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Code-switching between Arabic and English during Jordanian GP consultations

Abstract. This study draws conceptually on communication accommodation theory (CAT) to describe and analyze conversations between doctors and patients to identify the psycholinguistic and social motivations for code-switching (CS) between English and Arabic languages during medical consultations in Jordan. The researchers employ a thematic qualitative approach to interpret the phenomena under study. GP doctors (n=9) and patients (n=18) were observed and video-recorded in real medical settings and subsequently interviewed. This generated a comprehensive audio and videotaped corpus of data, which revealed that doctors and patients used code-switching during the medical consultation for two main reasons: 1) filling lexical gaps and 2) accommodating the other party. Jordanian bilingual doctors code-switched from English to Arabic and from Arabic to English to bridge lexical gaps, while both doctors and patients adapted their speech styles for the purpose of convergence. This study is significant as it investigates and examines the phenomenon of code-switching among Jordanian doctors and patients from psycholinguistic and social perspectives to gain a clearly defined sociolinguistic explanation of code-switching phenomena during their clinical interaction.

Keywords: bilingualism; code-switching; Communication Accommodation Theory; health care settings; thematic analysis.

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1. Background

A study of code-switching is intricately tied to the study of bilingualism. A bilingual speaker can shift effortlessly between L1 and L2 (Bullock & Toribio 2009) under specific situations and conditions in response to linguistic, psychological, social, or pragmatic factors (Nilep 2006). According to Hamers et al. (2000: 6), bilingualism is “the psychological state of an individual who has access to more than one linguistic code as a means of social communication”. Thus, in the case of the bilingual Jordanian doctors, when communicating the details of a diagnosis or treatment, they switch between English medical jargon and the Arabic language more frequently.

In Jordan, English has been the language of instruction in medical science since its introduction in the early 20th century (Hamdan & Hatab 2009). Accordingly, Arabic-speaking doctors are educated and trained exclusively in English, which makes all doctors in Jordan bilingual (Obeidat & Khrais 2016). The patients, however, are mostly monolingual, as Arabic is the official language in Jordan (Al-Wer 2005). This situation can often affect the patients’ comprehension due to their limited English language skills and their constrained health literacy.

Furthermore, doctors find communication with their patients challenging in the clinical setting when they use medical terms in English (Simmons 1998; Farahani et al. 2011; O’Connell et al. 2013; Galanti 2014; Fage-Butler & Nisbeth Jensen 2016). They try to avoid using English and speak Arabic, particularly when interacting with patients with low levels of education and socioeconomic backgrounds. However, Jordanian patients speak diverse dialects in the urban and rural areas (Jarbou 2010; Al Masaeed 2013), and this may affect their communication with their doctors, and often results in misunderstanding and confusion (Links et al. 2019).

Jordanian doctors may switch between their languages during the conversation with monolingual patients. CS (code-switching) is commonly used by bilingual speakers, who switch from one language to another (Buda 2006, as cited in Dalamu 2019; Taweel & Btoosh 2012). According to Müller et al. (2014: 50), CS simply refers to the process of “moving from one meaning-making, or symbolic system (a code) to another”. CS is caused by several factors, including the individual’s linguistic knowledge or competence, as reflected in his or her performance. With respect to the educational background of doctors, they code-switch when using medical terms and some English words (Sallo 1994) in order to ensure effective healthcare communication.

In health communication, communication accommodation theory (CAT) explains CS between doctors and patients which is determined by their psycholinguistic and social motivations during conversation (Giles 1975, 2016; Giles & Smith 1979; Giles et al. 1991; Gallois et al. 2005; Giles & Ogay 2007). Within health communication, there are two approaches to understanding why communicators switch from one language to another: a psycholinguistic approach and a social approach.
A psycholinguistic approach is concerned with the bilingual processing of language in natural discourse in terms of language production, comprehension, and acquisition (Kootstra 2015). Psycholinguists attempt to gain a better understanding of how languages are stored in the brain and the encoding language process that is selected. For example, Meuter (2005) suggests three main factors relevant to the selection of a language: relative proficiency, contextual cues, and monitoring ability. The subconscious nature of language selection would not preclude speakers from CS, as speakers are not always aware of the reasons for doing so. This paper posits that the primary psycholinguistic motivation for CS in the bilingual act of selecting a particular language is because of the accessibility or inaccessibility of the language due to difficulties in lexical access and gaps between the languages in the dialogue.

From a social point of view, pertinent factors contribute to the use of CS in a particular situation. Gardner-Chloros (2009) argues that three factors can affect speakers’ linguistic behavior on whether to code-switch in their conversations. These include a) economic “market”, prestige and power relations, b) the speakers’ linguistic competence, their social status, their language ideologies and language attitudes, their self-perception and perception of others, and c) conversations where CS occurs as a tool to structure discourse of bilinguals. In this study, CS is understood as being used by bilinguals to accommodate the language choice of the interlocutor either to diverge (Ahmed & Bates 2016; Links et al. 2019) or equalize power relations between them (Scotton 1988; Gardner-Chloros 2009; Fawole 2014).

CS is thereby a natural outcome of languages in interaction (Magana 2013) and is commonly observed in interactions where a minimum of two languages (or dialects or registers) within a specific genre (song, talk) are used interchangeably during a discourse occasion and regularly in multilingual settings (Eastman 1992). CS has been studied extensively in the education workplace, for educational purposes (Moodley 2007; Al Masaeed 2013; Mahsain 2015) and in dialects studies (Almhairat 2015; Al Hayek 2016). Few studies have examined the CS process in the healthcare environment (Alhamami 2020). Singo (2014) states that CS is a strategic tool for effective communication in doctor-patient (D-P) interactions, particularly when the conversation is in the second language. It can convey the message, converge with the client, maintain interpersonal relationships, and helps ease the potential embarrassment from taboo words or topics. However, it is not the intention of this study to investigate whether CS was employed by speakers consciously or unconsciously. Its purpose is rather to better understand doctors’ use of CS and motivations of CS in health communication within the medical environment in Jordan.

Given the need to understand the reasons why CS is used in D-P interactions, the purpose of this study is to identify the extent to which the language
of instruction in medical science has an impact on doctors’ communication with patients for CS between English and Arabic languages during medical consultations in Jordan. Second, it attempts to identify the psycholinguistic and social motivations for CS between English and Arabic languages during medical consultations. The doctors, as bilingual speakers based on their educational background (Al-Hamwan 2015), maintained the use of English terminology rather than changing to Standardized Arabic Language, perhaps due to their habitual use of the terms and training received in English. In these situations, filling the lexical gap via CS is considered a strategy to improve communication.

2. Methodology

This study was conducted in a public hospital in Jordan. A qualitative method was used to investigate CS instances among doctors and patients during medical consultation. This enabled the researchers to observe the fine-grained details of everyday events and the phenomena under investigation (Schillinger et al. 2002; Flick 2014), and to observe and gather data in the natural setting (Yin 2015). Data for this project were collected using semi-structured interviews that were recorded. Semi-structured interviews were used as they give participants the freedom to express thoughts and feelings in the privacy of a one-on-one encounter (Croucher & Cronn-Mills 2014). In addition to the interviews, the researchers observed and noted the interactions between the doctors and patients during the medical treatments (Taiwo 2013).

2.1. Participants

Given the bilingual educational background, most doctors speak Arabic (the local dialect), English and languages other than English. Moreover, they use different local dialects, the Northern dialect and Southern dialect. To recruit doctors who work and are specialised in general internal medicine at the public hospital in Jordan from both genders, an email was sent to the clinic receptionist, who in turn sent the email to potential participants to invite them to take part in the research. Nine doctors (eight males & one female) (see appendix A) participated in the study; all were bilingual (Arabic, English, and languages other than English) due to their medical education.

Patients aged 18 years and over were invited to participate in the research by the doctors who were on board and who agreed to participate in this project. Returning patients for minor or routine follow-up on non-sensitive illnesses or injuries were invited to participate in the research through leaflets which were handed to them by the receptionist. The leaflet information included contact details of the researcher for further information about the research. With regard to the time of participation, the patients were given sufficient time to make their decision. The patients received the Participant Information Sheet and those who agreed to participate, completed
and signed the Participant Consent Form. All the patients were observed, videotaped and interviewed in real medical settings. The research participants included 18 patients (n= 18; 12 males & 6 females) (see appendix B). Thirteen of them were monolingual in Arabic and five were bilingual in Arabic and English based on their education in English. The participants were selected according to three demographic categories (age, education, and gender) and to represent different cultural backgrounds and regions (urban or rural) in Jordan. Additionally, they completed a semi-structured interview in Arabic that required no more than 30 minutes of their time, and they were audio recorded only.

2.2. Data collection

Ethical approval for this research was gained from the Western Sydney University (WSU) Human Research Ethics Committee and informed consent was obtained from the public hospital as required prior to data collection. All the participants received an Information Sheet and signed a Consent Form acknowledging their consent to take part in the research. The Information Sheet contained relevant information about the project, the researchers’ contact details, avenues of support if a participant felt distressed at any time and an assurance of anonymity and the ability to withdraw at any time without having to give reasons for the withdrawal (Holloway & Wheeler 2013). The nature of the research questions required the recruitment of doctors and patients in real medical settings. Participants were informed that their participation was voluntary. They were reassured that the information they supplied would be kept confidential. Additionally, their names were omitted from the responses and pseudonyms were used to keep their identities confidential. Data were stored and managed in the WSU data management system.

