNA: Okay

ROBERT: Social networking rrrrr

ASHNA: Yeah social network facebook as I says I don't have time

ROBERT: Do your kids have

ASHNA: Yeah Yeah oh my god BBM on the blackberry err BBM they do BBM on the blackberry

ROBERT: What's BBM

ASHNA: You know when you have [blackberry phone you can talk with anybody constantly

ROBERT: [I don't know I've got a sony erricson Really

ASHNA: Yes it's free and she's constantly on on on B and I have to tell her off and she's on facebook but my media would be like you know obviously movies so

ROBERT: Right so do you watch watch Indian movies=

ASHNA: Yes I very much I watch Indian movies I watch English movies I do like sometimes to watch foreign movies like Spanish if it's got like subtitles I like to watch them erm erm obviously er computer that's another one part of me watching news

ROBERT: Do you read the news in

ASHNA: Yes I do I very much keep in up to date with things that are happening around I don't sort go so deep into but I like to just listen to things main things and also what's happening around the world if sometimes if the issue comes about Africa obviously it's a bit like the alertness goes oh Africa I wonder what it is and if it's India the alertness goes in there but yeah and er radio radios a very much part of my life because I'm driving it's on constantly

ROBERT: Cause the radio they do have is it Gujara- Gujarati radio station

ASHNA: Yeah I really on on in my car it's always on subway street radio yeah which is based on Melton road here I always listen to that and and I listen to ermm Jem

ROBERT: Jem 106=

ASHNA: =Yeah Yeah 106 I think its so oh god happy you know my day day so that's I like to listen to that sometimes capital as well it depends but those are two stations that I tune in to and listen to

ROBERT: And what about your kids

ASHNA: .hhhh

ROBERT: Do they

ASHNA: They they hhh- take over [take over again what you mean

ROBERT: ((laughs)) What what do they listen to [do they listen to

ASHNA: [They listen to

MTV

ROBERT: They don't listen [to the Indian

ASHNA: [no no I tell you what

ROBERT: You must have Indian satellite I don't know

ASHNA: We have like I've got a erm erm sky box which has like sky movies and some of the Asian channels but you know what when I was when my kids were young I never let them watch Indian programmes

ROBERT: Why

ASHNA: .hhhh ((laughs)) I think that's a very good question when they were young I really wanted to watch Disney movies and

ROBERT: Really

ASHNA: Yes

ROBERT: Corrupt them ((laughs))

ASHNA: ((Laughs)) and all the English movies that were according to that age I never exposed them to Indian and I never wanted them to learn Indian language I never did whatever I don't know I think it was just I think it was just one of those I think I just wanted my kids to .hhhh to be honest with you I wanted my kids to be exposed to the English culture more than the Asian culture

ROBERT: ((Mouths)) why

ASHNA: why why I think because when I was growing up it it now going back I regret it but when I was growing up I think it it I was imposed a lot ermm (1.7) traditions on me oh you have to this we have to go there we have to and I didn't want my kids to do that and especially when I separated from husband I just wanted that hooray freedom woh just do what ever you want to but now I do regret it because my er my daughter can not she can understand some words of Gujarati but she finds it very difficult to speak and when she speaks she speaks like an English person would speak Gujarati it doesn't sound right

ROBERT: How is that

ASHNA: It just doesn't go

ROBERT: Really so it's like Gujarati with an English accent

ASHNA: yes exactly in fact if I if I if I taught you a Gujarati word it's how you'd you'd pronounce it and how you'd say it my daughter would exactly say that you know like if I say Kemcho

ROBERT: Kemcho

ASHNA: Yeah

ROBERT: So I sound English

ASHNA: Yeah

ROBERT: Kemcho (Mock Essex accent)

ASHNA: Yeah like that

ROBERT: Kemcho (Mock Essex accent)

ASHNA: Yeah so like my daughter Says Kemcho like like if I say Kemcho say Kemcho

ROBERT: Kemcho

ASHNA: Kemcho

ROBERT: Kemcho

ASHNA: You see Kemcho

ROBERT: ↑Kemcho/

ASHNA: So you see there's a difference can you see that phonemes phonetics they obviously change because they've they've been from a very young age they've been going to school so now that I've tried to bring in the and sometimes my daughter when she says something she doesn't even understand what she's saying she I like to repeat so many times and sometimes I bla bla in Gujarati and she'll say=

ROBERT: = How old are they now

ASHNA: huh

ROBERT: How old are they now

ASHNA: Well my younger one is 14 the elder one err who is 22 now so

ROBERT: Right okay so they don't::: they don't

ASHNA: The the elder one 22 she does she speaks Gujarati but mm mm not if my mum will talk to her that she's try to explain Guajarati but she'd rather stick to English that's the comfort zone

ROBERT: Right and your mum can speak speak English presumably

ASHNA: A little bit when my mum came to this country my mum couldn't understand the word yes or no she didn't then she went she became the ESOL erm you know then she worked in a school as a erm a a dinner lady and then promote promoted herself to a

supporting teacher and she worked in a school for 28 years er that's it so she that's why and from there she picked up the language and she did that as well

ROBERT: So they can they can

ASHNA: And now that's she's got other grandchildren from from my brothers side so they all speak English so they contribute towards helping her you know making new words and linking new words and yeah

ROBERT: mm What was I going to say I can't remember now errr (1.0) So where would you say that you you use ermm er when do you use er I mean you speak five different language so when when do you use them all

ASHNA: .hhh well I'll tell you what if if I am with my mum then obviously I speak Gujarati because that it it's comforting she can under- but say for example erm I've got a friend and he's Punjabi so he comes from India and to him you know English is very you know it's very new (junction?) so when I ever have to explain to him anything like I would speak in Hindi Urdu not so much I don't speak but I would use some of the Urdu say for example if I've got friends who are from Pakistan and they're very much Urdu is their very main language so when they speak I will try and use some of the words of Urdu and Cheecheewa language is like erm people who come from Africa friends I told you I've got friends in Africa when they come we normally

ROBERT: So it's not related to ((taps fingers)) to any of the Indian languages are you are you fluent in it are you you know

ASHNA: Yes yeah I'm very fluent and er and er I forgot to tell you one thing you know when when we were in Africa when my father died we had a a missionary who had come from Ireland and he was there he had been sent from Ireland and my mum and my mum was you know she used to come and used to sit with my mum and then go make literally went supported my mum through all er bad time with my dad and my mum always kept in contact with him and he writes regularly writes letters to my mum in Cheecheewa in African language and my mum would answer in Cheecheewa as well and when I go out every time I go out say for example I go out a lot every Friday or Saturday night I'm out and anyone who comes from Malawi they know I'm from Malawi we start to speak in our language the lingo and that

ROBERT: Do do you speak all in or do you mix it

ASHNA: Sometimes some words come in mixed even in Gujarati now pure Gujarati is very difficult now to just say pure Gujarati unless I was just exposed completely in Gujarati

Gujarat then it's difficult but I've noticed that whenever I speak Gujarati English words come in to it they they sort intercept with one another

ROBERT: Any particular words

ASHNA: Hello thank you no please you know very

ROBERT: Functional words

ASHNA: Yeah functional words

ASHNA: Or if I say time Sunday you know I tend to use days and months time in in English [rather than in Gujarati

ROBERT: [Right okay
but its not related to like technology or anything like you wouldn't have a sentence for Gujarati and then

ASHNA: Computer you mean

ROBERT: Well any kind of words like that

ASHNA: Yeah Yeah computer radio if I say BBC news obviously that that's the name of it but I would say oh you know erm I used a computer or I was on the i-phone or I did this so those words do come in because I don't think there's a a word in (0.5) there might be a word in Guajarati for computer I don't know or like trains you know like transport as well like trains buses aeroplane they have names in er Gujarati but they are very long names I can remember trying to remember once yeah yeah *veryliata* or something I forgot oh my god I can't can't say this so I'd rather stick to train the train transport local transport taxis all that I use English words but they do have Gujarati

ROBERT: Do you think you're erm (1.7) do you think aa coming to England did you sort of lose (1.2) do you forget words and stuff I don't know in any of the languages

ASHNA: erm yeah you do I think the::: th- the when you have when you have one err erm primary language which takes over then I think the secondary language do sort of er interfere with you know your primary language do interfere with your secondary like if you =

ROBERT: So what would you primary=

ASHNA: =you see when I was in Malawi when I was young but then when I came to this country when I started going to school and when I went to college my my primary language automatically became English and er Gujarati became secondary so somehow as I said some words do you know interlink with one another

ROBERT: Yeah yeah::: so English is your primary

ASHNA: Yeah because I mean if I'm constantly on English if I speak to my friends its English if I'm texting it's English only sometimes very rarely I'll

ROBERT: And these are friends from the ethni- ethnic community

ASHNA: Yes yeah the majority of ethnic but I have English friends I have erm a couple of Spanish friends and English friends you know from work and-

ROBERT: =So when you you did say earlier you spoke with errr in chwa I can't

ASHNA: Cheecheewa

ROBERT: Cheecheewa but other people friends

ASHNA: Yeah

ROBERT: Who are also Gujarati you speak Gujarati mainly

ASHNA: yeah and Chichewa as well those that come from Africa I've got two friends that they come from Africa and they know so we always whenever we get together we always speak in that language and then people ((tuts))what are you talking about well I'm not we're talking you we're just saying high hello so we do that the reason why I think I do that because I it's I find it so important that time I didn't realise how important it is but as I've grown older I realise I wish I had le- you know when I was college I had the opportunity to learn French and I did you know ouvoire you know but then I I regret it for not carrying it on I think it's such a wonderful thing it's an asset and a skill

ROBERT: Yeah Do you thi- do you think ermm err::::: like Indian languages should be taught in schools mainstream schools

ASHNA: I think so I think it I I it shouldn't be like I'm not saying it should be compulsory in the curriculum but I think that it should be like as an additional thing it should it should be provided I think

ROBERT: Yeah it's not at the moment is it

ASHNA: Yeah it's not at the moment parents have to pay if you look at parents have to pay too that's why I think another reason I never sent my kids because I couldn't afford it I really wanted as I said as I was growing older I realised how important the language was but when I when I wanted them to go and learn the language I couldn't I couldn't afford it financially because by the term it's about you know you you pay a session is about £2 £4 an hour and then taking them and bringing them

ROBERT: It's on Saturday on a Saturday yeah

ASHNA: Yeah I couldn't do it but if the school had offered you know if the school had offered like say for example after school we have one hour you know er ermm as an enrichment activity you know with er a language look at the look at the survey look at the demographic of school and see which is the majority of them and then probably with with that provide I mean there are there are so many adults at the meant you won't believe in

England there's so many adults their are ↑equipped ↑to ↑teach? this language they are qualified because they were teachers Africa many Asian if you look if you look many Asian people background especially who come from Africa they were teachers here they couldn't you know do carry on with the profession because of the degree and all that

ROBERT: ((whispers)) (They have to get all their certificates) in English as well and that's a bureaucracy

ASHNA: But you see they could bring div- they could bring the you know the richness and diverse richness in the community

