LOCAL VOICES IN GLOBAL ENGLISH: THE AUTHENTICITY AND LEGITIMATION OF NON-STANDARD WAYS OF SPEAKING

Tom BARTLETT
(University of Northern Virginia)
Elizabeth J. ERLING
(Freie Universität Berlin)

ABSTRACT: *This paper is an attempt to reconcile two pedagogical positions on genre: those who favour the direct teaching of L2 genres and those who view this as a means of globalisation and acculturation. Drawing on Bourdieu's notions of legitimacy, symbolic capital and the linguistic marketplace, we reanalyse fieldwork from two distinct cultural contexts: Bartlett's (2003) research on the use of English as the lingua franca of development in Guyana and Erling's (2004) qualitative analysis of English use by university students in Germany. Conflating the findings from these two contexts, we suggest that an appropriate way to incorporate the global with the local is to promote an approach to teaching that sees the manipulation of register as a creative and strategic social practice oriented towards an abstract generic structure within a specific historical context.*

1. Introduction

Both the authors of this paper have been involved in research concerning the globalisation of English as a lingua franca and the means by which alternative cultural and personal identities might be transmitted through the medium of English in specific contexts. Bartlett's work (2001; 2003; 2004a&b; 2005; forthcoming) has focused on the use of English in development discourse between indigenous groups and International Organisations (IOs), while Erling (2004; 2005; forthcoming) has looked at the teaching of second language writing to university students at the Freie Universtität Berlin (FUB), who can be seen as citizens of the new Europe. Both authors consider the means by which it might be possible for outgroups to create *authentic voices*: ways of speaking appropriate to their identity yet plausible in the non-native social contexts in which they are operating, contexts in which they will have to relegitimate their status. Bakhtin (1981:293-294) describes the obstacles to authenticity on the one hand and acceptance on the other:

"The word in language is half someone else's. It becomes 'one's own' only when the speaker populates it with his [sic[i]] own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention. Prior to this moment of appropriation, the word does not exist in a neutral and impersonal language (it is not, after all, out of a dictionary that the speaker gets his words!), but rather it exists in other people's mouths, in other people's contexts, serving other people's intentions: it is from there that one must take the word, and make it one's own. And not all words for just anyone submit easily to this appropriation, to this seizure and transformation into private property: many words stubbornly resist, others remain alien, sound foreign in the mouth of the one who appropriated them and who now speaks them; they cannot be assimilated into [the new speaker's] context and fall out of it; it as if they put themselves in quotation marks against the will of the speaker. Language is not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily into the private property of the speaker's intentions; it is populated – overpopulated – with the intentions of others. Expropriating it, forcing it to submit to one's own intentions and accents, is a difficult and complicated process."

This paper considers what it means for learners to imitate the words of others and how they might appropriate these words for their own uses and imbue them with their own accent when ingroup speakers historically view the language as their private property and resent attempts by outsiders to appropriate it. Hornberger and López (1998), Norton (2000) and Luke (1996:310) all point out that in such contexts social power is not an add-on to linguistic mastery, despite the myths and misrecognition surrounding the dominant language. And the situation is surely exacerbated when it is not the standard L2 that is being appropriated, but a novel form adapted by the outsider or outside group to fit their sociocultural needs and desires. In these circumstances, Luke (1996:325) suggests, glib workings of Freire's (1970) call for the oppressed to speak with their own voices assume that such a process:

"…takes place in a relatively unproblematical relationship between an unidentified liberatory teacher and the equally abstracted oppressed. The tensions of the lived subjectivities of teachers and students located in a particular society and defined

> by existing meanings of race, gender, sexual orientation, class, and other social identities are not addressed by Freire."

Luke's insistence on the need to consider the social situatedness of each specific case can be related to Bourdieu's notion of speech events as linguistic marketplaces (Bourdieu 1991) where the currency is the symbolic capital of the various speakers and the coin is the mediational means (Wertsch 1998) they expend to convert their capital into power. In these terms, the lack of symbolic capital that outside speakers command *in a particular linguistic marketplace* can be attributed to a mismatch between: (i) the speaker's own history of symbolic capital and exchange; (ii) the mediational means by which to instantiate this embodied symbolic capital, here their linguistic *code* (Bernstein 2000 *passim*); and (iii) the marketplace or field itself, with its own conjunction of interpersonal relations and values (see Figure 1).
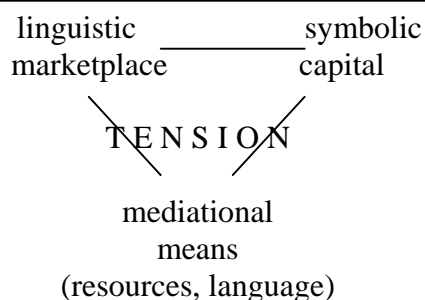
linguistic   symbolic
marketplace   capital

T E N S I O N

mediational
means
(resources, language)

Figure 1: Tension Between Symbolic Capital, Mediational Means and Marketplace.

Legitimation of non-standard voices (*cf.* Bourdieu 1991; Norton 2000) is thus tied to the power relations between speakers or speaker groups and the latent power of the words they use to create and project their identities and this paper discusses the *constraints and affordances* (Wertsch 1998) offered by the globalisation of English as a lingua franca (ELF) and considers the social circumstances in which it might be possible to legitimate new voices and the features these voices might display as global English with local inflections.