D-P interactions were observed and videotaped in real medical settings. Additionally, they completed a semi-structured interview in Arabic that required no more than 30 minutes of their time. The interviews were audio-recorded only. The researchers used a video recorder for capturing verbal and nonverbal interaction between doctors and patients to develop an understanding of the CS involved and analyze the motives of such a phenomenon in the observed doctor-patient interaction. Nine GP doctors and 18 patients were asked open-ended questions in the interview; this provided a wide variety of responses and detailed descriptions of their experiences. By responding to open-ended questions in the interview in their own words, the respondents were able to convey their own experiences. Furthermore, this method allowed the patients to disclose vital and often “hidden facets of human and organizational behavior” (Qu & Dumay 2011: 246) to yield rich data. Approximately 6 hours of audio-taped interviews were gathered for analysis.
2.3. Data analysis
We employed thematic analysis (Owen 1984; Braun & Clarke 2006; Guest et al. 2012) in an effort to understand how Arabic-English CS works in relation to power and control during medical consultations. The videos ranged between 01:18 and 17:76 minutes. The average length of the videos was 5.83. The video data yields 104.86 minutes total of 18 consultations, that is about 1.748 hours of language data. The interviews ranged between 05:40 and 30:05 minutes duration. The interviews data yielded 379.59 minutes total of 6.32 audio recordings. All the interviews were transcribed and translated into English.

The data collected from interviews were prepared for analysis using NVIVO 12 software. The researchers read all the interview transcripts several times to become familiar with the data and to initiate coding and detect themes. NVIVO facilitates connecting data and categories in three ways: visual coding, attributes, and node coding (Richards 1999) while offering substantial flexibility (Basit 2003; Mertens & Wilson 2012). This was done as a part of the first author’s PhD study in linguistics and this article is focused on CS. It was helpful to generate several nodes using NVIVO 12. In particular, the researchers used the framework by Braun & Clarke (2006). This approach is inductive and encompasses a process that includes six phases of analysis: immersing with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, and defining and naming themes. Thematic analysis yielded CS as a main CS as a main theme with two sub-themes in Table (3) as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Sub-themes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Codeswitching Motivations</td>
<td>Filling a lexical gap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Accommodating the other party</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Motivations behind codeswitching
CS is a strategy used by bilinguals to signal several psycholinguistic and social functions. As the medical encounter was observed, numerous CS instances among doctors and patients were noted during the medical consultation. The study found that Jordanian doctors usually code-switch for psycholinguistic and social reasons. Although all of the patients preferred conversing in Arabic, there were some instances of CS by bilingual doctors, who inserted English into Jordanian Arabic speech with participants who were addressed and supported. In this study, CS occurred for two main reasons: to fill lexical gaps and to facilitate communication.
3.1. Filling lexical gaps

As bilingual participants who regularly alternate between English and Arabic (different dialects), the doctors used CS across the four phases of the medical encounter – obtaining medical history, clarifying information, revealing the diagnoses, and managing the condition (Heath 1992). This can be seen in Fragment 1. Mr Sami visited the hospital as he had difficulty breathing due to common cold symptoms, including cough, fever and a runny nose. Mr Sami described his health problem to Dr Salem who negotiated the information, that led to a diagnosis of flu.

Fragment 1 [Mr. Sami was a 37-year-old male patient with a high level of education, consulting with Dr Salem, a male GP doctor of 27 years old, educated in English.]

1 Dr Salem: متى بلشت هذي الأعراض معك؟
2 ‘When did these symptoms start?’
3 Mr Sami: تقريبًا صار لي يومين
4 ‘Nearly, two days ago.’
5 Dr Salem: من يومين على نفس ‘severity’
6 ‘Two days ago, with the same severity?’
7 Mr Sami: نعم، نفس الشيء
8 ‘Yes, the same.’
9 Dr Salem: يعني (الله) نفس شدة المرض؟
10 ‘I mean, the um same severity of illness?’
11 Mr Sami: نعم، نفس الشيء
12 ‘Yes, the same.’

While the doctor generally avoided using medical English jargons in patient consultation, in some cases, he code-switched from Arabic to English, although this may not be obvious to the patient, such as using the English medical term ‘severity’ (Line 5). Here, the doctor was surprised that Mr Sami did not have his severe illness checked until two days later. Nor could he believe that his patient had not realized his severe medical condition so much so that he could not help uttering ‘severity’ in English. The doctor’s paralinguistic cue such as ‘um’ (Line 9) was useful to refreshing the memory bank in case of switching to the Arabic language. Hence, CS was inserted because of the easier accessibility and retrieval from memory. As Mr Sami was well-educated, he did not seem to have difficulty understanding what the English word ‘severity’ meant, given the fact he replied and confirmed his reply without hesitation (see L7 and L11).

In his interaction with Mr. Sami, Dr Salem code-switched from English to Arabic and used the term ‘شدة المرض’ ‘severity’ not only to gather information about the patient’s illness but also to accommodate his speech style with him. Another motivation for
CS is for the sake of confirmation. Here, Dr Salem reiterated his question (Line 9)
‘I mean, the same severity of illness?’ to stress his message. The observation shows that Dr Salem repeated in Arabic what had already been said in English, in exact form, and confirmed that his patient understood what had been said. This type of switch is identified by Gumperz (1982a) as repetition, which “may serve to clarify what is said, but often they simply amplify or emphasize a message” Gumperz (1982: 78) in Fragment 1. The doctor was proficient in English and used technical terms. However, the patient was brought up in Jordan with one language and was not as fluent in the medical register in English as the doctor. Nevertheless, the patient’s reply showed that he had a high level of education in English as he confirmed twice ‘Yes, the same?’ (Line 8 & 12).

Similarly, Dr Ali code-switched when interacting with Mr. Tamer in Fragment 2. In this instance, the doctor was clarifying information about the patient’s illness and using the English terminology ‘pain’ due to the ease of retrieval of this from memory.

Fragment 2 [Mr Tamer, a male patient of 34 years old, his education level is secondary, was consulting with Dr Ali, a male GP doctor of 28 years old, educated in Ukraine.]

1 Dr Ali: إنتم بتحط زيت جوا الأذن و بظل أربع أو خمس ساعات بالذنن الداخلية و يقلب؟ هذا الزيت بظل بقاي منه جوا. بعد ما تحط زيت، بتنشف؟
2 [You put oil into your ear, and it remains up to five hours and then you turn your head to the other side? Unfortunately, this oil can leave residues inside. Do you dry your ear after?]
3 Mr Tamer: أه، بنشف
4 Dr Ali: ‘Yes, I do.’
5 ‘What do you use for that?’
6 Mr Tamer: بنشف بنشف منتزف الأذن
7 ‘I usually dry with cotton swabs’
8 Dr Ali: عندك هون؟
9 ‘Do you have a pain here?’
10 Mr Tamer: لا، كيف؟
11 ‘No, I do not have’. ‘What do you mean?’
12 Dr Ali: يعني ورجع
13 ‘Pain means ache.’
14 Mr Tamer: نعم، في
15 ‘Yes, I have.’

To function effectively for better mutual understanding and to avoid misunderstanding, Dr Ali used the strategy of repair. Tarone (1980: 427) defined ‘repair’ as “the
discoursal rules for who corrects whom, when and the correction of a linguistic form as well as negotiation of intended meaning”. Dr Salem deployed an immediate repair strategy after CS to ensure understanding of what had been uttered.

Dr Ali code switched due to the lack of immediate availability of the required word or for its ease of retrieval from memory (Gardner-Chloros 2009). Hence, he code-switched from Arabic to English within talk to fill a lexical gap. English synonyms were integrated either because of habitual use of the words or for their easier accessibility or retrieval from memory. According to Milroy and Muysken (1995), a speaker’s choice of preference code depends largely on their life histories, which includes their social and educational factors. Thus, language codes may be switched at any point in the discourse due to the bilingualism of the doctors and their language preference.

This demonstrates that CS was used, where doctors filled in missing words or phrases from memory due to the psycholinguistic state of the speakers (Gardner-Chloros 2009; Jevtović et al. 2020). An insertion of words or phrases by speakers may also correlate with the fact that the words or phrases are retrieved more rapidly in dialogue (Ariffin & Rafik-Galea 2009; Green & Li 2014). This is in line with the findings of Mahsain (2015) and Al-Hourani & Qasim (2016) in their studies conducted in the context of education.

3.2. Accommodating through negotiation
Despite the fact that the doctor and patient have social differences in relation to the power inequality (Giles & Ogay 2007) and interaction, the doctor made attempts to alleviate these for effective communication purposes. To achieve this, the doctor used CS when monolingual patients did not understand his message. Hofstede and Bond (1988) describe this as power distance, that is the extent to which a culture believes and accepts unequal power in institutions and organizations. There is an implicit desire among doctors for patients to respect them for their medical expertise and specialized knowledge and skills (Cordella 2004). For example, in high power distance cultures, doctors may view themselves as having expert knowledge of patients’ health barriers, instead of valuing themselves as being equal and cooperative (Lawton et al. 2015). Patients in medical consultations are often powerless and are reliant upon doctors as the experts on their complaints, thereby increasing the doctors’ power in terms of their status and interpersonal roles in the clinical setting (Rocque & Leanza 2015).

CS can also be seen as a tool to indicate accommodation between speakers. Gallois et al. (2005) state that speakers vary in their speech styles either to distance or strengthen the relationship between themselves and other speakers according to their social identity. For the purpose of convergence, they adapt their speech style with others. During the conversation, participants collaborate to create a meaningful message and achieve effective communication. This study showed that participants code-switched either to converge or equalize power relations between them.
In Fragment 2, when the doctor used the English term “pain” to fill a lexical gap, the patient did not understand him and asked for clarification. The doctor code-switched from English into Arabic ‘ŋrajq [pain] to accommodate the language needs of the patient. By virtue of the doctor’s knowledge of his patient, he was able to accommodate to his patient’s level of English proficiency (Wood 2019). The patient’s failure to understand the doctor’s English terminology, if not clarified, may have contributed to unsuccessful communication, potentially leading to failure in the treatment process.

While doctors commonly demonstrate their patronage over their patients through using CS to meet their language needs and ensure they understand medical advice, some patients would switch to English medical jargons to seek accommodation with the doctor, as in the example below:

Fragment 3 [Mr Fadi, a male patient, 46 years old, with high level of education and an undergraduate degree in dentistry, was consulting Dr Amjad, a male GP, 54 years old, educated in English.]