ROBERT: So why did you think why do you think they don't then

ASHNA: To be honest with you maybe funding I think but I'm sure

ROBERT: I mean it's no different from you know teaching French say

ASHNA: Yeah yeah I'll be honest with you that's a very arguable you know I would I would love to I would if if schools and colleges actually did offer that I think it's a fantastic opportunity and it engages the student into learning as we saying if we saying that England is a multicultural you know a a society then yeah then fair enough but then bring the language in as well let everybody have a experience to learn let expose it to everybody else and give the opportunity to you know other members of the staff to learn it as well like for example if I go to India the problem that I have in India of seriously is reading erm th- the bus route on the buses when the buses are coming they they write it in Hindi I can't read it

ROBERT: Is Gujarati written differently then or

ASHNA: Yeah Gujarati and Hindi's different

ROBERT: Right okay

ASHNA: If it's written in Gujarati then I do take time I can I can erm what decode and then understand it but if it's in Hindi [I find it difficult

ROBERT: [why is it so why

ASHNA: Because Hindi is different Hindi's some of the alphabet is written differently so it takes time for me to read it and so er that's a to me it's like what a waste I wish I could do that whereas people who are born in India for them it's frm frm it's like for them to come to England and read in English you know it's same vice a versa for me as well

ROBERT: Yes yes, yeah err so erm (1.0) Indian being Indian Indian identity

ASHNA: Yeah

ROBERT: Not really a question do you think ermm err (2.0) Do how do I put this do you think that the language is important to being Indian or like to be Indian you should to be British-Indian or British-Asian you should really speak the language or

ASHNA: Yes I would say that because if you don't you get isolated

ROBERT: Right

ASHNA: you do you do get isolated like erm ermmm I'll give you a very good example like my daughter and my brother's kids whenever we go out anywhere th- they don't want to fit they can't fit in [because

ROBERT: [Right okay so do then do you avoid situations like that or

ASHNA: No I don't avoid I try to what I do normally I will explain I will explain to them that this is what it is but for a certain point they will keep what they call their attention but afterwards they lose it because I can't keep on (1.2) (indecipherable) whereas with me if there's anything go on within the Asian community there's any rituals ceremonies I can sit there because I know what's going on whereas with my kids they find it very boring they don't want to come to weddings they find it really boring because they don't know what's going on half of the time so I feel that that disconnects them automatically when it disconnects them it sort of it it makes them it creates a segment you know between a parent and a culture and the custom and tradition and the children not being part of it

ROBERT: Do you think they would consider themselves Brit- British would they describe themselves British-Asian

ASHNA: Yes

ROBERT: They would still

ASHNA: Yes still they would

ROBERT: Even though their perhaps their language is not

ASHNA: I think the reason they would consider them British-Asian I think it's do to with with the culture with the name that's the name tag that they you know have my daughter's name is Arty Arty's auto- automatically Asian name Simeran automatic Asian name so that that first of all that background religion the Hindu so you know we celebrate Diwali and all that that's that's the second part that connects with them and also you know er erm they are on the (route) background culture tradition that connects them automatically you know what I mean and even if someone who has an English name even somebody who has an English name (1.0) the religion and the custom and tradition would automatically connect them even if they don't want to be say if I had a daughter her name was Jessica English name but having said that just because she's Jessica but if somebody saw they would know that she's Asian you know how we know and her if somebody ask her if she was mixed race somebody would say oh if you're mixed race and her father or mother were Hindu she would say mixed I have

a mother who's Hindu but this is still some connection within the background so I would very much I would say it is British-Asian I would yeah

ROBERT: Ermm every time we finish I forget what I was going to say I was going to what was I going to ask (3.0)

ASHNA: Culture

ROBERT: Can't remember

ASHNA: Religion

ROBERT: No you said something earlier and now I've forgotten what I was going

ASHNA: Er language

ROBERT: Well er I've completely forgotten completely forgotten ermm (0.5) Oh I know it was about you said earlier about you know about your family being ermm a bit worried about you marrying some some white man

ASHNA: Hmm

ROBERT: How would you feel if your daughter brought

ASHNA: Oh I'd love it ((laughing))

ROBERT: ((laughing))

ASHNA: I'd love it I'd love it to be honest with you I don't have any because like since as I said things have changed on my mum's side family the bit laid and a bit relaxed on my dad's side family they're very strict they will only marry only bramin nobody even if if somebody

ROBERT: What is bramin is it I don't know how

ASHNA: Higher caste

ROBERT: Is it high caste

ASHNA: Ranking

ROBERT: So a low caste she if you're daughter brought back a low caste

ASHNA: It don't matter to me it doesn't matter to me it doesn't matter to be honest with you the only the only problem that I would have if my daughter decides to marry a Muslim person

ROBERT: Right okay

ASHNA: And if she married a Muslim person and then if she said to me oh I'm going to convert and change my name there's nothing I could do but that would really hurt me because that's my daughter that's somebody I named and I cherish them

ROBERT: If you wore a Hijab

ASHNA: I wouldn't like it

ROBERT: You wouldn't like it

ASHNA: No

ROBERT: Would you say to her

ASHNA: yeah I wouldn't it's not it's not being discriminating against anybody because it's Muslim people it's that's their culture they're all hand on heart it's fine but I wouldn't want to see my daughter because that's that's not my background and that's not I don't want to see my daughter you know not to see her [sitting and drinking and then she's in another another room ((laughing))

ROBERT: [I think you will see her I think you can still see her it's only in the company of men isn't it

ASHNA: You but you know how in my mums side of the family we're very relaxed and we've got mix race you know we've got mixed race brother-in-law you know my other cousin sister married someone younger than her to us it's not a problem to us it's not a problem we've got a a an American daughter in law within the family so we don't have my my so we don't have a problem at all but I found that the strictness of religion when it takes over I I I don't think there's nothing I could do but I wouldn't be because we all sit together we drink in our family we eat meat we drink and if my daughter came she'd have to sit in another room because she can't open that the veil in front of her uncles she can only do it to her mum so I can't segregate myself and go and sit with her

ROBERT: So if she bought a white chap

ASHNA: Ah no problem at all I would be happy

ROBERT: And said I was going to convert to Christian going to become a Christian and change my name to Jessica

ASHNA: That would be no problem because the nothing would change because my daughter would still be the same because Christian you know because my doesn't wear sari's my daughter is always English clothes and sometimes when she wear's Sari's and Asian thing but Christian guy once they wear excuse me you know what you're not going to do that you're not going to er that;s not going to happen is it but is it with a Muslim they are strict you know some [of them are not

ROBERT: [some of them are not

ASHNA: I'm not saying some of them are ((indecipherable)) but if my daughter said oh you have to convert and your name has to be changed then I think that would bring a lot I think that would bring a lot of difficulties not issues but difficulties with family and it it really would it would

ROBERT: What about if ermm is it caste is still important in India presumably In India

ASHNA: In India certain parts of India er religious especially religious weddings not exposure to the media erm there's not exposure you know erm you know the foreign erm erm what do you call it exertion within that so that there

ROBERT: outside the city in the rural areas=

ASHNA: =Yeah yeah I think there is there's still caste problems there but no er not in the cities that's all broken down and I think the the series the drama they produce especially Bollywood as you know Bollywood is one of the largest film industry which produces so many and in that they show that as well but in the movies they'll always be social issues and culture and tradition in there but having said that you know erm marrying somebody else's it doesn't matter as I said that when I when I was young I had the pressure that I had to find a boy I had to find a Bramin boy nobody else will do nobody else will do

ROBERT: That's bramin must be a Doctor or something

ASHNA: No bramin is a caste just a higher caste

ROBERT: But it would be someone like a doctor =

ASHNA: = Even now even now even now today today today if I went to somebody else's house who just came form India and just talking and if I say my surname's Burgata straight away they'll say oh you're Bramin oh my god you're bramin come to my house sit down what would you like and they they they look above to me

ROBERT: If you said you were another caste if you were a lower caste

ASHNA: I don't know about that but I've been to few peoples house and you know I've been and when I've told them you know oh it's like what's you're surname oh my god you're bramin oh you know come in

ROBERT: How can they tell from you're name

ASHNA: Because surname tells everything

ROBERT: Really

ASHNA: Yeah our surname are the that's what I said our names are names but our surnames are the ones that give us a clue

ROBERT: What the Bo

ASHNA: Bogata Bogaita Vias Jianni Patak these are all Bramin surname Moda these all Bramin surname

ROBERT: You're quite proud of your=

ASHNA: =No I'm not

ROBERT: You seem quite proud

ASHNA: No no but it's just that you know at least you know Patel's are different all Patel have same surname so they've

ROBERT: Patel is that a low caste

ASHNA: No Patel is more like a middle class but even in Patel even in Patel they have ranking system Patel from one village they will not like their daughter to get married to another village they would not they only would like to stick their own group and crowd and again it's to do with the culture and tradition what they do as well so a lot of complication in that as well

ROBERT: Yeah yeah so when you're over in erm when you're over you visit India how often would you say you visit

ASHNA: Oh every two every two three years I would go there and I'd go there for a month so I've travelled quite a lot now

ROBERT: Is it it's in the I get I never remember I always have to say never eat shredded wheat to try and remember it's in the west yeah

ASHNA: Yeah

ROBERT: Is that that's the region

ASHNA: Yeah but I'm we are more originally round my fore fore- grandparents they all come from Gujarat you know descended from Gujarat erm but I've seen the whole of Gujarat and I've gone to India just travelling basically and erm culture and I've not gone for culture I've just been there to travel because I wanted to see you know India

ROBERT: Do you notice anyway they ermm talk about err the way the way speak English

ASHNA: Yes they're very singing English isn't it

ROBERT: So what singing English

ASHNA: Yeah Indian people they they the way they speak English is very singing English

ROBERT: What do you mean I don't

ASHNA: I would like to go there and I say that very nice day (singing) it's very singing English they've got a little tune to it you could actually add a beat in tm tm tm (laughs)

ROBERT: I like that singing singing English

ASHNA: Yeah it's like singing English it's like fr fr (laughs)

ROBERT: Do you think er when erm (taps fingers) do you notice anything different about the like the grammar vocabulary that's used

ASHNA: Yeah

ROBERT: What kind of differences are there

ASHNA: You see in::: the in::: Gujarati in Hindi we have alphabet when we have alphabet you know how we how we write something how we say something is how we write and there's not you know how we like have articles you know that's what you would see like Indian people when they come they tend to use the the everywhere because somehow they think the is so important they don't realise that you know it's not used everywhere else and also you know we have order you know how sometimes we can say something at the front like you know ermm tonight da da da da or something then tonight sometime they get mixed up with that with with Indian you know sometimes how you say it is how it's been said and also pronunciation as well certain in India you know how many language I think how many language how many languages are there I think

ROBERT: Now I I can tell you that

ASHNA: yeah yeah

ROBERT: Well I don't know I did a there was a census in 1981 and I think on the census is it 1981 I can't remember or 1991 and they err they were given free reign to write what their language was and here was 1,600 different languages or something

ASHNA: Yeah its' amazing you know when my when my aunties they speak different language in Gujarati they speak different with a dialect local dialect accent slang words now if you move from my my er my auntie's house and you go to anderlud they speak different language you move among and you to (indecipherable) you see

ROBERT: Is there a lot of mixing with English

ASHNA: Now now this has started because this is what I think innit my observation is like that they like to speak English as well because they consider themselves=