Our work seems particularly relevant in this respect as each of us in our individual research has looked at cases where English has been successfully appropriated by an 'outside' group. In Erling's case the appropriation of ELF by students at the FUB is analysed and evaluated by the students themselves, a considerable number of whom consider non-standard usage as most appropriate to their context. Bartlett, in contrast, presents an analytical example of what he evaluates to be the successful appropriation of dominant registers by Makushi participants in intercultural development discourse in Guyana. Drawing on our respective fieldwork, then, we present data on: (i) German students' understanding of *what it means* to borrow or appropriate another's language and the potential this affords in terms of constructing identities; and (ii) the ways in which the Makushi as an out-groups are *already using* a second language/register to create or recreate identities, populating old words with new intentions. Finally, we consider ways in which these two approaches may be combined to help learners not only construct but also legitimate hybrid ways of speaking appropriate to their needs and identities within their specific contexts.

2. The constraints and affordances of English as a Lingua Franca

Bakhtin's point that language is overpopulated with the intentions of others corresponds to Halliday's (1978:123) notion of language as the carrier of cultural meanings. In these terms a social system is "a *social semiotic*: a system of meanings that constitutes the 'reality' of the culture" while "the semantic system of language is a realisation of the social semiotic". If we accept this view, then the uncritical teaching of dominant ways of speaking, while providing a linguistic foothold within dominant discourses, also implies superimposing the dominant cultural systems over the local system, either repressing the latter or provoking tensions between the two. This ambivalent attitude comes out in Bartlett's fieldwork through one respondent's description of language use in the schoolhouse (Tape 29, Toka 9/11/00) where, even though local headteachers see Makushi as the "means of communicating with the community", English alone is seen as the language of learning and advancement and the use of Makushi in the classroom, especially in terms of bilingual education, is considered inappropriate. In relation to Erling's work in tertiary education in Germany, English is being increasingly used as the academic lingua franca and Anglo-American practices are often held up as models (Ammon 2001). However, Leppänen (2003: 54) warns that "the conventions and norms of academic writing in English can delimit the possibilities writers have to

express their personal selves and cultural, gendered, and ethnic identities in writing."

In this paper, however, we take Halliday's notion of language as social semiotic to imply a rather soft version of the Whorfian hypothesis, suggesting that it is the *meanings in use* rather than the total *meaning potential* of a language as an *open system* that tie it to a particular culture. For the system retains within it much unexploited meaning potential that can be tapped within new sociocultural contexts and by new sociocultural groupings in order to recreate their own "semantic and expressive intention", to express their "cultured, gendered and ethnic identities". Thus, a participant in Erling's study can state that:

> "English functions not simply as an aggressor of the German language but as an effective supplement of our main communication tool: language. It is time to think of ourselves beyond our mother tongue."

This represents one of three distinct attitudes towards the use of a powerful L2 as a lingua franca: as the means of access to powerful discourses; as restricting self- and cultural expression; and as an exploitable resource that can serve as an "effective supplement" to the mother tongue. The first two positions have led to a sharp divide amongst those teaching genre (defined here as semi-codified, context-specific, goal-oriented discourse), especially to disadvantaged groups, where the question arises whether it is better to go with the flow, mastering second language generic conventions to seek individual access to the world of the powerful on their own terms, or to challenge these power relations from the bottom up, with generic conventions being not merely the site but also the means of struggle. The common-sense basis of the first argument is apparent in Gee's (1997:39) claim that it is simply sound pedagogic practice to teach learners what they need to know. As Paltridge (2001:3) states:

> "Genres provide ways for responding to recurring communicative situations. They further provide a frame that enables individuals to orient to and interpret particular communicative events."

Many other authors have drawn attention to the advantages of familiarising students with recurring contexts as frameworks or scripts. Bremer and Simonot (1996:167*ff*) and Roberts (1996:21) talk of raising

the 'expectability of the content', thus facilitating 'top-down' interpretation strategies, which García and Otheguy (1989:4) suggest are the norm in second-language situations. One role of language teaching is thus to demystify scripts from outside institutions and accustom students to them. Making this genre knowledge explicit, it is claimed, can provide language learners with the knowledge and skills they need to communicate successfully in particular discourse communities. It can also provide learners with access to socially powerful forms of language, as with Swales and Feak's (1994; 2000) approach to the teaching of academic ESL writing, based on dominant generic conventions that have been established through corpus analyses of published academic writing.

On a more political note, Rose (1999:222) states that "while indigenous communities are concerned to transmit their traditional cultures and languages to their children, most see the crucial role of primary schooling as providing the English literacy skills needed for educational success." He quotes how one parent sums this up: "My kids know how to be Black – you all teach them how to be successful in the white man's world." Many other educators follow this line, going as far as to argue that "not teaching genres of power is socially irresponsible in that already disadvantaged students from non-English speaking backgrounds are especially disadvantaged by programmes that do not address those issues" (Paltridge 2001:8). Delpit (1995:25 in Pennycook 2001:96) suggests that such teaching should be direct and explicit, as "If you are not already a participant in the culture of power, being told explicitly the rules of that culture makes acquiring power easier." Rose (1999:225) echoes this call for a highly visible pedagogy on the grounds that "Indigenous students in particular are excluded by invisible pedagogies from accessing school discourses".

These authors would appear to be advocating teaching the dominant code, unmodified and in depth, as a means by which marginalised groups might realise some level of power within the dominant marketplaces of their sociocultural milieu. However, it is exactly the explicit and detailed description of the language features of specific genres that causes problems for other commentators. Luke (1996:333-334), for example, argues against a visible pedagogy that deconstructs texts in order to subject them to an "increasingly fine-grained synchronic analysis" but that fails to "situate, critique, interrogate, and transform these texts, their discourses and their institutional sites." Here, Luke is criticising what Pennycook (2001:104) labels the "hypodermic" approach to genre teaching he sees as implicit in Martin and Rose's

position: that generic forms are powerful in themselves and that the teaching and mastering of these forms will unproblematically empower the learner without considerations of the social factors involved. Luke (1996:333-334) goes on to claim that making genres visible as teaching aids runs the risk of rendering them invisible as manifestations of ideology and ignores the complex social conditions necessary for their successful use:

> "we risk 'renaturalising' these texts – coming back full circle to enshrining, reproducing and making invisible their bases in conflict, power and difference. To do so is to place these 'genres', their teaching and reproduction in classrooms, workplaces and bureaucracies beyond criticism – to represent them as essential and compellingly functional, but not political or ideological."