1 Dr Amjad: ةلاك؟
2 'What is your complaint?'
3 Mr Fadi: ترحت
4 'I have a trauma.'
5 Dr. Amjad: انجرحت، اتها؟
6 'You were injured?'
7 Mr Fadi: من اللبيج تبع الأطفال
8 'From lego for children.'
9 Dr Amjad: دعست عليها؟
10 'You fell off it?'
11 Mr Fadi: دعست عليها وما شفتها.
12 'I fell off it and I did not see it'
13 Dr Amjad: إلها حفة حادة؟
14 'Does it have a sharp edge?'
15 Mr Fadi: نعم، صحيح.
16 'Yes, right.'

In Fragment 3, the patient, Mr Fadi, is a dentist who had experienced trauma in his foot, and during the consultation switched to the English medical jargon term “trauma” (Line 3), seemingly to accommodate to the doctor. Mr Fadi attempted to identify himself with Dr Amjad as a fellow health professional. Mr Fadi is a dentist by profession and his use of the medical term may imply that he is not a layperson without knowledge of the medical field. Bullock and Toribio (2009) proposed that CS by proficient bilinguals may
occur within particular cultural groups. Giles and Smith (1979) argued that individuals attempt to make themselves alike and intelligible to others by lessening their typical accents, slowing down their speech, and delivering their message with the listener’s familiarity with the topic of discussion in mind. According to the CAT, the patient was accommodating the doctor by adjusting his speech behavior to that of the doctor. This indicates that this patient was trying to converge and suggest affiliation with the medical membership and recommend himself as an in-group member of clinical professional. However, the doctor’s language choice distanced him from the patient (in this case, Arabic). According to CAT, if the speaker refuses to accommodate to the language of conversation of other interlocutors, this leads to divergence (Giles & Smith 1979). D-P clinical interaction is more than just one-way information flow, such as the doctor giving medical advice and the patient simply following it. In fact, some patients may be engaged in social negotiation with the doctor. Fragment 4 is an example in case.

In Fragment 4, Dr Amjad advises the patient about the treatment for his trauma, but the patient Mr Fadi did not agree and strongly requested an alternate treatment, as observed in Fragment 4.

Fragment 4 [Dr Amjad continued his diagnosis and provided medical advice to Mr Fadi.]

1 Dr Amjad: هذي بدها خياطة، شو رأيك؟
2 ‘This wound needs sewing. What is your opinion?’
3 Mr Fadi: سutures
4 أنا ما بفضل الخياطة. أنا بدي
5 ‘I do not prefer sewing. I want sutures.’
6 Dr Amjad: باس هذي مفتوحة لازم تتخيط
7 ‘But it is open, it needs sewing.’
8 Mr Fadi: كثير؟
9 ‘A lot?’
10 Dr Amjad: مفتوحة. بدها خياطة
11 ‘Yes, it is open. It needs sewing.’

In Fragment 4, the patient’s desire to converge brings familiarity and helps to create an informal environment. This can be explained using Giles’s accommodation theory, that assumes that communicators adjust to a situation either to converge or to diverge from the listener. Mr Fadi code-switched from Arabic into English by using the term “sutures” (Line 3), that indicates the two important motives for convergence for him in Fragment 4; one is the desire to get approval for the suggested treatment from Dr Amjad. The evidence is that of similarity-attraction: The more similar we are to our interlocutor, the more he or she will like or respect us, and the more social approval
we can expect to gain (Byme 1971, as cited in Giles & Ogay 2007). Second, it is possible to break the power discrepancy created by the doctor’s specialist status and bring the doctor and the patient closer (Youssef 1993). This can also be interpreted in terms of diglossia that the official language could be more attractive and more rational than the local language, Ferguson, cited in Fasold (1984), defined diglossia as:

A relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation (Ferguson 1959: 336).

Consequently, using English terms by this patient could be considered as prestigious and as a way of expressing convergence with the doctor (Singo 2014).

On the other hand, Dr Amjad again did not adapt to Mr Fadi’s speech and this asserted his medical expertise and influential role as a medical professional while emphasizing Mr Fadi’s role as a patient under treatment. Emphasizing the differences in speech leads to divergence between speakers. This is similar to Gumperz’s (1982b) notion of ‘we-code’ and ‘they-code,’ in which interlocutors differ in communication behavior according to their relationship with the other interlocutors during the language interactions and its motivational factor for CS. For this reason, the CAT aims to identify the motivational factors behind the variation in speech styles.

When two speakers converse, convergence between them can also take place in relation to the content of what they say. Speakers can defer to the listener and increase mutual clarification as they believe that the listener holds the knowledge (Giles & Smith 1979). For example, that was mentioned before (see Fragment 3.1) in the consultation with the patient, Mr Sami (male, 37), the patient replied to the question, ‘severity’ من يومين على نفسه with an expected adjacency ‘yes, the same’. This type of CS is motivated by the content of the preceding question.

This key finding is similar to what other studies (Singo 2014; Wood 2019) show, i.e. that CS is a strategy used by speakers seeking to diverge and converge in their speech to accommodate the other interlocutors for effective communication. The use of CS in the accommodation situation not only enhances communication, but it also provides “the bridging of language separation” (Mabule 2015: 345).

CS can also improve a patient’s comprehension. If the doctors speak the patients’ language, dialect, vocabulary, or other types of speech varieties, the patients can
understand them, and that leads to a potential increase in patient adherence, confidence and overall satisfaction with the medical consultation.

4. Conclusion
In this article, we find that CS played the roles of filling a lexical gap and accommodating to other speaker’s talk in Jordanian doctor-patient interaction. The analysis shows that CS can be identified as filling a lexical gap when participants switch from Arabic to English within talk due to the unavailability of a word or phrase in their mother tongue, Jordanian Arabic, or for their easier accessibility or retrieval from memory. A unique function of CS was observed as the desire to bring familiarity and create an informal environment during the interaction between doctors and their patients.

The study has important implications for Jordanian medical healthcare services providers for professional training purposes. We have identified two useful communication strategies used by Jordanian doctors and patients for effective and successful communication. The results could be used to inform the professional development needs of the doctors in Jordan and medical professionals in other parts of the world.

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Appendix A. Table 1. Basic Demographics of the Doctors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Education/medical education (BM, ME, or higher)</th>
<th>Work experience (1 year–over 10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Dr Amjad</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>English / BM</td>
<td>Expert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Dr Shadi</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>English / BM</td>
<td>Expert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Dr Adel</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>Not English / BM</td>
<td>Experienced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Dr Ali</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>Not English / BM</td>
<td>Inexperienced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Dr Hassan</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>English / BM</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Dr Nabeel</td>
<td>male</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Dr Sabri</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>English / BM</td>
<td>Inexperienced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Dr Salem</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>English / BM</td>
<td>Inexperienced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Dr Asma</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>English / BM</td>
<td>Inexperienced</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B. Table 2. Basic Demographics of the Patients

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Bilingual (Arabic-English)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Fadi</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>Higher education</td>
<td>Bilingual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Jasser</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>Higher education</td>
<td>Bilingual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Murad</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>Higher education</td>
<td>Bilingual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Muneer</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>Higher education</td>
<td>Bilingual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Sameh</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>Higher education</td>
<td>Bilingual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ameer</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>Diploma</td>
<td>Monolingual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ahmed</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>Monolingual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Qais</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>Monolingual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Sameeh</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>Monolingual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Tamer</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>Monolingual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Ma’moun</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>Monolingual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Sami</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>Monolingual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Areen</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>Diploma</td>
<td>Monolingual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Ayat</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>Monolingual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Rana</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>Monolingual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Haleema</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>Monolingual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Muna</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>Monolingual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Shayma’a</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>Not educated</td>
<td>Monolingual</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References


***

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Unseized opportunity. Respelling of English words in L1 Polish textbooks

Abstract. The purpose of this study is to present the results of an analysis of several Polish textbooks, popular in primary schools (grades 4-6, age 10-13), to demonstrate how Polish textbooks give the pronunciation of English words. Authors of textbooks use their native orthographic convention for sound form signalization called respelling. It is a simple and convenient strategy for indicating pronunciation more accurately than normal spelling. However, respelling of English words poses some problems related to the use of L1 alphabet for decoding foreign language sounds, such as domestication or omitting relevant phonetic information. Another problem concerns the indistinct separation of the two forms of language – written and spoken – due to the use of letters for signalling sound form. L1 classes create a perfect opportunity for students to develop their linguistic awareness. This opportunity, however, does not seem to be fully embraced by the authors of the textbooks. Generally, there is a lack of well-thought-out solutions aimed at the orthoepic competence concerning phonetic transcription conventions. Thus, some ways of clarification of how the sounds of spoken language are represented in written form are proposed.

Keywords: primary school, textbook analysis, sound form signalization, respelling, linguistic awareness.

1. Introduction
The awareness of basic differences between languages (e.g. concerning pronunciation, spelling or grammar) is an important factor of linguistic competence (cf. CEFR: 4-5). Within school education, the development of this awareness should not be restricted
to foreign language classes only but should be shaped whenever there is an opportunity for it. One such opportunity is the presence of foreign words in an L1 class where the pronunciation of foreign words in textbooks is provided more often than the pronunciation of Polish words (Awramiuk 2018). Also, the introduction of comparative elements is a chance to increase students’ awareness of their mother tongue as well as to develop their metalinguistic knowledge.