ROBERT: =It's posh=

ASHNA: = It looks posh it looks like there literacy you know they have skill then it shows a little when when I went to India I've noticed that when I go to India I always speak in Gujarati or Hindi but they will answer me in English

ROBERT: Right okay

ASHNA: And I've tried to be I've tried to look like them I put oil in my hair I tie all my hair

ROBERT: [oil what's hair oil

ASHNA: You know Asian people you will see Asian people they put a lot oil in their hair

ROBERT: Really

ASHNA: Yeah that's why have very less glasses and there because it tends to keep you know it keeps you're you know you're

ROBERT: Hair

ASHNA: Scarf quite cool and that stuck to your eyes you know having all these you know glasses and all that so they do that I try I try act like that I wear clothes like that but my face gives away they automatically know my the way I walk the way I talk they automatically know that this person is not from India

ROBERT: Really=

ASHNA: =Even I try so hard it doesn't work even if use a local accent or dialect it doesn't work straight away they know

ROBERT: Ermm do you think do you think that they think this is a rather convoluted question do you think that they think that people who move out of India who leave India who become sort of British do you think they think that they are less Indian (3.0)

ASHNA: .hhhh ermm [I don't I don't

ROBERT: [different different kind of Indian

ASHNA: I don't think they think less Indian but I think they they don't feel part of it like when I go India I'll be really honest with you really honest with you when I went to India it was really good to go India you know first of all when I went to India the good thing was like everybody's Indian so I don't feel myself different but having said I felt different I didn't feel part of India I didn't I you know honestly I didn't I err if if somebody told me to move today somebody said to me move to India I'd rather move ermm to the Eu Eu European country or =

ROBERT: =Really=

ASHNA: =America because I feel more part of that than India

ROBERT: Really

ASHNA: Yeah I know sounds a bit

ROBERT: If you but like nowadays I er you can people who have been brought up in Britain who are in British you know British-Asian you know you could make a good career perhaps in in India as being fluent in both languages

ASHNA: Yeah you can I was offered a job when I went I was offered that you know you come here teach we'll give you accommodation and a car and somebody will come and pick you up and drop you off and somebody will look after your house and I thought wow this is an offer not to be missed and oh should I should I ner I'll go back and I'd miss my friends this is my home now

ROBERT: Yeah yeah

ASHNA: You know when I go to India India becomes a secondary now this is my home now you know I've grown up here I've got my friends my family you know erm everything is

here now to be honest with you and erm if I were you know I'm not saying that if were to go to India I would never be able to do that I would but who knows you never know about the future do you I could change I could decide to go to India and say oh after a few years time but at the moment as now no and I think that's how many youngsters you know who I we teach with er I find that they they feel the same as well the only people who feel connected to India is either the older generation who are still part of they've got family or who have just come from India and they've only been in England maybe less than ten or less than five years or less than fifteen years they feel so much but the younger generation don't feel that they do they don't feel as part of it and that is the honest truth and I I've got I've got I've got children I've got chi- se I've got a daughter in secondary and all the kids I liaise with because I'm part of the comedy festival I do NSPCC charity work I've got you know friends who are teachers at secondary school and it's the same scenario that the the youngsters they don't feel they feel this is their home now

ROBERT: Yeah

ASHNA: Fair enough

ROBERT: How did you end up becoming an ESOL teacher

ASHNA: How did I become do you know what it was an accident

ROBERT: Oh [I think any English teacher it's always an accident

ASHNA: [Seriously yeah yeah [seriously what happened when I as I said I wanted to go in to media I wanted to take my career into that it was difficult so next thing I did one of friend he's actually a teacher he said to me why don't you try teaching and I said mmm I don't think I've got the patience to do that he said why don't you try it so during that time (2.0) five six year ago Leicester college was doing 7407 stage one stage 2 I know it was er it was like a teaching

ROBERT: Pr pr pretels

ASHNA: Something like that so when I when I enrolled on stage one I had to do teaching on voluntary basis and erm I was I really wanted to go into secondary teaching rather than ESOL but when I was on that course nobody guided me when I came here I did say I want to go secondary but nobody said you know you can go I had a degree nobody told to DMU you know or go to Leicester and do that but when I came but then during that time my mentor was one of the ESOL tutor who's retired now she was my mentor and when I when I when I used to run a class she goes to me you're really good you know you should should pursue this and I said I'm 7407 she goes why are doing 7407 I said I don't know someone has put me on

there she goes you're on the wrong course if you've got a degree why don't you just do PGCE I said okay if that's the case so I applied for PGCE and I got through and during the PGCE we had to do 75 hours teaching paid teaching hours so because I was already working on a voluntary basis here I had no difficulties in getting the hours on sessional and that's how we it all erupted evolved and then since then it's yeah yeah and I'm loving it loving it loving it ((laughs))

ROBERT: ((laughs)) You're joking aren't you

ASHNA: so erm going back to what we what you were saying earlier about you notice differences between Indian when you're in India they speak ermm sort of different er singing English I like that=

ASHNA: =It is it's quite singing it is=

ROBERT: =I might quote that

ASHNA: Yeah it is singing I would like to go there and she was telling me ((indecipherable)) and I told her not to do this ((accented English)) it's a very singing you think somebody is actually rapping the song it's got a beat to it

ROBERT: When you when you're teaching English and erm well first of do you ever use any of you're when you're in the classroom do you ever speak to them in in er Gujarat or Hindu=

ASHNA: =Yes I do

ROBERT: You think that's okay

ASHNA: Yes no no

ROBERT: You don't think there anything wrong with that because some institutions

ASHNA: No well what I do for pre-entry and entry 1 I do

ROBERT: Do you have complete groups of just Indians or mixed

ASHNA: Yes yeah I have a group when I started when I started I remember I was given the old age pensioners group you know erm er it was old just ladies only from age concern and you can understand that you know when we said that fossil theory going back to fossilisation you know that it was like that and erm drumming a word they understood like hello bye ((coughs)) thank you please but that was it that as far as the vocabulary went in terms of my me me you know they couldn't

ROBERT: Did you translate everything

ASHNA: So I used to I used to write on the board and then I started in Gujarati as well and I used to explain that this is what it means just to break that (indisferable) barrier and to make them not feel scared about the language so for that I've used Hindi and Gujarati and it's worked very well secondly as well erm with the entry 1 as well I've done that I've used

Gujarati and Hindi purely because I don't want to say to learners I don't know because the learners can tell I'm Hindu they can tell I'm Gujarati they can they can tell

ROBERT: And then you tell them your name

ASHNA: They automatically say do you speak Gujarati and I say no I will always say no

ROBERT: Really

ASHNA: I never say I I I can because they always think I can't speak Gujarati but when they start speaking and when I give them especially pre-entry entry 1 when I give them a task I see that they will speak in Gujarati they will struggle because they don't understand they will say to one another well I don't know what it is will you ask her she doesn't even know how to speak Guj- oh my god and they get panicky and when I see their panic state I dive in I will say but I do understand this is what you mean and they phew and automatically and relief and it comes (1.0) the whole point of ESOL teaching it's all about making them feel feel comfortable isn't making say environment say comfortable and you know encouraging learners to come and learn and then what I do in the classroom I'll say ok now you've learnt these words now will you use them in the classroom because you use Gujarati at home anyway and they say yeah yeah that's true as well

ROBERT: Yeah it's okay Yeah

ASHNA: So it's a way of bringing encouragement

ROBERT: I always use a bit of well my Chinese is rubbish but I use a little bit of Chinese

ASHNA: = I I I you know when I used to when my mentor the mentor I would say she was very fluent in in ::::: a French so I no- I noticed that she had a couple of French students in and they would speak to her in that language and she would speak to them and I thought ow that's wonderful that's fantastic

ROBERT: What about what about students who are a bit of a higher level from India so they've got you know they've got quite a good English already they don't really need translating but they can't change do you know what I mean they they can't their spoken is in a certain certain way

ASHNA: Well then I do I do the repetition I do do that and I do try to explain to them how the pronunciation they phonemes and all that

ROBERT: But if it wasn't if it doesn't it doesn't get any like you say fossilisation if it doesn't do you think erm do you think it's okay to like mark you know we kind of assess them

ASHNA: Hmm I think I think to be honest with you as a teach- as a facilitator I think if you know that they've understood the question and they've answered in it in in an appropriately and they've you know whatever the question you've asked them they've answered it might

have certain you know things that are not quite right but if they've understood that then really it's difficult if you marked them down to say it's not because imagine we went to another country and we have to learn and we have to do level 2 erm I mean I don't think I would ever even reach entry 1 you know

ROBERT: Well I don't know

ASHNA: You know what I mean you know if somebody went if went and someone told me you have to learn French and then somebody told me pre-entry or entry 1 and then I had to speak to that it would be difficult even at Level 2 it's difficult isn't

ROBERT: Yeah

ASHNA: It can be difficult because as I say again as I said if the if primary language their primary language will be Indian so secondary language would have an interference there's no doubt about it

ROBERT: [Yeah yeah

ASHNA: [It does it does no joking it does

ROBERT: No no no I know it

ASHNA: Do you think erm we should treat like er so er people::: in India they they speak English in a in a certain way do you think we need treat them differently from other learners from say Poland or Russia

ASHNA: No I don't think so

ROBERT: You know should they be they should be the same exact spe- speaking of English even though you know they

ASHNA: No no I don't agree that they should speak the same way I don't agree with as long as the pronunciation is correct it's that it's like that erm it's like bri- bringing someone from Birmingham and bring and giving them the Leicester accent they're not going to do that I'm from Birmingham like ((Birmingham accent)) you know you're not going to change them that's what they are that they're identity is that's their language that's their dialect local dialect and their local dialect gives some kind of identity if we change that and if we ask them to do that and you'll see as years go by automatically they do change I I've noticed

ROBERT: Really

ASHNA: Yeah as years go by some of them I I knew some of my friends who came from they had partners from India and their wives were all speaking in that kind of way but they've they've sort of cut down quite a lot not to the to the crisp level that we would like them to

ROBERT: Yeah yeah

ASHNA: But they have you can see that but some things still stay within them a person from Africa when they come when they speak English you can tell this person is from Africa the way they speak

ROBERT: So do you think that we err in the classroom we should be teaching like the standard English

ASHNA: Yes I think its' well it's like it's like if I was if I'm teaching Gujarati I can't teach Gujarati different different dialects or different different Gujarati has a set of grammar rules Gujarati has a set of rules grammar rules you have to teach that but it's way the person you know person you know per

ROBERT: Interprets

ASHNA: Yeah interprets and uses it

ROBERT: Right uses it for

ASHNA: We should for English we should use the standard English right obviously because

ROBERT: I don't know the alternative would be

ASHNA: Yeah but I think because then you're teaching them the main you know purpose of language you know for them to learn in an appropriate way you can't teach them all you know because Indians speak differently but in the classroom if they speak you know with their own accent it they're pronouncing wrong then I would say you would interfere like if someone would pronounce it wrong then I would say it's not like that it's you don't say it like that you actually say this but that's what I mean but if they're speaking in their dialect I don't normally change I've got in classroom you know they speak in you know singing English that I was telling them you know but this way I just let it because it's what it is as time goes because that that the the student knows this is how you speak because they are doing a discussion and they can they can listen it's like a p-p-person who comes from Spain I would like to do this and I said to that person (Spanish accent) they speak like that don't they