The assumptions of the hypodermic approach are also criticised by Hornberger and López (1998:208) in relation to bilingual education. They describe how, in the Andes:

> "although…only a small percentage of the population attains social advancement through formal education, [both] schooling, and the Spanish language with which it is identified, are nevertheless perceived as the route to social mobility."

Here it appears that the symbolic capital of Spanishness is so embedded within the linguistic marketplaces of dominant society that the indigenous population have no capital to invest, with or without the chequebook of second-language Spanish, so that their newly acquired code fails to realise either the speakers' locally based symbolic capital or the desired clout of Spanishness.

This paper is an attempt to reconcile these two pedagogical positions on genre in light of the third view, expressed by the FUB student above, that a lingua franca can be an exploitable resource serving as an effective supplement to the mother tongue. It advocates a pedagogical model that focuses on the very important concerns of Rose and others with the immediate needs of marginalised communities, yet takes on board the criticisms of Luke and Hornberger and López with regard to issues of effectiveness, legitimacy and the dangers of reproducing the very structures of power that these educators are attempting to overcome. For, in essence, there seem to be no overriding reasons why Rose's

deconstruction/reconstruction approach has to leave the texts unsituated, uncritiqued and uninterrogated. As Cope and Kalantzis put it (1993:86 in Pennycook 2001:97):

> "An explicit pedagogy for inclusion and access does not involve unproblematically telling students how to use genres for prescribed social purposes. It operates with a degree of critical distance so that, simultaneous with analysing the linguistic technology of genre, students relate the form of the text critically to its purposes – its culture and the human interests it serves."

Paltridge (2001:6) summarises this approach to genre-based language teaching as being based on:

> "a flexible, rather than static, view of genres, one that takes as its starting point the context of production and interpretation of the text, rather than just patterns of organisation and linguistic features of the text. When organisational patterns and linguistic features are focused on, they need to be considered in relation to the context and purpose of the genre, participant roles, and the values, traditions and expectations of the particular discourse community."

In this view formalised genres, as the matching of consistent language patterns to context and goal, are understood not as structures existing 'out there' to be learned by rote, but rather as idealised and mythical structures, lines of best fit drawn through countless examples of language as practice and feeding back as orientation for future practice (*cf.* Bourdieu 1990 on *practice*). The strategic use of genre in practice thus implies both an insider's understandings of the meaning potential of a given social context and the linguistic resources to exploit it. In this regard Swales (1993) considers that "genre analysts need to go beyond the text and incorporate ethnographic and informed 'insiders' views' into their genre-based descriptions", an approach that Erling expands to incorporate the views of learners as *outside* groups, as hinted at but not developed by Paltridge (2001:6) when he states that "genre-based descriptions also need to consider intercultural differences in the realisation of genres."

Returning to the notion of language as social semiotic, we need to widen our concept of genres to cover the general *ways of speaking* of particular groups and the social orientations these instantiate. Moreover, while the

commentators above dwell on situations of dominant/dominated, Bakhtin's quote suggests that these problems of power and legitimation are experienced by all those learning foreign ways of speaking. This includes relatively powerful groups such as the university students in Erling's studies, where one student states (*emphasis added*):

> "My personal goal is to speak English so fluently with all its special qualities one day that nobody can *expose* me as a German native speaker anymore."

"Ways of speaking" implies "ways of acting" and so links social context, language as situated social behaviour, and the linguistic patternings that realise this – what Erling's student perhaps means by the "special qualities" of a language. This linkage between form, function and context is captured in the term *register*, variously described as: (a) the language type employed within specific contexts, such as academic papers (Schiffman 1996:41); (b) the contextual variables framing a given speech situation (Martin 1997:6); and (c) the actual textual features within a specific stretch of discourse (see discussion in Martin 1992:501*ff*). Drawing on all these definitions, this paper explores the possibility of fostering *registerial competence* as the generalised ability to create for oneself a discourse identity within context, exploiting the full meaning potential of the language system. This goes beyond the teaching of *generic competence* as the knowledge of dominant conventions of language use within tightly defined contexts (register a), and enables students to exploit the *meaning potential* (Halliday 1978:21) of the context (register b) to produce individual discourses (register c) that either follow these dominant conventions, though no longer from blind rote, or open them up and challenge from within their own sphere of influence.

The approach advocated here, therefore, is to reveal the social conditioning behind ways of speaking while leaving the individual learner in a position to decide whether to follow or challenge the norms embedded in them. This relates to what Norton (2000:10) refers to as the investment of learners and their reasons for learning English, a concept that:

> "…signals the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language, and their own often ambivalent desire to learn and practice it…If learners invest in a second language, they do so with the understanding that they will

> acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital."

In each the authors' research contexts there were voices of those whose investment was in challenging both standard native Englishes and the social relations they imply. Although these voices were not universal, we focus here on this group to consider the means of fostering a hybrid lingua franca which instantiates local or novel cultural patterns through the lexicogrammar of global English, while also allowing for a wider range of investments from individual learners. We therefore need to consider: (i) the relationship between ways of speaking and social relations; (ii) the means by which to create new and appropriate voices through English; and (iii) the means by which to legitimate such hybrid forms in new contexts.