The purpose of this study is to present the results of an analysis of six Polish textbooks to demonstrate the strategies of giving the pronunciation of English words and see whether they can be used to increase students’ knowledge of the languages and general linguistic awareness. First, some remarks about the ways of representing sounds in the written form will be presented and some basic terms will be explained. Then the focus will shift onto the phonemic awareness in education as well as phonetics in Polish curricula. In the next section, the methodological clarifications outlined. The main body of the paper presents the results of the analysis of two popular series of Polish L1 textbooks from the second cycle of elementary school. This part contains general remarks about the scope and conventions of respelling, as well as issues concerning the respelling of English words. In the discussion, three problems will be outlined.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Phonetic representation of sounds

The problem of clarification of how the sounds used in spoken language are represented in written form is important from the point of view of language education. There are many ways to represent sounds using written symbols (Heselwood 2013) which is connected with different purposes and priorities. First of all, the main distinction between phonetic transcription and other ways of sound form signalization (SFS) should be explained.

Phonetic transcription is a notation system used in specialized sources. It comprises a set of special symbols linked to the theory by interpretative conventions (Heselwood 2013: 25) such as those of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) or the Slavonic Phonetic Alphabet (SPA). Various systems of transcription are based on these alphabets. However, it is important that – no matter what type of transcription is used (specific or generic, broad or narrow, etc.) – phonetic transcription has established rules. Other methods of sound form signalization (SFS) are used in non-specialist sources (e.g. in language teaching materials, in monolingual and bilingual dictionaries) and they are less conventionalized. One of them is respelling which uses orthographic conventions but regularizes their correspondences with sound so that, as far as possible, the same character corresponds to the same pronunciation element (Heselwood 2013: 28). Respelling is a strategy for indicating pronunciation more accurately than normal
spelling. The Polish word krzak in the IPA is written [kʃak] and in the SPA – [kʃak], which requires knowledge of the phonetic value of the new graphic symbol: / or š, while the form of the respelled word [kszak] is closer to the orthographic representation and its reading requires only the knowledge of the letters of the Polish alphabet.

Respelling is used in different sorts of publications which are aimed at users who are assumed to have no specialist knowledge of phonetics. Usually, it helps them with the pronunciation of single words. This type of SFS is, for instance, used in the monolingual Polish orthoepic dictionary Nowy słownik poprawnej polszczyzny (NSPP), as well as in teaching English as a foreign language in Poland (Furtak 2015). Respelling is much less standardised than the IPA or the SPA and there is more variation between practitioners, but this method of SFS is adequate for users who are not familiar with more specialistic phonetic scripts. Respelling is also used by those who want to transcribe the heard pronunciation of unknown words, e.g. in foreign language learning.

2.2. Phonemic awareness in L1 and L2 education
Linguistic awareness is an important part of language education and phonemic awareness is one of its elements. Phonetics has a primarily utilitarian value in education. The purpose of phonetic exercises in foreign language classes is to achieve appropriate phonological (the knowledge and skill related to the perception and production of the phonemes) and orthoepic competence concerning, among others, the knowledge of conventions used for the representation of pronunciation (CEFR: 117-118).

For obvious reasons, it is different in learning a native language. A school child can easily differentiate and manipulate native phonemes. However, phonemic awareness plays a crucial role in learning reading and writing languages with an alphabetic script, like Polish or English. In fact, phonological awareness and the knowledge of letters are considered the main factors influencing literacy in those languages (National Early Literacy Panel 2008). At later stages, phonetics serves to understand cultural texts better, and at all educational stages, it supports speaking. Phonetics understood as a reflection on speech sounds, the relationship between speech and writing, and speech in the suprasegmental level, is an important element in the development of language and communication competences.

The above mentioned practical aspects of phonetics constitute the functional dimension of phonetic instruction in school. Functional dimension means fostering language skills (e.g. spelling and reading aloud). The second dimension is normative, which means giving importance to correct pronunciation no matter whether this contributes to fostering language skills.

In Poland, language education in L1 and L2 is normally separated but language awareness – which is cross-disciplinary (Svalberg 2012: 377) – can be developed in school education also during mother tongue education. It is the opportunity to shape the awareness
of the similarities and differences between the mother tongue and foreign languages. The benefits of such holistic education are appreciated in the Finnish educational system, where the National Core Curriculum emphasises the similarity of language education in the mother tongue and foreign languages. The Finish Curriculum considers the pupils’ plurilingual competence, and it highlights the importance of communicative competence as well as language awareness (Nupponen et al. 2019).

2.3. Phonetics in Polish curricula

The provisions of the core curriculum for teaching Polish as a mother tongue in recent years (cf. CC 2008; CC 2014; CC 2017) encouraged the integration of the content of education (language, literature, culture and communication), functional language education and practical use of acquired information (Bartmiński 2009; Kowalikowa 2014; CC 017: 18, 60, 62, 70). The conceptual network proposed in the core curricula is designed to build students’ linguistic self-awareness and develop their language skills, improve linguistic correctness and teach in-depth reception of texts. Both dimensions (functional and normative) are present in the Polish curricula, although the first one seems to be more prominent. The purpose of language education is, among others, to develop the skills of correct speaking and writing in accordance with the principles of orthography and Polish spelling (CC 2017: 59), as well as – in terms of formulating utterances – to improve the phonatory, articulatory and prosodic aspect of students’ speech (CC 2017: 60).

In the 2017 core curriculum, the 2nd educational stage includes grades 4-6, but the provisions concern two age groups: grades 4-6 and grades 7-8. The detailed requirements concerning L1 language education for the first group include, among others, students’ understanding of the terms: sound, letter, syllable, stress, the knowledge and ability to apply the rules for stressing words and correct intonation depending on the purpose of the utterance (CC 2017: 63).

When it comes to making utterances, the student should be able to deliver from memory a text with appropriate intonation, diction, stress, emotional tension and pausing, supporting himself or herself in that with relevant language knowledge (CC 2017: 64). The last provision can refer to, among others, the use of knowledge of the relationship between speech and writing (phonetic assimilation, assimilation of consonant groups and final devoicing) when mastering the correct Polish spelling (CC 2017: 67-68). Teaching phonetics in primary school is closely related to teaching spelling, which results from the fact that Polish spelling is largely morphophonological.

With respect to modern foreign languages, the core curriculum is common to all of them. In grades 1 to 6 of primary school, each student must learn one foreign language, and from grade 7 – two foreign languages. Different variants of the general education core curriculum (CC 2017: 20) result from the fact that different foreign languages can be
taught to students of different grades and different levels of proficiency, but all have been developed with reference to the levels of proficiency pertaining to particular language skills specified in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR).

The core curriculum – in addition to the general provision on language awareness regarding similarities and differences between languages (CC 2017: 75) – does not suggest how the teaching of the mother tongue and modern foreign languages can be correlated. The teachers, however, recognize the mutual benefit from the interpenetration of foreign and native language content in lessons (Kietlińska & Awramiuk 2016).

3. Methodological remarks

The next paragraph gives an overview of how English words are respelled in Polish L1 textbooks. Our consideration is the effect of an analysis of two series (each consisting of 3 textbooks) of Polish textbooks for the second stage of the primary schools (grades 4-6, age 10-12). The choice of this stage was dictated by the fact that it is considered the most natural for the functional teaching of grammar and therefore crucial for shaping language awareness.

The following textbooks were selected for the analysis: Między nami [Between us] (MN) and Teraz polski [Now Polish] (TP). The choice was determined by the fact that both series are one of the most popular textbook series in Poland and both integrate items of reading, language education, and literature, but this integration can be understood in different ways. The textbooks are in line with the Polish National Curriculum and have been formally accepted by the MEN (Ministry of Education).

The analysed textbooks were published in the years 2013-2018, so they were based on the core curriculum from 2008 (CC 2008), but it is worth emphasizing that the CC 2014 did not bring any changes in our area of interest. The latest CC introduced in 2017 – although it carries a significant reorganization of the education system – is still being implemented. The differences in textbooks of the same series published in 2013-2016 and those published after 2017 are generally small and do not concern the analysed issues. In general, we believe that the identified problems are also valid in relation to new textbooks published on the basis of the latest curriculum.

3 References to specific books specify the grade, e.g. MN4 means the textbook Między nami, grade 4.

4 This is a statement based on our own observations, as well as on the observation of publishers’ activity. However, it cannot be verified because publishers in Poland do not provide information about their publications.

5 In the school year 2018/2019, when the textbooks were being analysed, in relation to the implemented curricular reform in primary schools, the old (pre-reform) textbooks were used for grade 6 and new textbooks for grades 4, 5, 7 and 8.
The analysis of textbooks was conducted in the following steps. First, the analysis was focused on searching for places where orthographic representation changes to fulfil the needs of SFS. All foreign and Polish words with signalled pronunciation were written down and quantitatively analysed. At this stage, the aim was to analyse the distribution and frequency, as well as the conventions of respelling in the textbooks. Next, the respelled words identified in the analysed data were examined more thoroughly.

4. Results

4.1. Sound form signalization in Polish L1 textbooks – general remarks
There are four categories of words whose sound form is signalized in the analysed textbooks:

1. native words, e.g. “if there is a voiced sound at the end of the word, we pronounce it as a voiceless, for example sad, czyt. sat” (MN5: 346);
2. borrowings, e.g. lunch, czyt. lancz (MN6: 44);
3. foreign proper names, e.g. Joe, czyt. Dżoł (MN4: 343), Joe [czytaj: dżoł] (TP5: 120);
4. other foreign words and phrases from foreign languages, e.g. digital painting [didžital pejnting] (TP5: 299).

The differences between groups (2) and (4) should be explained. Borrowings are more recent words in the Polish language which have preserved their original spelling and have a high frequency in contemporary texts. “Other foreign words” are foreign lexical units which are not treated as borrowings but rather as code-switching. The distribution and frequency for the four groups of words in textbooks are resumed in Table 1.