ROBERT: Yeah yeah yeah yeah

ASHNA: If you know what I mean for years they speak scholars you know my university lecturers one of my university lecturers he was from Spain and that was how he used to speak I would like you to this and I would like you ((water)) to come and see ((Spanish accent)) English was correct gra- grammatically

ROBERT: What if the grammar is I don't know is not quite right

ASHNA: Then yeah then you have to isn't it yeah yeah it should be corrected because if you don't correct then they will use it they will think it's okay isn't it

ROBERT: Okay But what if they've erm I I sort of yeah yeah

ASHNA: No it's okay you can

ROBERT: No no I was just going to say if they because in India they're:::: they have a sort of way speaking English that perhaps that they can't change it you know and they and then they come over you know I'm not sure how whether we should change it or whether or [try to change it

ASHNA: [Yeah I think we have to we have to try and change it as you say this is how you would say it the proper pronunciation proper way of saying is this way so at least because if you don't do that if you don't do that then you are you know you:::: how can I say that if we avoid lessons because the whole point is we are there to teach them the language and the grammar and appropriately and it's for them to adjust and then if they don't you can say that this is what it is and they will=

ROBERT: =so we give them the option they [can decide

ASHNA: [Yeah well I to be honest with you I normally in my classroom this is what I do if it's pre-entry or entry 1 I normally would say this is not how you say it if you wish to continue you would be inappropriate it won't be in English as grammatically correct this is how you you would notice that slowly they do because they realise because they want to but if it's at entry 2 you say no this is no you say like this then you impose your rules then you say you're entry 2 but you you're entry 2 entry 2 emerging you know going consolidating to entry 3 and this is incorrect this is how you say it I'm sorry

ROBERT: Do you think the students want to speak correctly

ASHNA: Yeah

ROBERT: Do you think they do

ASHNA: Yeah yes it's like me and you if you came to say if you were coming to learn Gujarati you would expect me to teach you correctly not incorrect words and jumbo words and you would expect me to even teach you pronunciation and word order so that you could use that and be proud of it isn't it true

ROBERT: Yeah yeah

ASHNA: Th- th- that's ki- how I see it

ROBERT: mm yeah no that's probably true you'd want

ASHNA: Yeah it's like any any language again if I went out and expect the teacher to teach the you know the alphabet incorrect the articles incorrect the past tense incorrect so I can use it I don't want to use I don't want u- I don't want use I don't want to use the language and somebody say well that wasn't right and I think well my teaching never said that I don- I

don't want that that scenario to happen you know they come back and they say you know they come back and say that you know what I mean

ROBERT: Yeah I know what you mean yeah

ASHNA: On that basis I think I'm using this

ROBERT: Yeah

ASHNA: And experience as well

ROBERT: Yeah okay

ASHNA: Is that it

ROBERT: Yeah that's kind of it I was just going to ask well I didn't really get around to asking you er erm oh that's not bad that's not bad I thought we were here for like 2 hours but not that it was a long

ASHNA: Yeah

ROBERT: Sorry no I was going to ask you do you think well have you ever described yourself as English or would you er describe yourself as English

ASHNA: No I am British-Asian I am British definitely by without any doubt but I'm Asian my name is you know Ashna I come from Asian background my my religion is Hinduism no I don't practice Hinduism but my culture my tradition my roots are still with me so I'm British-Asian

ROBERT: So but English no

ASHNA: mmm no::: no my language has become my language is English my primary before when I was young my primary language was Gujarati as I grew older my primary language has become English so there's doubt about that if someone said to me what's your first language I would English automatically I would English

ROBERT: But if they said what's your nationality or

ASHNA: British-Asian that my nationality is British-Asian

ROBERT: You wouldn't say English

ASHNA: No

ROBERT: Never

ASHNA: Because English I don't know

ROBERT: Sounds a bit funny

ASHNA: I don't know English if I say British in a nationality if I said English I don't know I don't know that makes me confused now you've gi- ((laughs)) ((indecipherable))

ROBERT: ((laughs))

ASHNA: Difficult to answer ermm English I don't know I erm no I don't know I wouldn't think so=

ROBERT: It's a language you think of it as a language

ASHNA: Language is English I definitely I would defiantly my primary language is English now there's no doubt about it and even also my food my food has become 50-50 half of my 50% of food

ROBERT: Fish n chips

ASHNA: Yes I eat fish n chips I eat you know we have er:::::ermm err roast Sundays now and then ermm:: you know er a lot of things you know bu-

ROBERT: Fish fingers

ASHNA: Yes fish fingers bubble and squeak we have all that Yorkshire puddings and Christmas time we never ever have Indian food at all we have En- English traditional dinner that's what we do we have a turkey and we have all that we get together we wear hats and we do that it's nothing to do with oh it's Christianity but it's part of that it's part of we've adapted English culture as well as being Indian having Indian tradition culture somehow along growing up the English culture tradition has sort of merged in with them which is fantastic to me it's not a confusion you know how people say oh I'm really confused I don't see myself confused I see myself yes I am British you know my nationality is British I have a British passport I live here in multicultural society yes my religion is Hinduism I've got Indian you know Indian traditional culture but at the same time er you know er I am er I have English tradition culture you know part of me as well Easter comes we have holidays (1.0) erm Christmas comes valentines day I mean tomorrow is valentines day so I'm hoping to get red red roses so there you so so there you are you see it's not an Indian culture but hey

ROBERT: So it's a bit mix

ASHNA: Yeah it's a mix isn't to me is like when some people say it's confused [I don't see it's confused

ROBERT: [Are there
an customs I mean we did speak earlier about the ermm wedding and the caste a bit but are there any other customs Indian customs that you don't do anymore or you there laxed or

ASHNA: There are a lot of k- a lot of things that I wouldn't it's a custom I think it's a generation by generation has gone through that you know my mum do- does it but I don't do it because if my mum can't explain to me I don't do it

ROBERT: Right okay

ASHNA: ((laughing)) If my mum say we have to do it I say why do you do it she says I don't know my grandmother used to I say well why did I say well I'm not going to do it you don't know yourself I'm not going to do it I'm not going to waste my day doing it you know what I mean

ROBERT: Yeah ((laughing))

ASHNA: Like in In- I'll give you a very good example in this is also in Muslim culture in in in Hinduism if a girl is is on her periods she sh- she can not go to temple

ROBERT: Right okay

ASHNA: She can not go to temple it's it's considered as unclean because you are on you period yes especially if there's any religious festival going on not wedding but if there's any religious festival or if somebody is doing somebody has bought a house and there're doing some prayers and priest is coming there then err err a girl who is on period she won't go and you know we have nefaratu so the girl won't go there but hey I go I don't care because I go because my period is my personal business not anybody's business so when my mum found out my mum goes to me my mum goes well my mum said to me once this is wh- what this honestly true we went to these er prayers and there's a lady there who does all this chanting and all that and my mum goes to me in Asian culture you know these women they they into this and they go into this trance and of an- anybody is on periods they can tell and I thought okay I didn't tell my mum I was on periods and I went and everybody bows their errr you know they bow their feet and everything and I bowed and she goes oh long live and bla bla bla and I came back and when we came home back I was laughing so my mum goes wha- and I said she didn't expose me I'm on periods and my mum slapped me one and she slapped me one I got a slap from my mum so from that day on I proved my point to my mum and I said my mum you do if you don't want to I'm not going to listen to this argi bargi I am going to go and if you know if somebody says then I won't go and that's it so that is English headstrong English isn't it because I said to my mum look at in Christianity you know prayer a pl- place of worship is a pla- I said God gave me periods I don't want periods hey oh hello I don't want to spend my money on it but I said you know why should I be segregated and why should I be (1.0) and also there's another thing in Asian tradition that many times in many occasions some some are very relaxed but depends some people are very traditional they like to have men on one side women one side and I hate that I really hate that I just want to ((laughs))

ROBERT: Really

ASHNA: Yeah

ROBERT: I d- thought that was more Muslim no

ASHNA: No some of the people they would have you know like they would have they don't like men mixing with women they don't like it I don't know but if I see my guy mate I just run and sit there and have these eyes these googly eyes looking at me do I care no I don't ((laughs)) I just don't care

ROBERT: ((laughs)) fair enough

ASHNA: So then I get a look from my mum a killer look that when you get home you're in trouble oh whatever [so these are

ROBERT: [do they say anything to you

ASHNA: You see to me these are not culture they're just

ROBERT: But don't the men stand up

ASHNA: No no they don't this is it it's stupid this is why this is why the clash comes in this is why the youngsters they find it difficult because you know nowadays youngsters they they you know in the class we've women men boys girls they they study together they do things so when you do these kind of things it brings segregation but some communities don't some communities are very rigid they will not take it they will not they strictly will have men and will have women but you know most of communities they don't nowadays thank god in in in in Hinduism we are more relaxed and we are more tolerant and we are more adaptable than I think any other culture I found the Hindu people will adapt and tolerate anything very easily they won't they don't have diff- because we don't have fear of losing out identity I think that's what it is we are from day one I'm not taught that Hinduism is one Gita is the one you have to pray I've not taught that I've not been taught that you have to do that in Hindu- in Hinduism did you know that in Hinduism if I become Muslim tomorrow it's fine if I desired to become Buddhism that's fine

ROBERT: You can still be a Hindu

ASHNA: yeah yeah and if I come back next term say I'm Hindu again it's fine it's up to you

ROBERT: Seems quite relaxed

ASHNA: Yeah it's quite relaxed if that if you look Hinduism it's quite tolerant whereas in another culture you can't if you do that they'll be death threat on you

ROBERT: yeah yeah yeah wow stories

ASHNA: It's true there's a death threat yeah I know I don't want to discuss it one of my friends is erm is in love with somebody else but family's told her if you if you marry that person and you change your religion you're not going to be alive and she's er just young girl (1.2) and it it happens

ROBERT: Yeah I do-

ASHNA: See what I mean

ROBERT: Yeah I know what you mean yeah

ASHNA: [yeah that thing but even in this in this day and age
youngsters are being [torn

ROBERT: [It's the men though

ASHNA: Yeah

ROBERT: You know it's the men you know they seem to have control of the of the
religious::::: elements there and then then dictate what [to

ASHNA: { to the women and the women
vulnerable and then women go yeah yeah yeah yeah yeah

ROBERT: Well do they though

ASHNA: Oh yeah

ROBERT: Really

A; Some of the women they do they do like I mean look at me I I when I said you know

ROBERT: But do they are they all accepting of you know

ASHNA: Some of them as I said you know as time has gone by it has evolved and changed
transition is happening which is very good you know it's progress it's fantastic but like
within my own family my sister doesn't go clubbing my sister doesn't believe in clu- my
sister thinks clubbing is a place where only

ROBERT: A den of iniquity [the devils go there

ASHNA: [yeah you know yes I should go tot temple and she goes to the
temple she wears Sari's she's very tradition she doesn't like it what I wear but do I care

ROBERT: Does she anything

ASHNA: Of course she says it every time when I'm home she says oh my lord you're not
going to wear that I said of course I am I've got legs and I'm going to show my legs
((laughing)) that's why I'm having you know waxing done I'm not taking pain without
showing them off and I'm not going to and I'm not going to you know expose them and leave
them in tights you know I said hello