The following case studies approach these questions of identity and language from opposite directions. Erling takes a top-down 'students as ethnographers' approach that considers the questions in their broadest aspects from the points of view of the learners themselves and their analyses of personal experiences using English as a lingua franca. Bartlett takes a bottom-up lexicogrammar-based approach that analyses hybrid texts in action in terms of the social systems instantiated through the discourse patternings of the lexicogrammar. Erling's study can be said to focus on "the politics of language" while Bartlett's focuses on "the language of politics". Each of the case studies points to a means of legitimation and in conclusion we suggest an approach to teaching English as a lingua franca that combines aspects of both approaches.

3. The use of English as a lingua franca among students of English at the FUB

My[ii] study considers the attitudes of FUB students of English towards the language as part of the university's attempts to make English Studies programs more responsive to university-level students' use of English within the context of globalization and Europeanization. The study sought insights into how these students identify with English and use it to create or recreate identities within various contexts and the problems of authenticity and legitimation entailed.

3.1   Background and methods

As a basis for this study, I created a profile of students of English at the FUB using an ethnographic approach which included a statistical analysis of questionnaires distributed to 101 students of English in July 2001; excerpts from student essays that reflect on the role of English in students' lives; and in-depth interviews with five of these students (see further Erling 2004).

When starting my research, I initially thought that students may resent the presence of English in their lives and be worried about linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 1992) and the dominance of English in Europe, as with academic publishing (Ammon 2001), for example. But since I found that student opinions toward English were generally positive, I looked further to see how students were resisting the dominance of English or legitimizing their non-native voices in global and European domains of lingua franca communication. It became clear through statistical analysis that there were certain clusters among students: a US-friendly cluster (54%), a pro-British cluster (13%) and a lingua franca cluster (34%). In the following sections I focus on this innovative group in the lingua franca cluster and consider their descriptions of the challenges of making English "their own…forcing it to submit to their own intentions and accents" (Bakhtin 1981:294).

3.2   The use of English as a lingua franca among FUB students

The rather large group of 34% of students in the lingua franca cluster do not necessarily orient themselves towards dominant L1 norms in spoken language, nor do they necessarily seek to recreate for themselves either UK or US identities. Rather, many aim to communicate as part of a global community, as can be seen in the following student's observation:

> "If you turn on the radio, most of the songs are in English. If you turn on the computer or surf the internet, you need to understand English. At university there are a lot of exchange students from foreign countries and you communicate with them in English. I'm surrounded by English all the time. We have to admit we've adopted quite a lot of English expressions in German and, therefore, without really recognising it, English plays a major role in our society. Almost everybody has learned English at school (of the younger generation) and it really became a kind of second language in Germany." [iii]

Such students, as the next generation of professionals in the European marketplace, often seek to create "imagined communities" (Anderson 1991) which are more democratic or more flexible within the new international Anglophone market, as is demonstrated here in the remarks of two students:

> "In a world of internationalisation and globalization, would it make sense to learn a culturally restricted variety?"

> "There should be an international language which doesn't depend on a special country/tradition."

These students stated that they do not aim to acquire a particular native model of English but rather "good" English, or a mixture of varieties depending on the context. This, they feel, will allow them to communicate in all English-speaking environments. These students express no feeling of connection to either the US or the UK, and 68% of this cluster agrees that "English is a tool for communication and I don't identify with any English-speaking culture[iv]." These students are not particularly interested in either British or American culture and history but view English as a tool and a link to the global community, a means to communicate internationally. This attitude is clearly expressed in the following student's statement: "I don't care about what Clinton does in his private life… and I don't really care about England. I suppose I study English because it's become the Latin of the 20th century."

One representative of the lingua franca cluster whom I interviewed is Oskar[v]. Oskar's model of English is what he calls "the best English possible" and his goal is to be understood. For him, English is a means of communication, and he is not interested in having a native-like accent or identifying with an English-speaking culture. As he says, "I'm not from an English-speaking country, so why should I?" He says that when he is speaking English he doesn't purposely try to show that he is from Germany, but that he does not try to hide this either.

The fact that many students, like Oskar, do not orient themselves towards a "native" variety of English is further demonstrated by their responses to the question of whether they feel it is more advantageous to have a "native-like accent of one variety of English" or "a neutral variety of English that does not represent one culture or country." Here, 39% feel that it is better to have a neutral variety that does not represent one

culture or country.[vi] Some of these students consider neutral English to be more "open" or "flexible" and one finds that this neutrality allows a speaker to have "higher potential of communication in every English-speaking part of the world." Another student noted, "There would be less problems understanding each other." And not only do these students consider that "neutral" English is easier to understand for everyone, but they also claim that it is easier to learn. As one student remarked, "It's hard to achieve a native-like accent of one variety."

However, pragmatism is not these students' only purpose and questions of neutrality and ease of understanding are only half of the equation; others point to a more deliberate adoption of a multiculturalist stance where nuances are important vectors of identity and difference is valued. Many of those who prefer to speak a neutral variety of English remarked that it is preferable to speak a variety that they consider more democratic, offering opportunities for everyone in the world to communicate on equal grounds. For these students developing a 'neutral' variety of English shows just as much concern with authenticity as for those who prefer a native variety, as they feel that they cannot and do not want to escape their identity:

> "If you're not a native speaker, you shouldn't try to sound like one."

> "If you have a native like accent you might be mistaken for somebody you aren't."

> "It might be possible to bring nuances of meaning from your native language across and you don't sound phony."