Table 1. The distribution and frequency of respelled words in analysed textbooks
(English words in parentheses)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories of words</th>
<th>TP4</th>
<th>TP5</th>
<th>TP6</th>
<th>Total TP</th>
<th>MN4</th>
<th>MN5</th>
<th>MN6</th>
<th>Total MN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>native words</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>borrowings</td>
<td>11 (9)</td>
<td>13 (10)</td>
<td>13 (8)</td>
<td>37 (27)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12 (11)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24 (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foreign proper names</td>
<td>124 (95)</td>
<td>154 (107)</td>
<td>160 (83)</td>
<td>438 (285)</td>
<td>37 (22)</td>
<td>51 (25)</td>
<td>59 (46)</td>
<td>147 (93)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other foreign words</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12 (3)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (0)</td>
<td>15 (1)</td>
<td>16 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>135 (104)</td>
<td>173 (119)</td>
<td>181 (92)</td>
<td>489 (315)</td>
<td>43 (27)</td>
<td>107 (36)</td>
<td>80 (52)</td>
<td>230 (115)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The quantitative analysis shows that SFS in the textbooks much more often concerns foreign words (674 in both textbooks) than native (45). Foreign proper names are definitely predominant. This group in TP series is related to the concept of literary and cultural education adopted in the textbooks. Culture is represented by a highly diverse international set of texts. All names of the authors and the titles of their works are transcribed. More native words with SFS in MN results from the fact that there is more focus on explicit grammar (or even explicit knowledge about language) in this series. English words (430) are clearly predominant, especially in the categories 2 and 3. They amount to 63.8% of all the foreign words.

SFS in the MN series appears on the margins of the textbook, and in the TP series – linearly in the texts of readings. It performs a similar function in both series. The main purpose of SFS of foreign words is to provide an approximate pronunciation of the words usually used in text extracts. The pronunciation of the most dominant group of words – foreign proper names – concerns the names of authors of text extracts, artists and their works, literary heroes, geographical locations, etc. In TP6 (p. 304) respelling was used in the main text of the textbook to signal the variance of the spelling of the latest borrowings in the Polish language. These words can be written preserving their original form (e.g. weekend) or according to the Polish pronunciation (e.g. dżinsy ‘jeansy’) or in both ways (e.g. aquapark or akwapark).

The sound form in both textbooks is signalized using respelling. Respelling is a simple and convenient strategy, but the way it is used in the analysed textbooks generates some difficulties which will be discussed in the next section. Meanwhile, it should be added that only the segmental speech features (sounds) are signalized in foreign words. The ways of respelling are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Respelling conventions adopted in the textbooks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Units</th>
<th>MN</th>
<th>TP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>assimilated foreign words</td>
<td>spray – czyt. sprej (MN4: 216)</td>
<td>musical [czytaj: mjuzikal] (TP4: 29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other foreign words</td>
<td>send on a fool’s errand – czyt. send on a fuls erent (MN6: 160)</td>
<td>live scanner [czytaj: lajf skaner] (TP5: 313)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the authors of both analysed textbooks use respelling, they do it in a slightly different way. In the Teraz polski series, the pronunciation is given in square brackets...
after the word *czytaj* ‘read’ with a colon. In *Między nami*, the pronunciation is signalled by the abbreviation *czyt*. (without square brackets), after which proper names are written with capital letters. This way of signalling pronunciation poorly separates writing and speech.

### 4.2. Issues concerning the respelling of English words

Sound form signalization in the analysed textbooks takes place through the native language alphabet, which is rather natural. It is difficult for a child who recently got to know the first set of written characters (an alphabet), to understand/learn another one (a phonetic alphabet). However, there is a whole list of problems that are connected with the application of respelling in the textbooks. The list includes incorrect, incomplete, inconsistent, domesticated and mixed transcription.

The first problem concerns incorrect sound identification of the respelled word, which results or may result in the wrong production. For example, the name *Hobbes* is rendered [*czytaj: hobs*] (TP5: 324, TP6: 82), which gives an unpronounceable cluster of a voiced and unvoiced consonant [bs] which in reality will be pronounced either as [bz] or [ps]. Another example is the word *Rosemary* [*czytaj: rozmery*] (TP5: 36), in which the vowel in the stressed syllable is given as a monophthong [o] instead of a diphthong [ol].

Another problem concerns the lack of stress marking in polysyllabic words in both coursebooks, e.g. *Scott McVay* [*czytaj: skot makwej*] (TP6: 73), DOGTV [*czytaj: dog tiwi*] (TP6: 83). If the adopted convention is going to help students reach at least an approximated sound form of the word then, they not only need segmental information (concerning individual sounds) but also suprasegmental (concerning stress). The lack of stress in many cases makes it impossible to reconstruct the correct sound form.

Inconsistency of transcription can appear at the level of words or sounds. At the word level, it is most easily observed on the example of frequently appearing names, e.g. *Jack* – *czyt. Dżak* (MN6: 246), *czyt. Dżek* (MN6: 70), *Joe* – *czyt. [dżoł]* (MN4: 343), [*czytaj: dżoł*] (TP5: 120, TP6: 341), [*czytaj: dżo*] (TP4: 154). Different versions can be observed even within one series.

Inconsistent transcription can also concern the level of sounds, i.e. the same sound can be rendered differently in different words. For example, the sound [ŋ] (velar nasal), which is present in Polish but appears in a different phonetic context than in English, can be rendered as [n] in *Lofting* [*czytaj: loftin*] (TP5: 326) or [ŋ] in *painting* [*czytaj: pejnting*] (TP5: 299) (an unlikely pronunciation, considering the fact that Polish devoices final consonants).

However, this type of inconsistency also occurs when there is no unambiguous equivalent of a L2 sound in the L1 phonological system and hence – no suitable letter in the L1 alphabet. In this case, the same sound could have a different graphic representation in different words, e.g. English sound [o] (voiceless, fricative, dental) is represented by Polish sound [f] with a slightly different place of articulation (voiceless, fricative,
labiodental) or \([t]\) with a different manner of articulation (voiceless, plosive, alveolar)\(^6\), as illustrated by examples \textit{Ethan} – czyt. \textit{Ifen} (MN6: 58) and \textit{Elizabeth} [czytaj: elizabet] (TP5: 37). This problem is not only one of consistency but also of domestication.

Respelling poses some problems related to the use of the mother tongue alphabet for decoding foreign-language sounds since it does not allow the transfer of those L2 phonological features that do not have a distinctive function in L1, as vowel length or diphthongs in Polish. This inevitably leads to domestication such as swapping sounds or omitting relevant phonetic information. Several categories pertaining to domestication-related problems can be distinguished for the respelled words in the analysed coursebooks:\(^7\):

- swapped consonants, e.g. \textit{Ethan} [ifen] (MN6: 58), where an English consonant [e] (non-existent in Polish) is swapped for a Polish one [f];
- no vowel length distinction (long, short and reduced), e.g. \textit{fantasy} [fantazy] (TP5: 123), where a short vowel (though perceptually relatively long) [æ] and a reduced (much shorter and less tense) vowel [ə] are represented by the same [a].

The last identified problem concerns mixing transcription and ortography which means an unconscious preference for the written form over the sound form. The word \textit{sherwoodzkich} (a Polish derivate of the English word \textit{Sherwood}) should be rendered [szerłuckich] in respelling because of the typical consonant assimilations in Polish but it was given as [szerłudzkich] (MN6: 230), which is closer to the orthographic form. A similar rendition (close to the orthography) was provided for the word \textit{hollywodzki} – czyt. holiłudzki (MN 5: 357). This approach to respelling could be confusing to students as it does not draw a clear line dividing transcription and spelling.

5. Discussion

The above-presented issues concerning the respelling of English words in Polish textbooks can serve as a springboard for further discussion on how and to what purpose the sound form should be represented in such contexts. Thus, the discussion will first juxtapose and compare two possible techniques of SFS – respelling and phonetic transcription; then it will analyse the possible extension of the aims of SFS; and finally, it will propose some solutions aimed at the improvement of SFS in L1 textbooks.

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\(^6\) Both dental and alveolar are articulated with the tip of the tongue.

\(^7\) All the examples below will be given in brackets.
5.1. Respelling vs. phonetic transcription

Both analysed textbooks adopted respelling as a technique of SFS. Thus, it is worth setting it against another possible solution which is the use of phonetic transcription (e.g. IPA). Each solution has its advantages which at the same time are the disadvantages of the other. And thus respelling:

- does not require learning an additional alphabet (both from teachers and students); this could be especially difficult with younger students (1-3 graders) who have recently been introduced to one alphabet, but even for older students introducing a phonetic alphabet, especially when it is not part of the curriculum for foreign languages, might be problematic and time-consuming;
- always results in a pronunciation; the fact that students (and teachers) are familiar with the symbols (letters of the alphabet) and (perhaps more importantly) the sounds they represent gives them instant access to the sound form of a word, even if the form is not very accurate (different from the original L2 form); phonetic alphabet, on the other hand, can be problematic in this respect, due to the fact that even if students succeed at getting familiar with the graphic form of the characters they might still struggle with the production of unfamiliar sounds (not present in their mother tongue) – learning them requires instruction and training;
- provides a domesticated version of the word; after all, in the context of L1 domestication is rather desired because it better serves the development of L1 better by enabling the introduction of new vocabulary into the language and strengthening the phonological awareness of L1.

When it comes to the use of phonetic transcription, the following advantages can be mentioned:

- it is accurate and consistent; the use of transcription ensures correct and consistent sound-symbol correspondence (which is not the case for respelling);
- it signals the discrepancy between sounds and letters better; the fact that sounds are represented with a different set of symbols than the native alphabet is a stronger signal that the two forms of language (written and spoken) are not in direct correspondence; compare the two graphical representations for Ethan [ifen] vs [‘iːɔn];
- it can be useful for learning other languages; of course, if introduced, a phonetic transcription (e.g. IPA) is widely used and could be a useful tool for learning foreign languages.