ROBERT: ((laughing)) Do you think she's influences by is she married

ASHNA: Yeah she's married

ROBERT: Is it her husband then do you think

ASHNA: Yeah he's very much into that but she brings more gossip than I do

ROBERT: Oh

ASHNA: you see my gossip my gossip is drinking and and probably have a snog with somebody where she brings that person ran away with that one and that (indecipherable) oh hello (did she go to Lord's place) to pray and I say oh my god the gossip you're bringing us I say ohhh so too different again my mum so again in my mum's eyes I'm not I'm not as a very obedient er cultured traditional daughter I am a black sheep of the family whereas my sister isn't my sister's a very cultured very traditional ermm she keeps er the you know the the you know going whereas I am black sheep ((whisper))

ROBERT: Black sheep I forgot I bought some biscuits

ASHNA: Have you

ROBERT: Have a biscuit

ASHNA: How nice of you so kind

ROBERT: I forgot all about them I meant to get them out earlier you can't have them all though ((laughs))

ASHNA: ((laughs))

Appendix 4 – Focus Group 1

ARTI: Well according to Chomsky, no I'm joking ((blowing of nose)) Well research has shown that actually no I'm joking it's not on is it it's not on

ROBERT: Yeah I started yeah I started I have started it

ARTI: I was thinking about Chomsky

ROBERT: Were you

ARTI: Yeah course

VASUKI: You started that

ROBERT: What it doesn't matter ((laughs))

ARTI: Do we have to introduce ourselves

ROBERT: No you don't have to introduce yourselves you know you can just like

ARTI: ASHNA what do you think

VASUKI: Have we go we got the same

ROBERT: Yeah you got the same

ASHNA: I I sort of do agree not to spend so much time on correcting the errors but having said that having said their learning grammar isn't if they're learning grammar so you know ought to make sure that they're the kind of forms in terms of you know verbs simple verbs otherwise what is the point of them coming to learn grammar it's like for me if I went to if I went to learn my language which is Gujarati I think I if wasn't taught how to pronounce (sharts) and when to use it how would I know and I don't want to make a fool of myself somebody laughing behind me oh god she doesn't understand that's the last thing isn't it

ARTI: Yeah

ASHNA: So I think it's quite important and also when they're writing you know having said that you know when they say does it really matter of they say tree three dree I mean they need to know tree is a t three is a th

ARTI: Yeah

ASHNA: So it's important I think anyway as a teacher and correcting I don't mean embarrass them

ARTI: Yeah

ASHNA: But find ways that you can overcome that (6.0) what do you think ARTI

ARTI: Okay I think that like you say if you're going to practice something they do need to know especially at the lower levels because as they progress to higher levels you miss the basics but I do agree the statement it says you can understand the students without it but for

communication purposes I don't think it's that important but for accuracy later on in life I think it is important

ROBERT: :::::h

ARTI: Because you do see a lot of learners for example at entry 1 who haven't learnt the basics for example who haven't learnt the present simple and you go on to say Level 1 and they still haven't mas- not mastered they just haven't understood but there again you see there are successful speakers who people who are in professional jobs and they don't actually pronounce things properly but you can still understand so I don't know actually how far

ASHNA: Yeah that's what I was saying but maybe you can draw a borderline where you know how much can you

ARTI: This is a good question actually

ASHNA: It's quite complex question I think it is you know it's true that we understand but I'm just thinking that if you got learners that you understand and then is that going to progress to next level another teacher could be different and that could demotivate them I don't know

VASUKI: What about when it come to the speaking listening exam

ARTI: Hmmm

VASUKI: I mean what we're doing is we are testing for their speaking

ASHNA: Yeah

VASUKI: Whether they'll actually be able to speak properly their pronunciation as well so errm to be able to put in like sometimes you know they they do try to say she but they say he you know and it's the sss they've got to understand that as well so you have to when it comes to speaking for the exam they do have to correct them because that's what they're being tested for

ARTI: I do agree with the statement where it says you shouldn't spend a lot of time correcting [errors because then it hinders fluency if you keep correcting it a lot

VASUKI: [Yeah it does it's true

ASHNA: {Yeah and it's not like

ARTI: {It's not like interrupting them I think it's but if you give them the actual structure for them to know (1.0)

VASUKI: Is it possible when some speak it=

ARTI: =I don't know what it means these so called errors could be considered innovations can you explain that please erm

ASHNA: Robert

say you can say [sh in Gujarati why can't you say she I say because when you say cee we understand what you're trying to say but [sea means you know when we talk in a sentence you can tell I went to the seaside you know you're talking to I can see her you know what I mean agree

VASUKI: [say sh she

ARTI: [Yeah yeah I totally agree with [

ROBERT: [Yeah but as it says there if they say I she her you can still understand it so

ARTI: Yeah

ASHNA: Yeah

ROBERT: Does it

ARTI: I think matter for if you if you were going to write for example for an for an academic reason then it think it would matter=

ROBERT: But this is just talking about this is about speaking rather than

ARTI: Speaking yeah

ASHNA: Yeah

ARTI: Yeah but I think ASHNA made a point if part of the lesson is we'll just concentrate on showing the sounds of when it changes then yes but in everyday erm conversation or in a group situation when it's not the focus then I wouldn't correct it I don't know if you agree or disagree

ASHNA: I think can I you know like many times Robert I've said I've pronounced something and my daughter says she starts laughing at me and I say why and she says oh you pronounced it wrong it's not the same like that it's like that but then I think oh okay so I say how do you say it and she'll say I say this this is what I've been taught and I say oh okay

ARTI: I think from a student's point of view students need to know sometimes they want to be corrected

VASUKI: They do want to know how we do say that how we say this how do we say that and they ask us these questions basically about pronunciation=

ASHNA: =I'll never forget my daughters sometimes she'll laugh hmm hm that was funny mum and I say what do you mean what do you mean by that she goes you pronounced it incorrectly and I say well how would you say she will say to me well actually mum I will say like that I say whoo okay don't laugh just tell me but you see then I'm learning from her but it's good that's she's telling me so that next time my pronunciation gets better or something some songs I don't understand what they're saying or I'll just say well he's trying to say that so I say oh okay so I think the knowledge that I get the pronunciation that I get from my

daughter I feel it helps me so I can say it confidently without thinking someone's gonna laugh at me because people do people are nasty I'll be honest with you generally I think so I think I'm sorry Robert I tell you kids adults they laugh [people who know better they do make a mockery of other people [they do

ARTI: [yeah They do course they do

VASUKI: [it's true

ARTI: Yeah I know

VASUKI: Yeah

ROBERT: Oh okay

ASHNA: I mean look at their accent and dialect how many people say woo she's a Liverpooler look at her oh god she's a chavvy she's how many look at these although their speaking English how many times do you see people making a mockery of their accent it's endless

VASUKI: [Scouser

ROBERT: hm yeah

ASHNA: But that's what I'm saying

ROBERT: Okay what about so so just not in the accent in the grammar then if they don't err like for example Chinese Chinese people have problems with articles and stuff and lots of East Europeans they don't they don't so if they does it matter if they don't use articles

ARTI: I don't think it does personally no it's about articles as opposed to the third person is that what you're asking

ROBERT: Well no any of them really are any of them important really

ARTI: See I think they are I don't think articles are for some reason don't ask me why I think because there such as small it doesn't really make any difference whereas I think it does with the third person

ROBERT: Okay VASUKI

ARTI: And pronunciation

ASHNA: Yeah

VASUKI: I understand I agree with what ARTI what ARTI's saying erm articles yes you're right cause they don't obviously learn about articles they don't know what the need for articles is that's why they don't use the articles until we sort of say to them you know you need to use it a an the you know

ROBERT: Yeah yeah but the verbs if they're just like using a simple present verb rather than past tense no

ARTI: What do you mean should they be corrected

ROBERT: Yeah

ARTI: I think you should erm again it depends on the context if you're having a conversation or discussion then no because flu- then no because you're interrupting their speaking but if it was you're teaching them to write and get better at they might want to go on to you're talking about teachers and students if it's a frie- if it's an informal discussion with your friends from different countries of course you won't keep correcting them but because you're in a teacher situation a student situation you're trying to [develop their accuracy at some point surely but it's quite funny actually at one point when I first started teaching when when I hadn't learnt grammar that well I kept saying is it important is it important then I realised I kept asking that question cause I didn't myself but it's important what you said ASHNA if you don't know then how you gonna explain it so there's you need to know for the students benefit and that again if it's teachers and students you're talking about then it's up to the students and they want to be corrected generally and they want to know the err [the formation the structures but personally no I wouldn't keep correcting

VASUKI: [yeah yeah
[correct way the correct way

ROBERT: Okay I'll collect that one up

ARTI: Thank you Robert

ROBERT: You had enough of that one

ARTI: that was very interesting

ROBERT: Had enough of that one

ASHNA: Quite complex isn't it

ROBERT: yeah yeah yeah not easy

ARTI: What do you think can we just ask you actually what do you think

ROBERT: What do this isn't about my opinion I'm a distance I'm a distance I'm a at distance from it and it's all recording so I can't so I don't want to get it on tape what I think

ASHNA: Alright Rob ((all laugh))

ARTI: It was just question

ROBERT: Calm down

ARTI: We like to invite people into discussion one of the techniques

ROBERT: Ohh

ASHNA: ((laughing)) (2.0) okay (14.0)

ROBERT: This is really hot

ARTI: It is unrealistic to insist on native speaker (3.0) can never become (28.0)

ASHNA: Did you have to choose such a complex oh alright

ROBERT: Ermm yeah

ASHNA: Okay

VASUKI: When it says second language learners are you talking about (1.0) how about what about the errm (2.0) so the parents obviously are are second language learners yeah but about the children when they go to er school in this country even though they might have come from India age of probably 4 or 5 and they'll have a you know a good grasp of Gujarati to say then they go to school and they learn the obviously the English system don't they become don't they become don't they become native speakers eventually

ROBERT: Ask ARTI

ASHNA: Err (4.0)

ARTI: Do you know what actually it's true I don't think they do you know

VASUKI: You don't think they do you

ARTI: No were you born here

ASHNA: No

ARTI: So when did you come over to England

ASHNA: I came here when I was I think 13

ARTI: 13

ASHNA: Yeah

ARTI: So your first language was

ASHNA: Gujarati

ARTI: So would you consider yourself a native speaker

ASHNA: No

ARTI: But for what reason

ASHNA: I don't know I never thought about that to be honest with you

ARTI: So what what did you say VASUKI they do become native speakers

VASUKI: I think they do become native speakers especially when they've come over here at young age yes they have got the language skil- they can speak their mother tongue when they do come over to England and we we've seen this many times what we see is they grow they actually go into the system British of education and then they become fluent in that language=

ARTI: =So were you born here VASUKI

VASUKI: I was I was born here yeah

ARTI: So do you consider yourself a native speaker

VASUKI: Oh yeah cause I was born here yeah

ARTI: But you see I was but I don't consider native to do I consider myself a native speaker I think I make a lot of errors still but I don't know whether that's down to whether I just can't speak English properly or ((laughs))