As this last quote brings out, these students aim to assert their authority over the language by incorporating their local identity into English – or creating a new identity – and refusing to hide or be ashamed of their nonnative accents, legitimating their identities as new speakers of English within the new linguistic marketplace provided by globalization in general and pan-Europeanism in particular.

3.3   European and global identities

The results of this study imply that some FUB students are forming a global identity that extends beyond associations with English-speaking countries. Brutt-Griffler (2002:176) suggests that a global culture is

forming on the basis of a global system of common political structures and media outlets: "An identifiable shared subjective knowledge is emerging, buttressed by cosmopolitan, multicultural world urban centers." Berlin, as the capital of Germany, a central member of the European Union, can be seen as one of these urban centers or "global cities" (Sassen 1991) and English is seen primarily as a key to participation in this global culture. This can be seen in the reflections of one student who hopes that through English we can achieve "the identity of a globalized humankind," while another notes that: "In times of globalization…it is necessary to be able to communicate with all types of English and people. It is important to speak English to be a part of the new, international world."

Through English, students are relating to a global culture, without necessarily abandoning their national and/or local identities. The student Diane serves as a perfect example of this phenomenon. When asked about her identity, Diane says, "I would like to say I'm a citizen of the world," but she also identifies herself as a Berliner, a German and a European. So English is not only seen as the language of traditional English-speaking countries, but also as a vehicle to express local identities, to communicate at a European level, and/or to signify identification with certain global trends. Some students associate linguistic features with US or UK cultures that they admire and so try and adopt these. One British enthusiast, for example, says "I cannot really say why, but I was born with this enormous interest in Britain, I like their style, music and pronunciation." However, others might show an interest in either culture but are unwilling to accept them wholesale. Several of the US-friendly students interviewed, for example, expressed negative opinions towards Germans who blindly embrace American cultural and political values and adopt all things American while the US-friendly cluster in general reported less of a tendency to imitate American English than was the case with the pro-British culture and British English.

3.4   New marketplaces, new authenticity

The varied testimonies cited above suggest that students can act as critical linguistic ethnographers (*cf.* Corbett 2003), analysing the international role of English in the world today and the tensions between imitating L1 and creating new forms of English in relation to this context of globalization. Moreover, while many students can be seen to come out for or against the US or the UK and to adopt one variety or the other, a

significant percentage express a preference for neither culture and develop hybrid forms of English, often as a *deliberate marker* of their new-European or global identities, an *antilanguage* (Halliday 1978: 264*ff*; *cf.* Eckert 2000) defying the conventions of either the US or the UK, or at least their uncritical and wholesale acceptance. Secure in their new local or European context these students are no longer worried about being "recognized as foreign" or that someone will "expose me as a German native speaker," but rather consider their non-L1 forms as the true bearers of authenticity. Such speaker's legitimation of their English usage is thus tied to their new roles in alternative linguistic marketplaces, a point that will be taken up in the closing discussion.

There is also some evidence that the students at the FUB have formed an embryonic theory of genre, register and ideology in the way they load both specific linguistic features and discourse patterns with the national characteristics of the US or the UK. Some students claim, for example, that "American English sounds arrogant" or "British English more cultivated or modest." These are clearly naïve and essentialist views, yet they could provide the basis for a fuller understanding of the relationship between language form and function, ideology and identity, and so allow the students at the FUB greater opportunities either to acquire US/UK linguistic habits or to develop new identities through the appropriation of English at every level of discourse.

In the following section, Bartlett attempts to develop an analytical framework for such an understanding, drawing on his work in Guyana. Unlike Erling's work Bartlett's study relies on the analyst's interpretation of spontaneous discourse and its relation to different identities and ideologies and so lacks the reflections of the subjects themselves that so characterize Erling's work. The concluding discussion, however, draws on both approaches to outline a holistic framework for the teaching of register/genre that combines the detailed analysis of real-time discourse with the critical ethnography of students, the dual approach advocated in the theoretical introduction to this paper.

4. The use of English as the lingua franca of development in Guyana

In this section I discuss textual analysis from my fieldwork in Guyana, where I was looking at development discourse between the North Rupununi District Development Board (NRDDB), an umbrella group made up of representatives from the local Makushi Amerindian communities, and various outside groups, primarily the Iwokrama

International Rainforest Conservation Programme (Iwokrama) and the Government of Guyana. My original intention was to critique the discourse of the powerful outside gatekeeper groups and present alternative discourse strategies from a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) perspective. However, what appeared during the course of his fieldwork was that local community speakers were spontaneously appropriating the institutional genres of international development fora in ways appropriate to the local context, as revealed through a detailed analysis of real-time discourse in relation to the different social structures of the groups involved and the relationships between them. Two crucial enabling factors in this process were the collaborative and open attitude of the Iwokrama workers on the one hand and community ownership over the discourse space, symbolically as well as materially.

4.1   Localising the discourse of development

The following text comes from a meeting of the NRDDB in which Iwokrama representatives had been attempting to explain their concept of Sustainable Utilisation Areas (SUAs) for exploiting non-timber resources. After this contribution it became clear that community participants were not understanding the explanations and so Uncle Henry, a prominent local elder, rose to offer his description of the concept, which seemed to be accepted at the time and which was later reported to have been successful. This led me to undertake detailed analyses of the two contributions, and I reproduce here extracts from Uncle Henry's contribution. My first analysis looked at the structure of the two contributions in terms of Rhetorical Units (RUs, Cloran 2000:175) that label stretches of text in terms of the immediacy of the subject matter and time to the discourse event itself. Table 1 sets out the range of RUs and their scaling in terms of immediacy/ contextualisation (Cloran 2000:176).

ancillary [e.g. contextualised]					constitutive [e.g. decontextualised]		
Action/ Commentary	Observation/ Reflection	Report	Account	Plan/ Prediction	Conjecture	Recount	Generalisation

Table 1: Continuum of Role of Language in Social Process

Using Cloran's scheme[vii] to analyse the two contributions I found that at the surface level, Uncle Henry pretty much mirrored Iwokrama, as in Table 2.