Even though the advantages of using phonetic transcription seem to counterbalance (if not outweigh) those of respelling only the latter technique appears to be a viable option in the circumstances of the schooling system. This is probably why the authors of textbooks choose it for the purpose of SFS.
5.2. Extended aims of respelling – missed opportunity

As already mentioned, the main, or virtually, the only aim of respelling in the textbooks is to provide the sound pattern of words whose pronunciation could otherwise cause problems to students. However, the aims could be extended over simply providing a model of pronunciation and it could also be used as a pretext (opportunity) to develop students’ linguistic awareness. This is especially important in the context of research which shows that there is a strong correlation between competence in L1 and learning foreign languages (Ellis 2015; Cook & Singleton 2014) or new trends in glottodidactics which favour the concept of plurilingualism (Kotarba-Kańczugowska 2015). The plurilingual approach emphasizes contact with various languages, developing awareness of their existence, dependence and specificity. The student “builds up a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact” (CEFR: 4).

In this sense, the plurilingual approach does not apply only to foreign language classes. Explaining the pronunciation of foreign words in a mother tongue lesson is a perfect opportunity to develop pupils’ language awareness of the similarities and differences between the L1 and foreign languages and to build on pupils’ metalinguistic knowledge, to make generalizations referring to different languages, to establish connections between them and to formulate hypotheses about them.

In this context respelling could be used to develop students’ linguistic awareness, e.g. with respect to (the list is by no means complete):

- the phonological systems of languages – not only words in different languages are different but what they are made of;
- the writing systems of languages – different languages make use of different alphabets;
- the discrepancy between these two systems – spelling and pronunciation can differ to a greater or lesser extent depending on the language (the problem of transparency of writing);
- the problem of domestication in foreign and borrowed words – e.g. the fact that it can take different forms: domestication of pronunciation but not writing (e.g. musical [mjuˈzikal]), domestication of both pronunciation and writing (e.g. keczup);
- the articulation of individual sounds – particular sounds of both L1 and L2 require particular motor movements of speech organs which are often, if not always involuntary and unconscious (even, or especially, for L1 sounds);
- the existence of various ways of transcription.

The above list shows the potential use that could be made of the respelling of foreign words in L1 textbooks and in this sense one can speak of a missed opportunity. As the analysis has shown, the ways of providing pronunciation information are very intuitive, often
inconsistent or incomplete, which certainly does not foster conscious linguistic analysis on behalf of students. In addition, many analysed words lack the information on their origin which seems crucial both for the purposes of linguistic analysis and facilitating pronunciation, as the sound form of a given letter string depends on the language of the original, e.g. compare the pronunciation of the name Charles in *Charles-Gerabed Atamian* [szarlis garabid atamian] (TP4: 118) – a French painter of Armenian origin, *Charles Schulz* [czarls szulc] (MN4: 160) – an American comic book artist, and *Charles Perrault* [szarlp ero] (MN4: 323) – a French fairy-tale writer.

5.3. How to improve/clarify respelling in textbooks?

Since it has already been suggested that the only viable form of SFS in the context of Polish educational system is the use of respelling one can think of the ways in which it can be improved to better serve the aims that were defined earlier. With respect to the first aim – enabling the pronunciation of foreign words – respelling could obviously be improved by ensuring consistency within a textbook. It has to be stressed that this one does not mean uniform rules of respelling as such, as it can be done for phonetic transcription, but consistent use of the solutions adopted in a given textbook throughout it. The consistency should concern both suprasegmental and (if possible) segmental level.

Another aspect in which respelling could be improved to help students pronounce foreign words is the introduction of stress marking. Without it the respelled word does not serve the purpose, as the pronunciation of words over one syllable long (especially those from languages with no fixed word stress, like English) becomes random.

With respect to the other aim – increasing students’ linguistic awareness – respelling could be improved in two ways. Firstly, it should clearly distinguish between the two subcodes of language (written and spoken) to which aim it can use lexical as well typographical means. Lexical means include introducing SFS with words like *wymawiaj* ‘pronounce’ or *czytaj* ‘read’. Typographical means concern the use of brackets, which is a commonly accepted convention for signalising sound forms, e.g. in phonetic transcription. Also, if the respelled forms are to distinguish between written and spoken forms they should definitely not use symbols which do not concern pronunciation, e.g. capital letters.

Moreover, the information on the language of origin should be provided, as this is closely linked to linguistic conclusions we can draw from a respelled form, e.g. a word can have an identical written form in two languages, but can be differently realized in pronunciation.

A technique which could help in realizing the two aims simultaneously (providing pronunciation and developing linguistic awareness) could be not to provide a sound form at all but to leave the job for students by providing a gapped place to be filled in by them.
This would make students reflect on the sound form of the word and the accompanying language issues themselves. They would have to negotiate the possible sound form and discuss the aspects of language which apply in the particular context. And since respelling is a natural (and the only) tool students have at their disposal, textbooks could lead them in their thinking, allowing, however, a room for reflection and creativity, e.g. providing only the right number of gaps representing phonemes and the stress marking, as in the following example:

Lucky Luke wymawiaj [ _ _ _ _    '_ _ _]

The classroom methodology can have a major effect on how students learn, and this way of teaching could be an excellent opportunity for metalinguistic activity, which is currently assigned a special role in functional language education (Camps et al. 2000; Fontich 2014; Myhill et al. 2012). More cooperative interactions would help students to better explain their intuitions.

6. Conclusion
Both textbooks used respelling as the preferred technique for SFS. The choice seems justified taken into account the current circumstances of teaching L1 in Poland. Compared to phonetic transcription, it has one main advantage, namely, it comes naturally to students and teachers and does not require learning another alphabet. However, since it is based on native orthography, without real respect to the sound reality of speech, and, what is more, it is non-codified, its adaptation for the analysed textbooks raised several issues.

Provided that respelling is used in a systematic and consistent way throughout a textbook it can be a valuable tool for enabling students to pronounce the words which otherwise would be problematic. But not only that; the existence of foreign words in L1 textbooks could also be treated as an opportunity to increase students’ awareness pertaining to many aspects of linguistic reality balancing between speech and writing. This opportunity does not seem to be fully embraced; however, a provision has to be made. The analysis dealt with the content of textbooks, not with the content of classes (where the textbooks are actually used). Obviously, an experienced teacher can use a textbook for purposes that were not devised by its authors or even if it contains some mistakes. And conversely, even the best textbook will not be much of help for a badly prepared teacher. In this context, the phrase “unseized opportunity” from the title of the article should perhaps be followed by a question mark.
References


**Analysed textbooks**


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Acquisition of polarity items in Czech children: An experimental study

Abstract. The Czech polarity items i and ani are traditionally treated as English even. This paper deals with the acquisition of these polarity items in Czech children. These focus/scalar particles are specific for their sensitivity to probability. We aim to find out whether Czech children at primary school (junior school age) have already acquired i/ani and whether they are able to connect them correctly with alternatives on the scale of probability. The research was conducted with children from the second and the fourth grade at primary school. The paper represents an initial insight into this area since no similar research has been done in the Czech language so far.

Keywords: language acquisition; focus particles; scalar particles; experimental linguistics; language teaching.

1. Introduction
The particle even has been studied for its polarity and unlikelihood properties for a long time in several languages. Although many issues and questions concerning the behaviour of even still remain, it has been consistently shown that even is sensitive to the polarity of a sentence. Namely, there is even that can appear only in negative
sentences, and therefore it is called Negative polarity item (NPI). In contrast, another even so-called Positive polarity item (PPI) may occur only in positive sentences (Krifka 1995). It is tough to detect this distinction in English since there is only one lexical item for even, see (1). However, there are two (or more) lexical items corresponding to even in many languages, e.g. German and Slovenian, among others. The Czech language also belongs to the group of languages where positive even and negative even are distinguished lexically.

(1) a. Even Charles came to the party.
   b. Even Charles didn’t come to the party.

Moreover, even is a focus sensitive particle that is associated with an F-marked expression. Polarity items, as well as focus sensitive particles, introduce alternatives (Rooth 1985). Basically, there is a set of alternatives, and the particle even picks out one alternative. The set of possible alternatives for the example (2-a) (repeated from (1-a) is in (2-b)). Note that the focused expression is highlighted in capital letters. The particle even chooses the one alternative in a certain way. The principles under which even selects an alternative are introduced in section 1.1.

(2) a. Even CHARLES came to the party.
   b. the set of alternatives:
      {Charles}
      {Jane}
      {Richard}

We have dealt with polarity and focus properties of even. In the next section we focus on even in Czech, we describe two main “evens” and show how they differ from each other. In section 3 we introduce two experiments on child acquisition of English even and in section 4 we present the experiment on child acquisition of Czech even and discuss the results.

2. Theoretical background

English even corresponds to (at least) two lexical expressions in Czech, namely i and ani. These two items are nicely divided according to their polarity properties. The first Czech

4 Note that there is a requirement for the alternatives to be of the same semantic type.

5 In addition, the particles i and ani may function as conjunctions and also marginally interjections. We leave these two other usages of the expressions aside and deal with i and ani as particles only.
even is i, and it is considered to be PPI since i may occur only in affirmative sentences, and it is ungrammatical in negative sentences, see (3-a) and (3-b), respectively.

(3) a. Na večírek přišel i Richard.
    to party come.3SG.PST even Richard
    ‘Even Richard came to the party.’

b. *Na večírek nepřišel i Richard.
    to party NEG.come.3SG.PST even Richard.
    ‘Even Richard didn’t come to the party.’

The second Czech even is ani. Historically, i is claimed to be the basic, whereas ani is the modified version of i in such a way that ani contains the basic i and the negative element -n. (Lamprecht et al. 1986). This pattern nicely explains that ani is a negative counterpart of positive i. Since ani is NPI, it behaves in exactly the opposite way than i; it can appear only in negative sentences and it is ungrammatical in positive sentences, see (4-a) and (4-b), respectively.

    to party NEG.come.3SG.PST even Richard
    ‘Even Richard didn’t come to the party.’

b. *Na večírek přišel ani Richard.
    to party come.3SG.PST even Richard.
    ‘Even Richard came to the party.’