VASUKI: No but you can speak English I mean what I'm saying is that is that what I've seen with 14-19 students they come with their you know with their language [they come with their first language they can speak Gujarati and they're here to learn English and eventually when they get to university or after university they get through into a job sort of basically they start to speak very native English

ARTI: [yeah yeah
yeah

Actually I wouldn't consid- I'm not a native I'm bilingual I'm not a second language speaker I would consider myself bilingual

ASHNA: That's what I would consider

ARTI: { Your second language

VASUKI: { Yeah but

ARTI: was English your first language

ASHNA: No when I we=

ARTI: =When you came here

ASHNA: English became a a a language to me but when I was born [the language I was exposed to was my mother tongue which is [Gujarati

VASUKI: [Gujarati

ARTI:

[Gujarati up to the age of 13 so did you speak

Guajarati most of the time

ASHNA: Hmm

VASUKI: { Even though even done innit

ASHNA: { I used to Speak English at the school but I wasn't exposed like when when we went school used to speak English but then when we came back home it was Guajarati all the time but when I came to this country when I started learning it was like we we went to school in the morning and then we come back at 3 so then English went all the way through and the programme were in English everything was in English so you have to speak in English everything conver- even with my mum conversation became English even though my

mum would answer in Gujarati but I would speak in English whereas before when I was in Africa that wasn't the case English was in the school as soon as we come back home it was Gujarati Gujarati Gujarati

ARTI: But back to this actually statement it is unrealistic to insist erm it is ah again an unobtainable goal for many of them I do agree with that I don't think second language learners totally become native speakers and I don't think I think it is unrealistic to

ASHNA: Hmm (2.0) Unless=

ARTI: =I think it's unrealistic and I also agree with the fact that we should expose them to more varieties of English (2.0) different accents different yeah different levels if you like erm (4.0) a it's erm it says teachers should encourage learners to take the language and make it their own to use as they wish well yeah if you think of erm erm

ASHNA: text texting now look at the texting they've made their own language haven't they ((laugh))

VASUKI: They've made their own language up yeah they've made up certain language up yeah

ASHNA: If you look at the emails texting I mean=

VASUKI: Reason for the texting is because of the characters=

ARTI:= No but if you look at Caribbean language Jamaican the Caribbean language they don't speak they don't follow the models [yet they make no just what do you call Jamaican English if you like they use their own their sentence structures aren't always they don't follow the models do they of native speakers yet is it important that they don't no because they haven't actually that is one example actually where they have made the language their own

VASUKI: [Patwa

I mean it's Hinglish as well you've heard of Hinglish haven't you Hinglish Hindu English it's called Hinglish and they made it their own as well you've heard of Hinglish innit

ARTI: I think it's what society accepts as acceptable though because if it's that like you said before I think people do make a mockery and they're always testing someone's English and you hear it a lot in college especially I think do you of being judged by your language yet if it was Jamaican er that's quite acceptable there's a different erm do you agree

ASHNA: Yeah I agree with you on that I do agree because

ARTI: You never you ca- it's your English is never come under it doesn't come under any examination why are you speaking English like that but if you're an Indian and you don't speak English properly then it's completely

ASHNA: Yeah

ARTI: Do you agree

ASHNA: Yeah

ARTI: VASUKI

VASUKI: Yes

ARTI: I don't think VASUKI

VASUKI: Cause I was born in this country so all I learnt really all I learnt really was my first language was English my mother tongue I understand my mother tongue but I don't speak because I didn't speak my mother tongue I had I had to learn because I learnt my parents speaking their first language so I try and work what they were talking and so I learnt so that's how I learnt that my way

ARTI: Can I ask sorry VASUKI can I ask a question when does a person become a second language learner like I would consider myself bilingual so when does somebody become a second language learner (2.0) so what I'm saying is like I how old were you when you started speaking English did you speak Indian at home or English at home=

VASUKI: =no I mean I spoke English=

ARTI: At home from a

VASUKI: Cause I learnt at school and that's the only way I can communicate by speaking English

ARTI: So when you're at home at the age of 3

VASUKI: Yeah 3 4 yeah

ARTI: You were still speaking

VASUKI: Yeah still speaking English

ARTI: You see I don't think we did although I can't remember

VASUKI: You were speaking in your first language you were speaking Punjabi

ARTI: Not just Punjabi I never went to school at 3 we started nursery so obviously we were communicating but I can't remember a time when I'm thinking oh I have to speak Indian now or speak English

All speak together

ARTI: But whereas yours you were 13 when you came over

ASHNA: Yeah

ARTI: So did you speak I know you spoke English in India but not to the same level

ASHNA: In Africa

ARTI: In Africa yeah

ASHNA: But like I spoke English er within my er learning environment in schools erm

ARTI: But mostly Gujarati

ASHNA: Soon as I came home I automatically switched to Gujarati because

ARTI: It's quite yeah

ASHNA: We lived in an extended families my grandmother everybody so naturally (kitchen?) was Gujarati

ARTI: It's quite interesting because I hear you speaking a lot of Gujarati in the staffroom you revert to is it easier for you to speak Gujarati or English still

ASHNA: No for me both I can't

ARTI: Yeah you see I don't yeah=

ASHNA: I'm comfortable with both but the reason why I speak in my language because I can have a lot of banter and I like that

ARTI: Exactly but can you not do that in English

ASHNA: I can do that in English but I just feel comfortable I don't know I switch off I switch on to I naturally I just naturally feel that I feel that erm I'm so proud of my language and I really the reason why I switch off I thought I the way I think I'll give you an example when I when I go to India I never ever speak English [but when they they'll start conversing with me in English because they think I'm from and I tell them you don't need to if you want to you can and I'll answer in English but I'm happy to say it's just because I want to maintain [my language I don't want to come to a stage I've got some friends who came with same age as I did and now I've seen that they can't speak very good Gujarati because the language English language dominated so much in their lives that they can't [speak properly

ARTI: [Yeah that's the way
English is

[your language

[So that that's that first question

how important is it to communicate that here it says do you think teachers should should they be proud of their own language why would we correct them then why are we correcting our students if your saying that it's really important=

ASHNA: =I was thinking I was just thinking pronunciation part but I was just thinking that erm in terms of language I think everybody's got a right to be [proud of their language I think language is such a to be bilingual I think is fantastic

ARTI: [of language

Yeah

yeah

I think your sorry VASUKI

ASHNA: I think it is fantastic

VASUKI: It is it is

ASHNA: If you can speak so many languages oh my lord

VASUKI: It is if you can speak 7 languages I mean I know some who can speak 6 languages no he can speak about 7 or 8 languages [he's such a real grasp of languages I mean he can speak French he can speak Polish he can speak [Slovakian he can speak Hungarian he can speak er Spanish he can speak Portuguese German you know he's got a real grasp for language you know and he loves it kind of thing and erm

ASHNA: [yeah why should we just use one
yeah [yeah yeah I just
think it's fantastic

ARTI: But from a teacher's point of view

VASUKI: Basically yeah I mean

ARTI: Would you let them would you say correction is important for you

VASUKI: Correcting them

ARTI: Yeah I like back this is sort of asking again in a roundabout sort of way

VASUKI: I think basically you do have to correct you have to correct=

ARTI: =not correcting but exposure=

VASUKI: =I mean not correcting them all the time but it's all to do with it's to do with the exam practice I mean you know if we don't correct them then we're not doing our job correctly

ASHNA: [not all the time

ROBERT: Erm I just I don't know you said something earlier and then something I guess this question is asking you know at what point do second language learners [stop becoming learners at what point do we say your language is okay=

ARTI: [yeah

ASHNA: =I think once they've become confident

ARTI: Once you become [confident and you can communicate

ASHNA: [confident

ROBERT: Yeah but someone can confident without without you know

ARTI: I think once the message is understood see this is that's the only difference here is when your teachers and students there is a sense of responsibility whereas if you're talking about if you had erm social group for example you try and your trying to their trying to improve their English their coming to you you know to learn English for communication

purposes then none of this would matter cause it's about being understood but when you're talking about teachers and students I think from my point is erm you're aiming for a certain amount of accuracy but again you know it depends what level you're teaching at and what their expectations are but from a personal point of view I don't think it's that important I think as long as you communicate it's okay

ASHNA: As I say there's a difference isn't there there's a difference between within that classroom your role as a teacher your responsibility to teach them correctly but then when it comes to outside the classroom then they can they can use the way as long as you feel that you've done your job and you got but when you say also when you talk about when they make it their own if you look at it in the classroom if they are texting we won't check their texts=

VASUKI: =How you gonna do when there not supposed to be texting ((laughs))

ASHNA: They they I'm just saying you know breakdown I'm just[generally saying you know we won't correct that because that's nothing that's not that's not it our academic that's their personal thing and they can do that that's fine we don't correct that

ROBERT: ((laughs)) [teacher policemen

VASUKI: I think also by this texting what you're talking about is that they're actually adopting the language and we've also had not even even not even you know native even native speakers can't even we've heard about the exam script you know kind of thing answering a question and using text language writing an essay and using text language so they're adopting it cause it's an easier way for them to learn how to spell it sort of by the way kind of thing erm but you know just on the just whole I would say that er I've lost my train of thought sorry

ARTI: That varieties of English is important well it's interesting because we don't we don't do that if you look in all the exam any recordings you have when you look at any materials you use it's all very standard English exposed you're not exposing them to all the it's very hard to find languages that you expose them to other varieties because the materials that you're sort of looking for to teach English are standard English

ASHNA: I'll I'll be honest with you I'm not just saying I have come across some of the teachers and and they were they will talk about other people like oh somebody will not speak the way they want to

ARTI: Exactly

ASHNA: And they will say oh I hate it you know when they don't speak correctly[in my mind I think well English is a mish mash from variety what are you talking about do you understand what I'm saying

ARTI: [yeah

Yeah

ROBERT: Is it any particular

ASHNA: No

ROBERT: I don't want you to names names [but I was just wondering

ASHNA: [I don't want to

ARTI: [No no I agree with you=

ASHNA: =I I I have heard some of the in in our teaching environment they will say well I just hate it when some speaks like that {yeah they can't teach and I'm thinking to myself well what are you talking about English is a mish mash of everything so I think you need to go and research your language ((laughs))

ARTI: {they can't use correct English why are they teaching yeah course you do there is

VASUKI: Hmm

ARTI: Yeah no you're right ASHNA cause you do hear that a lot and especially with if you're teaching English its always that one if you can't speak it properly how how how[do you have the right to teach it you do get a lot of that lots [of erm yeah I have had it

VASUKI: [to teach it yeah it's true

ASHNA: [yeah I I've had it I've come across teachers that will say and they will say oh I really hate it oh I don't watch that I mean have you seen I don't think his English correct and I'm thinking well what are you talking about are you saying that your English is

ARTI: Perfect

ASHNA: Superior

ARTI: yeah

ASHNA: But English general is a language is a is a mish mash of all Latin Anglo whatever I what you talking about ((laughs))

ARTI: It's quite funny cause I still make the mistake this is a Leicester thing was and were

ASHNA: Yeah

VASUKI: Was and were

ARTI: I always say I weren't when it should be I wasn't and you still see a lot of people correcting you especially in the teaching environment it's like no I wasn't okay [but again how important is that do you know what mean