Iwokrama:
Commentary^Account^Recount^Plan^Reflection^Plan^Recount^Plan^Commentary
Uncle Henry:
Commentary^Recount^Account^Plan^Account^Recount^Account^Commentary

Table 2: RU Structure of Iwokrama and Uncle Henry Contributions

Such superficial similarities are not surprising given that the two texts share the same communicative goal and operate within the same institutional constraints. Where the texts differ, however, is in how they use the same surface RUs to achieve different subgoals, as Uncle Henry *embeds* (Cloran 1999:39) more contextualised language within the abstract surface structure. A good illustration of this process is the means by which Uncle Henry describes the meeting he attended along with "this group of all the representatives of various organisations" (13-14) in Text 1 below. The corresponding stretch of text in the Iwokrama contribution is given almost entirely as a plain Recount of the meeting. Uncle Henry, however, although he begins with a Recount, uses this as a framework through which to project a more immediate Account (18-39) of the Wilderness Preserve, which itself projects a Reflection (23-39) on the bond between the community and the forest. In this way the text becomes progressively more contextualised, more immediately relevant to the local participants, while remaining close, on the surface level, to the generic structure of the Iwokrama contribution. The result of this strategy is that the meeting attended is described not as simply a past event but as a process with immediate relevance to the lives of the local community and, as such, a topic on which all present can pass comment.

Text 1: NRDDB meeting. 4/11/2000

Different brackets and numbering represent different levels of embedding as follows: {.1(.1.1[.1.1.1*.1.1.1.1XXXX*])}.

Recount
    13 Now the meeting we attended with this group of all the representatives of
    14 various organisations:
    15 We sat down there
    16 to discuss relatively commonplace intuitions,
    17 but we discussed the Sustainable Utilisation Area,

{.1 Account
    18 in that the Wilderness Preserve is another area,
    19 that is where the zoning is important.
    20 Had they not that place zoned to identify the Sustainable Utilisation Area,

21   here is where you all knowledge –
22   all of us knowledge comes into play.

(.1.1 Reflection

23   Because we are the people who are familiar with that forest,
24   we are people closest to the forest
25   more than anybody else who live outside,
26   because it's a way of life that's part of it,
27   and we are the ones to give an advice.

[.1.1.1Action

28   And we should state it in that vein.   ]

29   Because
30   whenever you're down,
31   whoever comes from there will return,
32   we remain here.

[.1.1.2 Conjecture

33   And whatever is built or constructed,
34   whatever it is,
35   we will remain.   ]
36   Of course some of it (has been lost).
37   But then we're working to defend (xx)
38   all of us,
39   (xx) worry.   )}

In general, the Iwokrama explanation of the SUA process was overwhelmingly in abstract, decontextualised terms describing meetings and discussions. While there were occasional sidelong glances at resources and businesses and the effect of the programme on local communities, there is a constant emphasis on the *workings* of the SUA programme as a theoretical Iwokrama-oriented process:

> "Because, remember, the SUA is really Iwokrama developing businesses in the preserve. […] And so the idea was: How could this affect the communities?"

In contrast, Uncle Henry defines the SUA process in terms that relate to the local community and the component parts of the term become the *Area* as the forest and the community that knows it and their *Utilisation* of it for livelihoods which are *Sustainable* through local knowledge in combination with outside expertise.

4.2   Language features and the operationalisation of power

The following text, from the same contribution, illustrates how Uncle Henry exploits the lexicogrammar, particularly pronouns and modals, to claim for himself different power types with roots in both the local community and the knowledge-based authority of Iwokrama:

Text 2: NRDDB meeting. 4/11/2000

{.1 Prediction
    74 So, we get to understand the forest better
    75   and those things will be left in their natural state.   **}**
{.2 Account
    76 Because there are other important issues which we,
(.2.1Reflection
    77 because we live among them,
    78 we live inside,
    79 it's a way of life,
    80 we take it for granted.
    81 We (xxx).
    82 Many of us do not have sense of why,
    83 we (don't??) know how valuable those things are to us,
    84 and we just discard it,
    85   like many of us who (pushing) fire in the savannah -
    86 you know how many innocent birds' lives you destroying
    87   (probably, even though you set xxx)?
    88 If a snake (xxxxxxx xxxxxx).
[.2.1.1 Action
    89 So, don't blame the snakes
    90   where you can't go (x) in the savannah,
*.2.1.1.1General.
    91 it's not good,
    92 it's a very bad habit,
    93 like poisoning,
    94 all these things are detrimental.   *]
    95 But we never study it in depth,
    96 we don't know how disastrous it is.   )

    97 So these are things which we have now asked to participate in our
    98 knowledge (about it)
    99 to find certain things.   **}**

Account

    100 Now when we come to sustainability of the forest,
    101 it does not confine that to Iwokrama alone,
{.1 Reflection
    102 we have to look on the other communities way outside.