Both i and ani exhibit the same focus properties as English even. Unlike in English, Czech i/ani have to occur immediately before the F-marked expression in a sentence. Since the occurrence of i/ani is sensitive to the polarity of sentences, they belong to the group called polarity items. Therefore, they introduce alternatives just like English even.

We do not go into details of the complicated theory of alternatives (for more details see Rooth 1985) but some background is needed for understanding our experiment. Concerning alternatives introduced by even the likelihood and entailment play a role. For simplification, only a closed set of alternatives are taken into account. Since even is generally considered to work with the likelihood, the alternatives are ordered on the probability scale, i.e. it is given by the context that one alternative is more likely or less likely than the other. Consequently, one alternative entails the other.6 Consider the following example:

6 Note that there is no entailment relationship between alternatives in some alternative sets, but still, the alternatives are ordered by probability because there is a likelihood relationship between them.
Richard read.3SG.PST even five books
‘Richard has read even five books.’

We can easily imagine that Richard is a student and he has to read books for an exam. The alternative set is restricted by the context where the maximum number of books he is supposed to read is five. Of course, many students do not read all the required books. The use of *i* in (5) indicates that Richard has read the maximum number of the required books, and this is considered to be a significant achievement. The alternatives and their entailment and likelihood relationship are schematically captured in (6).

(6) a. the alternative set: {1 book, 2 books, 3 books, 4 books, 5 books}
b. the entailment relationship: read 5 books → read 4 books → read 3 books → read 2 books → read 1 book
c. the likelihood relationship: read 5 books < c read 4 books < c read 3 books < c read 2 books < c read 1 book

There is the closed set of alternatives in (6-a), and the alternatives are in entailment relationship in such a way that the proposition *Richard has read 5 books* entails the proposition *Richard has read 4 books* and so on but not vice versa. Consequently, the alternative *5 books* is the strongest alternative from the given set of alternatives since *read 5 books* entails all the other alternatives. At the same time, the alternative *5 books* is the least likely alternative because reading *5 books* is the most unlikely situation (again from the given alternative set).

We conclude that *i* always associates with the least likely alternative and, simultaneously, the strongest alternative from the alternative set given by the context. Let’s focus on *ani* and check whether it associates with an alternative of the same type. Now, consider the example with *ani*.

Richard read.3SG.PST even one book
‘Richard hasn’t read even one book.’

We imagine the same context, but Richard is a lazy student now. The alternative set remains the same. However, we observe that *ani* associates with a different alternative...
than *i*. Let’s first analyze the entailment and likelihood relationships between the alternatives before we make a conclusion.

(8) a. the alternative set: {1 book, 2 books, 3 books, 4 books, 5 books}
    b. the entailment relationship: not read 1 book → not read 2 books →
       not read 3 books → not read 4 books → not read 5 books
    c. the likelihood relationship: not read 1 book < c not read 2 books <
       c not read 3 books < c not read 4 books < c not read 5 books

The proposition *Richard hasn’t read 1 book* entails the proposition *Richard hasn’t read 2 books* and so on, but not vice versa. And, at the same time, the alternative *not read 1 book* is the least likely alternative because *read 1 book* is the minimum you can do. Imagine that a student wants to pass an exam. Then, it is more likely (and highly recommended) to read 2 books than only 1 book. Consequently, the alternative *not read 1 book* is the strongest alternative since it entails all other alternatives and it is also the least likely alternative from the contextually given alternative set.

The fact that *ani* associates with the strongest and the least likely alternative as well as *i* is caused by the presence of negation in sentences containing *ani*. Negation intervenes between the F-marked expression and *even* and works as a scale reversing operator. In other words, negation reverses the scale of entailment and likelihood (for more technical details and formalizations see, e.g., Karttunen & Karttunen 1977 and Crnič 2011). Therefore, both *i* and *ani* associate with alternatives of the same type concerning entailment and likelihood, but the alternatives differ lexically.

The unified type of alternatives concerning entailment and likelihood for both *i* and *ani* is well theoretically justified. Moreover, Šafratová (2018) focused on adults and their perception of structures with Czech *even* and showed that Czech adults treat *i/ani* precisely as would be expected. Since *even* works with probability, which is part of pragmatics, the question that comes to mind is how and when adults learn how to use particles such as *even*. To solve this question we turned our attention to children and experimentally tested whether Czech children at a certain age have already acquired the particles *i/ani*. Note that the acquisition of *i/ani* is not affected by Czech language education because according to two main education programs for primary education in Czech (Rámcový vzdělávací program pro základní vzdělávání, Školní vzdělávací program), no explicit attention is paid to the particles in primary education. However, there is no study

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7 We are aware of the fact that this is not true since the proposition *Richard hasn’t read 1 book* may, of course, mean that *Richard has read 2 books*. However, this is not relevant for explaining how the entailment and likelihood work for the particle *even*. For more details, we refer readers to the theory of scalar alternatives (Sauerland 2004; Fox & Hackl 2006; Spector 2007, among others).
about the acquisition of polarity items in Czech children we could build our research on. That is why we follow two relevant experimental research studies on child acquisition of English even that are introduced in the next section. Our experiment is presented in section 4.

3. Child acquisition of English even

As far as we know there are only two experimental research studies on child acquisition of English even, and interestingly, the two research studies came to different results. Both experiments tested English even in both affirmative and negative sentences. To avoid confusion we call even in positive sentences simply even, and even in negative sentences not even.

3.1. Kim’s experiment

The first experiment was run by Kim (2011). She experimentally tested English even in two syntactic positions, namely the pre-subject position (9-a) and the pre-object position (9-b). We focus only on the results of even in the pre-object position since we tested Czech even in this syntactic position.

(9) a. Even Petr ate chocolate.
    b. Petr ate even chocolate.

Kim tested 30 English speaking children aged 4-5 using a “guess who game”. There were three pictures with even, and three pictures with not even, i.e. six tested pictures in total. Besides, there were six filler sentences and six control sentences to distract the children. The children were asked to listen to stories with pictures in such a way that the last sentence of a story contained even/not even. There were always three characters differing in size (the smallest one, the biggest one and a character of the middle size), and the task was to show the appropriate character in the picture based on the story. For instance, there was a picture of three different-size bears trying to reach a biscuit. Based on the pragmatic feature (height), children should have been able to recognize that the biggest bear has the greatest chance to reach the biscuit since the tested sentence contained not even.

Kim concludes from the experimental results that English children aged 4-5 have not acquired English even/not even yet. Moreover, the middle characters (options) did not appear as an answer at all. The number of children who answered correctly to each item and the total percentage of correct answers is in Table 1 (taken from Kim 2011: 96).
The question that comes to mind is why do English children have a problem with the usage of *even*? There are (at least) three possible answers or their combination: (i) The problem is lexical. Children have to learn the semantic meaning of *even*. (ii) The problem is syntactic. English *even* can stay quite freely in a sentence, unlike in Czech. (iii) The problem is pragmatic. *Even* has an unlikelihood presupposition and children have to count with the likelihood. Before we try to answer the question let’s have a look at the second experiment on English *even* and compare the results from both experiments.

### 3.2. MIT experiment

Following Kim (2011), Newman et al. (2018) asked the following research questions: (i) How do children think when considering sentences with *even*? (ii) Why did none of the children choose middle options? (iii) What happens when we change scalar types when choosing different options?

They tested English speaking children aged 3–6. There were 88 children participating in the experiment in total. The experiment included four different scales: reaching stories, lifting/wight stories, fitting stories, and filling/capacity stories. The scales are presented in more detail in section 4. The authors also used a “guess who game” by telling stories and pictures. There were four pictures with affirmative *even* and four pictures with negative *even* (*not even*), therefore eight pictures in total. Moreover, the experiment contained four sample filler stories.

The experiment shows the polarity effect between *even* and *not even*. Children were more successful in tested sentences with *not even*, see Figure 1 taken from Newman et al. (2018).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1. The correct answers</th>
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<td>Affirmative even</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Negative even (not even)</td>
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Surprisingly, middle responses appeared in the results of the experiment, unlike the results of Kim’s experiment. The results of MIT’s experiment show that children answered not only the left or right option but also the middle option. Middle responses also show the polarity effect, but the opposite, i.e. middle responses, appeared more in tested sentences with even, see Figure 2, taken from Newman et al. (2018).

Figure 1. A plot of the rate of adult-like responses by age group, separated by polarity

Figure 2. Middle responses decrease with age, and they decrease faster for negative even than positive even
Overall experimental results show that:
1. children were more successful in tested sentences with not even;
2. middle responses appeared more in tested sentences with even;
3. children consider the likelihood, i.e. the unlikelihood presupposition, for even/not even;
4. children’s usage of not even is close to the adults’ usage of it;
5. children acquire not even at around 4 years of age, whereas they acquire even at around 6 years of age.

It is evident that Newman et al. (2018) gained different results than Kim (2011). However, we follow both experiments in our research, especially concerning the design of the experiment. We were aware of the fact that the experimental results of Czech i/ani could differ from the results of English experiments because i and ani are lexically distinguished as opposed to only one lexical item even in English. To the best of our knowledge there is no research on children acquisition of Czech scalar particles i/ani, and therefore the experiment was designed as a “mapping territory” project.

4. Experiment
The main focus of our experiment was to find out whether children aged 7–10 have already acquired the i/ani particles in their scalar function. 20 children from grade 2, and 20 children from grade 4 took part. As stated above, when designing the experiment, we followed similarly oriented research, in particular the study by Kim (2011) and with the kind permission of the authors also the experiment developed by MIT linguists Newman et al. (2018).

Four hypotheses were stated:
• children in grade 2 will not have adult-like or similar understanding of i/ani expressions;
• children in grade 4 will have acquired i/ani expressions fully;
• there will be middle variants of the responses, especially in grade 2 children;
• there will be a difference in the acquisition of i and ani expressions.