VASUKI: [I mean if you speak to someone whose from Leicester they've a real accent they've got a real strong Leicester accent and also they speak with the words as well it's like you know me duck and innit and ain't and all that you know

VASUKI: No but again like VASUKI like you say there are certain teachers like she said if someone says innit

VASUKI: Innit yeah

ARTI: People [kind of think you know it's like oh yeah it's really scorned on the south east isn't it yeah yeah yeah

ASHNA: [oh wow look at her where they go excuse me

ROBERT: I love innit

ARTI: Yeah honestly it's really

ROBERT: It's my favourite thing

ARTI: Yeah yeah you hear it a lot I know you do of course you do

ASHNA: Yeah I hear that and actually I literally and then you know the other thing is I've done my like my PGCE and I see that they er it they contri- very contradicting all the time one minute they're saying you oh you should allow learners to do that but the next minute they're saying but you should correct you think okay what is it I need to do I I give me a guideline what is it I need to do

ARTI: You know that's quite interesting because I think back to that you know the ESOL thing ESOL was designed a course for communication purposes [but whereas like TEFL was always for accuracy it was more academic but we're becoming more and more that way [which is way people who came into ESOL it should never have mattered how that person spoke cause it was back to that how important is it they make mistakes so it's communication Indian the old old time Indians as long as they communicate people say your English is good but you know grammatically it's not but when you the biggest difference is between those two words fluency and accuracy it depends what they want it for

VASUKI: [yeah

ASHNA: [yeah

Yeah yeah

Yeah that's right

Well I've seen [a lot of you know things you think aww ((laughs))

ARTI: [These questions need to be rephrased I think to make them

ROBERT: You want me to rephrase them you don't like this ((altogether talking))yeah
yeah::::::::::::

ARTI: Yeah native speaker models what there are two the questions are quite difficult for the situation we we're like ESOL teachers but like you say it's very [contradictory because the teacher expects them to be accurate when ESOL was never designed its English speakers of [other languages

ASHNA:[contradictory

VASUKI: [other languages

ROBERT: hmm

ARTI: ESOL was designed as communicative

ROBERT: Right okay

ARTI: Do you see what I mean

ROBERT: Rather than a

ASHNA: Yeah

ROBERT: But do I what do you think other teachers see it differently then then how its designed

ASHNA: Yeah yeah

ARTI: Well no I think one of the common common perception correct me if I'm wrong is like that if you teach English you should be able to speak English properly but like as

ASHNA said what model do you use and they go by standard English there's lots of people

ASHNA: And what do we mean by standard English it's a mish mash of everything oh come on

ARTI: Yeah yeah yeah but again that question was interesting in terms varieties of English should they be exposed because again when you think students want to erm want to be when they come if you just give them native models what they hear is completely different to what erm the models so for example if you go to Scotland or you go to Ireland they can't understand the English anyway because we're not exposing them to it you know how many if you have a Scottish teach- you hear it commonly said oh she's Polish she's Polish how can she be a teacher or she's erm so there is a lot of erm what's the word there's a lot of snobbery involved

ASHNA: Yeah yeah

ARTI: In teaching English (2.0) so if you're asking us Asians no I was joking ((laughs))

ROBERT: No no no I was just wondering (1.0) if they can't ever achieve being you know=

ARTI: they can achieve

ROBERT: You think they can achieve

ARTI: Yes

ROBERT: They can be like native speakers

ARTI: Yeah

ASHNA: Yeah

ROBERT: Yeah

ARTI: Well you hear some well you hear some examples like you hear newsreaders or whate- not newsreaders but anybody's whose in a professional job highly paid erm and they're Chinese native speakers they've obviously got to that stage you know of becoming erm you know having the accent if you like not having a strong Chinese accent as well because they've gone through the they've done phonology they've done all the other systems the models whatever but they can become if they really want to aspire to it

ASHNA: It's an individual (indecipherable)

ARTI: [I would say I think what VASUKI says they can become native if they want to become eventually it's a long term process

ROBERT: Okay

ARTI: I think

ROBERT: This one is a bit more broad

ASHNA: Oh right okay

ROBERT: And maybe take it out of your

ARTI: Can't wait ((All laughter))

ASHNA: Okay (10.0) yeah (14.0)

ARTI: Yeah I agree with this one (5.0)

ROBERT: Why

ARTI: Goes back to like if you think about erm

ASHNA: We just talked about it especially on that didn't we we just touched on it

ARTI: You know if somebody in Leic- if somebody was going to say innit in class or they spoke like that all the time ermm it so called local and regional variety erm

ASHNA: Yeah

ARTI: Insisting on Brit- again like that insisting on British or American devalues it does because I don't think people see any other (4.0) kind of accent as more sort of what's the word help me out here

ASHNA: er

ARTI: Prestigious

VASUKI: I mean when you Americans and British we do speak a lot of slang in our vocabulary we do [a lot

ASHNA: [Having said that I love American accent I think [it's so cool I like is I gorgeous is I skinny like ((laughs))

VASUKI: [American accents
yeah American English and British English are very different

English is totally it's not the way they speak English[to us they use a lot of slang in it use a lot of slang in their vocabulary don't they

ASHNA: (((laughs)))

ARTI: I don't know what this is choose an appropriate model based on location and learners needs what do you mean by that appropriate model for location based on location is [is there a Leicester location

ASHNA: [Leicester Leicester

ROBERT: Leicester's location well Br- well a country

ASHNA: Innit we're in Leicester

ARTI: What model what models are you talking about

ROBERT: I don't know what do you think

ARTI: Well you say it says to use an appropriate model

ROBERT: Hmm

ASHNA: Rob yeah come out with yeah I think you should teach level 5

ROBERT: prrrfff

ARTI: I think you should go home and rephrase the question

VASUKI: ((Laughs))

ROBERT: There not questions there not questions

ARTI: Or statements whatever so regional users of English who are learning do not need teaching so it's basically native speaker norms and anglo ((cultures usual use of English Indians ((mumbles)) (17.0)

ROBERT: So I guess what it's saying is like VASUKI said earlier about Hinglish [so if your if you're in India do you teach them English or do you teach them

VASUKI: [Hinglish

ARTI: In India

ROBERT: Yeah this is more this is more broad really about the world rather than

ARTI: How do we know I haven't

ASHNA: I

ROBERT: It's just your opinion it's not about what they do or should it's more what do you think

ARTI: Oh so they do in China they teach the standard mode don't they which is why they say when they come over here they can't understand anybody because what they've read and what they've been exposed to is standard [English complete sentences no slang no er phrasal verbs nothing same as in India

VASUKI: [English yeah

ASHNA: {Same same in India

{Parrot fashion yeah parrot fashion yeah yeah

ARTI: {Same as in India

ASHNA: Same as in India

ARTI: We're taught so in other countries they're taught the basic the standard English model because that's deemed as the right way to speak and yet when people come here they're completely confused their question is why can't why doesn't anyone speak proper English here

VASUKI: [speak yep

Yeah it's true innit why can't you people speak proper English what do mean we can't speak proper English watch things like coronation street and sort of like Eastenders and [you'll [see that they can't speak proper English

ARTI: [but

ASHNA: [getourofhere [getoutofhere ((laughs))

ROBERT: [Get out of here get out you

ARTI: but isn't it the case even when the Polish come you get people from different countries who've come and they've learnt English you know again the materials must have used in their countries must have been completely anglo because when they come here they always say they're surprised at how many different cultures there are I've never seen black people before or I've never seen Asian before

VASUKI: True very very true

ARTI: so obviously I think in other countries they must be using purely anglo they have a stereo type of what England looks like

VASUKI: Yeah

ARTI: The Chinese at Leicester University the Chinese people Lei- Chinese people are always amazed cause what they were taught and what they're expecting it was completely different to what happens when they come here they didn't realise they didn't realise that because obviously the materials they use whereas I think here especially when we teach we use a variety don't we we don't just it's not just it's not all anglo

ASHNA: Yeah we do

ARTI: Why are you looking confused there

ROBERT: No it's strange isn't it that our in here we use a range of different materials even Britain

ARTI: But that's new though because look at Headway look at Headway books and you look at the other books all those activities were anglo you know what was it in Entry 1 for example there's quite a few but it's all based on like London or erm sam's café fat sam's café with all British food

VASUKI: Yeah yeah

ARTI: Which is why they're outdated now because there's other material which is more reflects different cultures

ASHNA: Yeah

ROBERT: So you think you're here well you kind of use something that reflects different cultures whereas the rest of the world they just use

ARTI: Yeah they still have you know what I think that goes by the comments you get from students

ROBERT: Right

ASHNA: I think that's why we talk like about America would be same as in England

ARTI: Yeah but

ROBERT: Don't know

ASHNA: Some parts {I don't know Texas I've heard that Texas is complete isn't it some

VASUKI: {There's a lot there's a lot there is yeah there's a lot of difference all in the dialect in different parts of America

ASHNA: Some part of the United United states they're quite like quite diverse but erm going back to India would be very standard very

ARTI: But do

ROBERT: But should it be wh wh I should it be though

ARTI: Should it be what

ROBERT: Should it be teaching

ARTI: Of course they shouldn't they should=

ROBERT: =British English or should they be teaching=

ASHNA: =But they don't know do they the way=

ARTI: They've got conceptions there of what English is

ASHNA: The reason we have adapted we have changed because of the migration and they've brought a lot of erm culture diversity within that's why we changed otherwise we wouldn't have changed

ARTI: But do you not find that students I mean I don't know all the students whatever level well actually not Entry 1 but especially the higher levels because they've done all that standard English I get a lot of my level 1 students for example who want to learn a lot of idioms and a lot of phrasal verbs and they say they want to know more of the local English if you like the local dialects because that's what they need to communicate in whereas what they've been reading and listening to in the past has all been but actually it all the reading materials the worksheets we get or whatever it does reflect quite a variety but there's listening doesn't the listening is always standard English you never have local people talking erm

VASUKI: You do for skills for life er

ARTI: There not local there not loc-

VASUKI: There local you get the skills for life stuff do you know what I mean

ARTI: yes

VASUKI: Like there's the culture culture you see the culture culture one the last bit the woman on the bus stop sounds very like the queen she sounds like the queen look at the persons he's pushed in (posh voice) (Everybody laughs) and the guy next to was like wawarh working class do you know what I mean he's a real spanner so that's a

ARTI: But you still not get a lot of slang in these though do you slang slang colloquialisms whatever you call them phrasal verbs yeah

VASUKI: Yeah colloquialisms

ASHNA: Yeah whereas in India you wouldn't get that Rob

ARTI: Not at all

ASHNA: In India even in India when their taught Hindi it's it's really too the {rigid way Gujarati that's why and here it's like yeah

VASUKI: { It is it is [it is
it is it is yeah

ARTI: [Accuracy and that's why when you come here people try and correct your English you think why are you correcting me=

ASHNA: ((Laughs))

VASUKI: =In India in India in India you're not known as English you're known as a Britisher

ROBERT: Oh Really

VASUKI: Britishers

ASHNA: Yeah

ROBERT: Really

VASUKI: You're Britishers aren't you (mock accent)

ASHNA: Yeah NRI

VASUKI: NRI

ASHNA: You're NRI

ARTI: What does that mean

ASHNA: If I if

VASUKI: Non-residential Indians

ASHNA: NRI means non-residential Indians ((laughs))

ARTI: Really

ASHNA: Yeah

VASUKI: Non-residential Indian

ROBERT: You never

VASUKI: Non-residential Indian

ROBERT: How do you say it

ASHNA: Non-residential Indian NRI When I went to

ROBERT: You say it very quickly NRI I went what

VASUKI: Britishers

ASHNA: When I went to Gujarat I said I went in a shop and she said oh Madam you're NRI what size you want (mock accent) ((laughs))

VASUKI: You go there (to India this week?)