(.1.1 Conjecture

    103 Because we might not find
    104 (when it-
    105 when the plant come,)
    106 to assess it:
    107 "What do we have?
    108 Okay, this piece of thing, yeah yeah,
    109 we'll try this for sustainable utilisation."   **)**
    110 What is there that we can use sustainably?
    111 One of the things you have to do is research.   **}**

{.2 Recount

    112 A lot has been done with animals,
    113 reptiles, birds, and all those things.

    114 Bit of a botanical collection was done,   **}**
    115 there's a lot yet to be done.

{.3 Recount

    116 The greenheart of Iwokrama,
    117 that was one of the key elements they
    118 classified.
               }
    119 They want to do (xing them) now.
    120 (Xx) setting up (xxx) Amerindians (xx)
    121 and then there's no greenheart in the area.

{.4 Prediction

    122 And when we adapt for commercial harvesting
    123 (such) indicate // in a short while it will disappear.   **}**
    124 So they have to pinpoint those areas.
    125 Now they have a good idea,

{.5 Commentary

    126 but I'm still a bit sceptical about certain areas I notice
    127 that are for sustainable -
    128 I look at the map,

(.5.1 Account

    129 "Oh oh of course it just ends there",
    130 and you have a wilderness reserve
    131 and you have a sustainable portion (xxxxxxx) –   **)**
    132 To my mind (xxxx after xx x) population,
    133 because this wildlife preserve (xx)

(.5.2 Prediction

    134 as soon as applications start here,
    135 (we're started...xx).
    136 And once they adapt,

137 there are migration and migratory routes which they will take
138 and they will find themselves right up in Pakaraimas for the next year.)**}**

139 So these are things still to be discussed
140 because there is not -
{.6 Commentary
141 I don't think that that is already confirmed where (x),
142 those are just tentative demarcation (x).   **}**

As with the first analysis, we can see that Uncle Henry's lexicogrammatical choices have social and pragmatic relevance beyond their purely semantic content. As Uncle Henry moves from one semantic area to another his use of pronouns in talking about the local community alternates between a WE that stresses his solidarity with his audience and a YOU that emphasises his authoritative role as both local elder and as collaborator with Iwokrama. In this way he creates for himself a complex position that allows him to impose his authority through a mixture of bare imperatives, external obligation with HAVE TO, and simply "telling things like they are." It is important to emphasise here that such registerial variables work because of Uncle Henry's unique position in the community and that they are not available to the Iwokrama workers. As such they do not relate to the standard generic format of such development fora but are examples of Uncle Henry's registerial competence in instantiating the local order through the lexicogrammar of English.

The analysis in Table 3 divides the text into *phases*, units of text showing uniform field, tenor and mode (Gregory 1988).

	Subgoal	Mode (RUs)	Field (Topic)	Tenor (Interpersonal relations)
74-99	**Problematises local familiarity with respect to sustainability**	Plan projecting Reflection. Multiple embeddings. Instructional context projecting regulatory.	Abuses of forest resources resulting from familiarity.	WE as community, but becoming YOU for worst errors. Bare imperative demonstrating moral authority through distance within solidarity.
100-125	**Relates benefits of outside knowledge to above.**	Account of sustainability and complementary research with multiple embeddings. Regulatory context with instructional	Research carried out on various natural resources of the forest.	WE as grassroots research for community benefit; THEY as Iwokrama doing more theoretical research. Local solidarity, yet

		embeddings.		with difference in knowledge/power between UH and communities and sharing of knowledge/power between UH and Iwokrama over communities; HAVE TO emphasising non-local obligation.
126-142	**UH's knowledge used to question imported knowledge.**	Commentary, embedded in Account, on knowledge systems with multiple embeddings. Regulatory context projecting interpersonal and instructional.	Potential failings of imported knowledge and mapping.	I as sceptic [+power/knowledge] of communities over Iwokrama and of UH within community.

Table 3: Register analysis of Uncle Henry's contribution.

We can consider the product of the field, tenor and mode of each phase the *message* (adapting Bernstein 2000:12), the means of control over discourse-as-process through registerial variables. What this analysis reveals is an appropriation in progress of the conventional institutional discourse, based almost exclusively on the symbolic capital of knowledge, through the mixing of this knowledge with community messages operationalising the symbolic capital of local knowledge and local systems of moral authority. In terms of the legitimation of this hybrid discourse, it is important to note once again that the conditions of possibility for such appropriation were already in place in the collaborative and mutually respectful relations between Iwokrama and the NRDDB and the key role of Uncle Henry, whose symbolic capital incorporates both local and imported systems and enables him to explain, question and sanction imported knowledge within the community.

In this section I have focused on the discourse means by which Uncle Henry, a local elder creates a hybrid discourse by (i) localising abstract development talk and so opening up access to the discourse, and (ii) manipulating interpersonal relations to balance the knowledge-based symbolic capital of Iwokrama with local capital based on both traditional

knowledge and moral authority. As in Erling's work, such legitimation relies on the creation of new linguistic marketplaces with different values, a point taken up in the next section.

5. Top-down and bottom-up approaches to English as a lingua franca

In our original representation of the tension between capital, code and marketplace, we implied that this tension was an obstacle to empowerment; however, the research reported in this paper suggests that this tension can produce light as well as heat. Erling's work, for example, reveals *productive tensions* in the relationship between the new marketplaces of 'New Europe', new power structures arising among the new international generation of professionals in this marketplace, and the hybrid linguistic markers being deployed there. This New Europe represents an "imagined community" of Europe's new professionals, with new sources of symbolic capital and new means of realising them. These new discourse patterns cash in on the symbolic capital of being a New European as opposed to a 'foreigner.' Legitimation comes from within this imagined community of like-minded international folk in professional or informal situations where there is no reason to fear being exposed as a non-native speaker (see quotes above).

In Erling's research, the pattern would appear to be one where the students are adapting to a new marketplace and thus produce new symbolic capital and relations which do not demand L1 varieties of English. In contrast, in the context of Bartlett's research, the protagonists are acting within the relatively established marketplace of international development and the innovation lies in the adaptation of the mediational means itself, the lexicogrammatical and discourse patterns, in ways that reaffirm the local symbolic capital that was always present but underrepresented in the conventional registers of development discourse – though the role of Iwokrama social scientists in the legitimation of this capital must also be emphasised. In the case of the NRDDB, the reaffirmation of local power is greatly bolstered through ownership of the discourse space, in both physical and affective terms. In this context, community participants are seen to be gradually *reorientating* the marketplace itself to their own traditions and purposes, as theorised by Bernstein (2000) with his notion of extraneous *messages* gradually changing the established *voice* of discourses (see Bartlett 2004b for a more detailed discussion of this). Parallels can be found in the field of

academia and the increasing numbers of authors writing in English from their own discourse traditions. According to Erling (2004:248-249):

> "as people become more sensitive to various societal-cultural intellectual traditions and ways of thought, they become more accepting of variation in rhetorical patterns…As a result, as more German academics write in English, German academic style may gain increasing importance as a discourse style in English."

To sum up: in the context of the FUB, standard English as a code had not previously been seen as a legitimate means for realising the symbolic capital of German culture with old Europe, with its strong borders and cultural nationalism. However, in the linguistic marketplace of new Europe, as a symbol of unity in diversity, ELF with a German accent is becoming increasingly legitimated. In the Guyanese context, where outside development discourse had previously come into the local communities on its own terms and largely unopposed, the development of hybrid development genres and registers served as a new code to realise the symbolic capital of local leaders that had always been legitimate within this marketplace but which had been unoperationalised and thus marginalised, with local leaders trying and failing to impose themselves solely through the dominant linguistic codes of professional development organisations.

While both Bartlett and Erling's fieldwork and descriptions are situated accounts of discourse appropriation by non-native or outside groups, to some extent they represent 'two ends looking for a middle.' Both analyses are framed within an ethnographic description of the context drawing largely on local commentaries, but Bartlett's work lacks the subjects' perspectives on language and identity that underlies Erling's work, which, in turn, lacks Bartlett's detailed analysis of texts. Bartlett's study is inductive, starting from an analysis of data, making explicit the link between ideology and genre to uncover new genres in evidence, while Erling's is a deductive approach, asking students what they want and discussing issues of identity in the 21st Century before considering their reflexes in language. However, both studies came up with the need to open up genre to multicultural possibilities through fostering a registerial competence and we suggest that the close reading of register could be incorporated into critical discussion with subjects, as with the student-as-ethnographer approach, allowing them to tie concrete examples of usage to broader questions of identity within specific

sociocultural/identity settings. In sum, the two methods outlined above could be combined to produce an approach to teaching that:

i. combines the notions of generic variability and registerial competence in which the manipulation of register is seen as a creative and strategic practice oriented towards an abstract generic potential;

ii. employs a collaborative process of "critical language awareness" (Fairclough 1992), exploring the social conditions within different contexts and their link to language/discourse so as to provide students with "an understanding of the way rules of use are socially and historically constructed to support the interests of a dominant group within a given society" (Norton 2000:16; see also Scollon and Scollon (1995:97) on *discourse systems*);

iii. considers how local *voices* can appropriate global genres through an accumulation of local *messages*;

iv. considers the means of legitimating such hybrid ways of speaking in terms of the necessary articulation of field/marketplace, speakers' embodied sociolinguistic codes, and the social function of specific lexicogrammatical features, all as situated within the wider context;

v. incorporates analysis of both conventional discourses and the language of those who are judged to have successfully appropriated these. Developing critical awareness in this way gives students an appreciation of standard English as well as other world Englishes and helps them to navigate the difficult course between following standards and expressing individuality. As Fairclough (1992:54) argues, students' linguistic practice "should be informed by estimates of the possibilities, risks and costs of going against dominant judgment of appropriate usage";

vi. opens up a space in which learners can either follow globalised norms within genre-based discourse or appropriate these towards their own cultural ends, so satisfying both sides of the competence/acculturation debate.

However, it must be noted that both researchers' work focuses on extraordinary settings: the relatively powerful world of university students in the New Europe, on the one hand, and the unique setting of development discourse in the North Rupununi savannahs, on the other. It remains to be seen what the implications are for the 'ordinary' learner struggling to be heard in a new and intimidating environment, as with Rose's black kids striving for success "in the white man's world"

(above) or Norton's (2000) immigrants virtually denied access to ingroup discourse. Norton, Heller (1999), and Bremer *et al.* (1996) describe the problems facing such *desituated* learners, while Pennycook (2001), Luke (1996) and others detail the theoretical problems with current approaches. In neither case, however, are practical teaching methodologies put forward. It is hoped that the case studies outlined in this paper can, in imaginative combination, go some way towards creating such a practice; the challenge is to find for desituated speakers a new community, a marketplace, where their existing voices carry cultural capital, not as grandees but as participants, and to explore the appropriate L2 lexicogrammatical means through which these voices can make themselves heard.

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[i] We keep the gender-specific male pronoun of the translation though *our* intention is to have it refer to all users of language, regardless of gender.

[ii] In the following case studies, the use of the first person pronoun refers to the researcher involved.

[iii] All excerpts from students' writing are cited here verbatim.

[iv] This statement originally came from a student's response in a pilot study, and students were asked to agree or disagree with it in the final study.

[v] This name is a pseudonym. All participants in this study remain anonymous.

[vi] 5% of students chose not to answer this question.

[vii] My use of Cloran's methods, for various reasons, is a little more semantically-led than Cloran's original framework, which relies more strictly on clause-by-clause lexicogrammatical analysis.