ASHNA: It was so funny and I tried to speak to him in

VASUKI: Gujarati

ASHNA: Guajarati and he was answering me in

VASUKI: English

ASHNA: And I said to him I said Baya I can understand he goes no no no you are NRI I am going to speak English I goes alright you speak English and I'll speak and you know what it was really funny the way he was speaking English to me and I was exactly answering I didn't speak like here

VASUKI: He spoke differently

ASHNA: He said would you like No I want to see that one (mock accent) ((laughs)) I did that

ARTI: Because you adapt that's the thing though I think=

ASHNA: =I did honestly

ARTI: But you're right ASHNA we're more we adapt quicker well not quicker we adapt more

ASHNA: I didn't say yes but I would like to see that one I said yes I would like to see that one please show me that one (mock accent) because I knew he would understand me better

ARTI: Yeah

VASUKI: Yeah yeah it's [like you speak to them you try to speak to them in like an Indian accent aren't you sort of thing like you know what I mean

ASHNA: [You know what I mean

ROBERT: Yeah yeah yeah

VASUKI: Like I want see that one over that

ARTI: No but also when you you notice sometimes when you speak to other people you miss out you talk like them because they understand it more

ASHNA: Yeah

ARTI: And it's interesting at Leicester University for example particularly you had these really well spoken English people when the Chinese

VASUKI: Academics

ARTI: Yeah but when the Chinese came in obviously the sentence was too long so you cut out all the articles and all the rest and that's what they understand

VASUKI: Yes

ARTI: And this women used to use this long language and she thought it was better than anyone else that used to go breaking out all the English and they understood quicker because you talk like them they understand more

VASUKI: Yes

ASHNA: Yes

ROBERT: So do you think I was just thinking what you were saying do you think you've got better strategic

ARTI: yeah

ASHNA: Yeah

ROBERT: Like it was in earlier strategic competence

ARTI: { yeah yeah definitely I think we have yes

ASHNA: { Yeah defiantly

ROBERT: Than say probably me

ARTI: Yes

ARTI: Yeah

ROBERT: If I went

ARTI: Because I do notice [but again

ROBERT: [But then er go on

ARTI: No go on

ROBERT: I was going to say if I went over there and did what you did and spoke with Hin-
Indian accent whether that would probably be offensive wouldn't it

ASHNA: No

ROBERT: wher no

ASHNA: I mean how many how many have you heard there are a lot of English settlers who
are settled in India now [and if you listen to their English it is exactly like Indian they [don't
speak like this they never ever I'm not joking

VASUKI: [ex-pats yeah true

ARTI: [so Indians course they are yeah

ROBERT: Really

VASUKI: They can actually speak they can actually speak Hindu Hindi and Gujarati very
fluently and you know their English is top notch as well

ARTI: (indecipherable)

ASHNA: [exactly yeah they will speak exactly like this yes yeah
exactly like that

VASUKI: I remember this I was watching a programme about this women[who charity she's
she's got a charity in Mumbai where a lot of these women work on [the (dock looking for
plastic and looking for things and what she did she was here in England she was a school
teacher or something and then she went over to India and she saw what was going on and she
set this charity up and now her and her husband are now sort of citizens of India and they
speak fluent English you know what I mean they can speak fluent Gujarati and Hindu

ASHNA: [Isn't it true ARTI
settlers they're speaking like an Indian (indecipherable)

ARTI: [yeah I know

ROBERT: Hmm so yeah if I did it here I'd you know

ARTI: In an Indian accent that's different though isn't it [you're not talking about an Indian
accent the teacher's joking that way the Indian accent but what she's saying is you adopt their
English don't you

ASHNA: [yeah
You do

VASUKI: Yeah

ARTI: and I do that myself in class know [sometimes if their talking course when they don't
understand the long sentence I do it in sort of like there way

ASHNA: [yeah

VASUKI: [you adopt it

ASHNA: Yeah

ARTI: But I forget my Eng- because if you keep teaching entry 1 it's all it's like you're
adapting to entry 1 when you go to Level 1 or level 2 I've forgotten the vocabulary I've
forgotten how to speak

ASHNA: So we are meeting the learners needs

ROBERT: So but are are we repeating errors though

ARTI: Yes you are exactly you are

VASUKI: We are

ARTI: You are that's what I'm saying though what you do after again what ASHNA said at
the beginning you give them the structures first because they've got to know but when to be
understood for communication purposes yes you repeat the error just so they understand but
then you don't enforce that it's just for that moment they understand

ROBERT: Hmm

ARTI: I'm not you are repeating because you're missing out words yes but then who cares
not really ((Laughs))
((all laughs))

ARTI: Who cares

ROBERT: No I was just thinking whether that is in some ways I mean I I erm maybe that's a
better way of teaching [at the lower levels to I mean I'm not sure if I do it

ARTI: [Because communication is about

VASUKI: I mean for lower levels you don't correct them as much kind of thing do you as much as you do with the higher levels especially with level 1 students when they're talking you think you surely should have passed everything by now

ROBERT: ((Laughs))

VASUKI: You have passed Entry 3 have you and now you're doing Level 1 and you're not do you know what I mean do you know what I mean we've got that we've got students who should be in entry 3 don't know how they got into passed their level entry 3 exam but they should be entry 3 because I remember one students from Sri Lanka on my days I could not believe she was a an entry level 1 student I could not believe the amount of mistakes she used to make at level 1 and now she's at Level 2 I'm thinking what some- ((mumbles))

ROBERT: Yeah maybe we I don't know I don't know maybe the erm have we come away from the point anyway do you think did we answer my question I can't remember what it was earlier it was the one earlier about you know if you're India should you teach like Hinglish rather than British English

VASUKI: We couldn't teach if we were in India we couldn't do skills for life in India

ROBERT: No no no but no

VASUKI: We'd have to do have to skills for life for living in India kind of thing you know what I mean do you know you know that sort of thing get yourself a job working in a call centre that's the kind of like thing you're going to aim for

ARTI: I think personally I think standard English is important to know

ASHNA: Yeah

ARTI: {That's what you should strive to be honest

ASHNA: {That's what I agree as well but at the end of the day

ARTI: Then you can make it on your own how you want

ASHNA: You can make it your own when you're outside the environment=

ARTI: It's like learning to drive you learn how to drive and then you drive

ASHNA: Yeah

ARTI: When you've learnt the rules

ASHNA: {you go like this you turn like this how many of you do like that come on I'm just do like this and I'm doing like this and I don't care

VASUKI: { We (indecipherable)

ROBERT: No

ASHNA: Sorry

ROBERT: no no no no I know what you mean ((laughs))

ASHNA: I am a safe driver ((laughs)) in cas you were going to run away but this is what I'm saying they have pieces of the main theory

ROBERT: I I guess I'm wondering whether we teach we teach the standard English yeah but I don't know whether we I suppose we do but I guess we do teach different type you know no no one like we can

VASUKI: Try and relate it to them try and make it sort of like it's user friendly friendly English that they understand

ASHNA: No I

ROBERT: Whether there should two types of English alongside [each other whether there should be a standard English and

ASHNA: [Oh god I think then you're going you're going to put us in a very awkward position everybody's teaching it's such a daunting you know sorry

ROBERT: No no

ASHNA: I used to love it before ((laughs))

ROBERT: ((laughs))

ARTI: What do mean by what do you mean by that two styles of English

ROBERT: I just mean one for standard and one for

ARTI: You mean formal and informal

ROBERT: Yeah that's what I meant yeah sorry the words

ARTI: But we do that anyway

ROBERT: Yeah I guess I guess we do that anyway

VASUKI: Do informal formal [but you don't it at the lower levels because they're not sure [what is formal or informal

ASHNA: [we do teach I am I'm

ROBERT: [But can they can they distinguish though if they learned English abroad can they distinguish

ARTI: They can yes they can

ROBERT: Okay

VASUKI: What lower level students

ASHNA: No not at lower level

VASUKI: Higher level students should be able to

ASHNA: Entry 2 entry 2 I do say that you know I am I'm he's am we do don't we

VASUKI: Am or I'm

ARTI: Yeah

ASHNA: We do don't we

VASUKI: Short or long form yeah

ASHNA: we do

ROBERT: Okay

ASHNA: We do our job very good ((laughs))

ROBERT: No no no no I was just thinking whether wh- whether you know if out in in India or China or whatever or Russia they're teaching like the formal standard English and the Standard British or American English but not the distinction

ASHNA: Yeah I I

ARTI: But then you can't find that's what I'm saying if you're teaching how how [much informal material is there to use there's not because everything is written in standard English you need your learners to read and write properly you've got to teach them that but having said that back to your other question as teacher what would be ideal would be to expose them to different varieties by taking them out doing different things mixing different groups of people but it doesn't happen like that

ROBERT: [that's why when they

ASHNA: I've found in my class I've found that erm students who come from India they find it very difficult to use short form they can't it's and they say it is she is she's [whereas Eastern European students they don't have a problem they'll say she's because they're so used to it it's because as ARTI says there is very standard so there not used to that but once they come it is our teachers job to teach both of them there's this and this but this is when we is in a conversation general conversation so they're exposed to that and whether they use it or not it doesn't matter because both are correct one is conversational and the other one is [formal but they are both correct but some of them they are stick to the formal one because they are so [used to it [they're just so used to it to them that is a proper English and this is like you're speaking slang [you know what I mean as long as they're speaking correctly I mean you can't really question that at all

VASUKI:[yeah they can't say she's

[formal yeah

[yeah it's a grade to them isn't it

ARTI:

[used to it yeah

[yeah yeah

ROBERT: Yeah

ARTI: Yeah makes sense yeah

ROBERT: Yeah I was still thinking about this formal informal stuff because what ARTI was saying earlier about erm you know they come over here and they can't understand er British English because of slang [or whatever and like you know whether abroad whether you know just focusing on this British English is just is not helping to

ASHNA: [yeah I I

[yeah

ARTI: course it's not

ROBERT: Communication in in in other

ASHNA: No

ARTI: You listen to you you ask anybody when they first come over what do you think couldn't understand anybody you spoke like yes I do

ROBERT: ((laughs))

ASHNA: I remember one of my one my students and last year was it last year year before last year she goes teacher please can you tell me I was standing at the bus stop and then er one of ladies said are you alright ducky but what is ducky ((laughs))

VASUKI: ((laughs))

ARTI: A lot of students say why can't English people speak properly that's true that's knocking the English

ASHNA: Because But I told her my name is not ducky ((laughs)) that was so funny because my name is not ducky and she goes yeah but you're a duck but I said but my name is not duck ((everybody laughs))

ROBERT: Okay

VASUKI: Me duck

ROBERT: Thank you very much I'm going to draw this to a close

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