4.1. Procedure and participants
We ran the experiment in two phases. In phase 1 we tested 20 adults to see whether our tasks are well designed and comprehensible and also to check whether the language phenomena we studied were fully acquired by adult speakers. In phase 2 we carried the experiment out with children (20 children age 7–10 from grade 2 and 20 children age 9-10 from grade 4). Children were chosen randomly by their teachers, parents had to provide their consent. The testing ran according to the same scenario as with the adults. Before the beginning they were informed about the form of the experiment – the pictures of animals in three different sizes and the task – to choose to which animal
the text relates to. The participants were not aware of the fact that they are taking part in research on scalar particles i/ani, neither were shown any training pictures so that they were not biased. The accompanying text was read aloud, however, children could also read it for themselves. Their answers were noted down into answer sheets without stating explicitly to the participants whether their answers were correct or not so that their answers were not influenced by this information. One experiment with one person took approximately 10 minutes.

4.2. Design and material
We adapted thematic story areas created by Newman et al. (2018) and used the same number of items. Furthermore, we profited from their experience with testing and thus avoided possible problems. We created our own unique illustrations (Bukovjan 2019) and texts including the tested expressions i/ani. The experiment consisted of two parts - the first part were stories testing i/ani, the second part were filler stories that were meant to distract the participants’ attention.

The individual pictures depicted animals of three different sizes in the given contextual situation (in the given thematic story) in the first experiment part. The context provided a pragmatics feature ensuring that only one animal should be chosen assuming that children interpret the sentences with i/ani pragmatically correctly.

The thematic story areas were as follows:
• Reaching stories: the motive is the effort to reach for something/somewhere;
• Lifting/weight stories: the motive is to try to pick up something;
• Fitting stories: the motive is to fit somewhere;
• Filling/capacity stories: the motive is an effort to fill something (e.g. a basket).

Every story area contained one picture testing the i-expression and one picture testing the ani-expression, there were 8 tested pictures together. An example of the illustrations and texts can be found below in Picture 1 and Picture 2.

Picture 1: V prodejně rybiček zkoušeli, jak velká rybka se vejde do skleněného stolního akvářia. Bylo tak prostorné, že se do něj vešla i Dona. Poznáš, která rybka je Dona?
‘In a fish shop they tried how big a fish could fit into a glass table aquarium. It was so spacious that even Dona could fit into it. Do you know which fish is Dona?’

‘Monkeys bet a bunch of bananas that they will be able to lift a large, heavy log from the ground. But the log was so heavy that even Rocky didn’t lift the log. Do you know which monkey is Rocky?’

In both examples of the test pictures, the accompanying text referred to the biggest animal (i.e. the biggest fish, the biggest monkey) because it is clear from the context that it is the least probable alternative (and with these the scalar particles bind). Generally speaking, the correct answers, however, were not only the biggest animals but also the smallest or the middle ones in the case of fillers. This is how we prevented the participants from guessing or seeing through the experiment.

In addition to tested pictures, we used four sample filler stories in the second part of the experiment. To prevent the children from observing a pattern in which the experiment works and find their own algorithm according to which they would answer, we ordered the pictures randomly so that two pictures of the same story category did not appear next to each other. All together there were 12 pictures accompanied by texts, i.e. 8 tested pictures and 4 filler pictures.

4.3. Results
The whole experiment was evaluated by several means ranging from the most ordinary descriptive statistics to proper statistical analyses using programming language R in RStudio. The responses were modeled in lmerTest, which is not a part of RStudio but it is a standard model and it was added as a package into the RStudio. By using such a wide range of statistical tools we tried to get as many pieces of information as possible. As to the results of the research carried out on adults – they were successful in completing
the task in almost 100%. Only in one case did an adult make a mistake probably due to lack of concentration rather than linguistic incompetence.

In children the results were as follows:

1. In the case of 100% success in all items testing /ani as well as the fillers, the results were:
   • grade 2: only 25% of children were 100% successful (5/20)
   • grade 4: 55% of children were 100% successful (11/20)

2. The results of 100% success in tested /ani items (all together):
   • grade 2: 30% of children were 100% successful
   • grade 4: 60% of children were 100% successful.

From this perspective it seems that children in grade 4 were two times more successful than children in grade 2. We also had a look at the number of mistakes made by children. Some of them made only one mistake which might have been caused by lack of attention or hesitation. In case we recalculated the results and included also the “1 mistake children” the success rate would increase a lot (especially in grade 2):
   • grade 2: 60% of children with almost 100% success
   • grade 4: 75% of children with almost 100% success

3. Success rate was further analysed for every even-variant separately – /i-variant and /ani-variant. The results showed a higher success rate in items testing understanding /i-variant in children from both grades. Both variants – /ani – were easier for children from grade 4, which might mean that they understand these expressions better. Nevertheless, the /i-expression success rate was 65% in grade 2, which already proves a very good understanding. On the other side, understanding /ani-expression was in grade 2 only 40%, which could mean that this expression is more difficult to acquire and is thus acquired later.

a) Results of items with /i:
   100% successful: a child correctly understood all items with /i
   • grade 2: 65% of children were 100% successful (13/20)
   • grade 4: 80% of children were 100% successful (16/20)

b) Results of items with /ani:
   100% successful: a child correctly understood all items with /ani
   • grade 2: 40% of children were 100% successful (8/20)
   • grade 4: 65% of children were 100% successful (13/20).

4) We also compared the results according to their success rate in individual story areas. Every picture was evaluated as to the success rate separately for /i- and /ani-expressions. This comparison showed a high success rate for both expressions and children in both grades seem to understand these two expressions well. Even though the partial results showed a difference between the two classes as well as the two expressions, the children responded correctly in about 80%.
Table 2. The success of children in each story in sentences with $i$. Story 1 = reaching stories, story 2 = lifting/weight stories, story 3 = fitting stories and story 4 = filling/capacity stories.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>story 1</th>
<th>story 2</th>
<th>story 3</th>
<th>story 4</th>
<th>in total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>grade 2</td>
<td>17/20</td>
<td>17/20</td>
<td>16/20</td>
<td>18/20</td>
<td>68/80</td>
<td>85 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grade 4</td>
<td>19/20</td>
<td>17/20</td>
<td>18/20</td>
<td>20/20</td>
<td>74/80</td>
<td>93 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. The success of children in each story in sentences with $ani$. Story 1 = reaching stories, story 2 = lifting/weight stories, story 3 = fitting stories and story 4 = filling/capacity stories.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>story 1</th>
<th>story 2</th>
<th>story 3</th>
<th>story 4</th>
<th>in total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>grade 2</td>
<td>12/20</td>
<td>15/20</td>
<td>20/20</td>
<td>16/20</td>
<td>63/80</td>
<td>79 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grade 4</td>
<td>15/20</td>
<td>18/20</td>
<td>20/20</td>
<td>16/20</td>
<td>69/80</td>
<td>86 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The preliminary summary is the following:

1) Children make fewer mistakes in sentences with $i$.
2) It is easier for children to understand sentences with $i$. Several possible explanations may affect the understanding of $i$. First, since $ani$ interacts with negation, it might make $ani$ more complex to understand. Second, the interaction with negation causes the reverse scale of likelihood and therefore both $i$ and $ani$ associate with the least likely alternative. Third, the correct understanding of $i$ and $ani$ depends on pragmatic abilities of children.
3) Children in both grade 2 and grade 4 have acquired both expressions $i$ and $ani$.

For getting a more detailed analysis we processed the obtained data in programming language RStudio. Answers were modified as follows:

- 1 – the expected responses (the least likely alternative)
- 0.5 – the middle option
- 0 – the opposite end of the scale (the most likely alternative).

To model the data we constructed a mixed linear model that tested whether the subjects’ answers can be predicted from a condition (fixed effect) and whether the conditions differed in their statistical significance. There were following conditions:

1) 2-i: sentences with $i$ in grade 2
2) 2-ani: sentences with $ani$ in grade 2

8 The attentive reader may notice that there is a relatively large difference between the success in story 1 and story 3. Looking at success in the stories, we see a big drop between story 1 and other stories. There is not much difference in success between other stories. Since only story 1 seems to be problematic for children, we blame this story 1 for failure. Even though story 1 was based on the same principle as the other stories, children may have seen a difference between story 1 and others or children just did not like the story. Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for raising this point.
3) 4-i: sentences with *i* in grade 4
4) 4-ani: sentences with *ani* in grade 4.

The success rate of responses depending on the conditions is between 0−1. The statistical differences between sentences with *i* and sentences with *ani* were modeled in *lmerTest*. The model had one predictor, i.e., the reference level condition: 2-ani. The success of the other conditions was measured against the reference level condition. The output of the model is reported in Table 4. The *t-value* states how big the difference between two conditions is, the *p-value* says how likely it is that the difference between the two conditions is random. As we can see from the results, no fixed effects were statistically significant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fixed effects:</th>
<th>Estimate</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>t value</th>
<th>p value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Intercept)</td>
<td>0.80000</td>
<td>0.05601</td>
<td>10.35250</td>
<td>14.283</td>
<td>3.81e-08 ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condition 2-i</td>
<td>0.06875</td>
<td>0.07754</td>
<td>9.60427</td>
<td>0.887</td>
<td>0.397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condition 4-ani</td>
<td>0.06875</td>
<td>0.05028</td>
<td>291.00007</td>
<td>1.367</td>
<td>0.173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condition 4-i</td>
<td>0.13125</td>
<td>0.07754</td>
<td>9.60427</td>
<td>1.693</td>
<td>0.123</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Signif. Codes: 0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1

Box plots of the individual conditions are shown in Figure 3. Means and medians of each condition are in Table 5.
The statistical analysis shows (i) that the mean success rate of tested sentences with \( i \) and \( ani \) was very high, (ii) that there is no statistical difference between grade 2 and grade 4 in sentences with \( i \), (iii) that there is no statistical difference between grade 2 and grade 4 in sentences with \( ani \), and last but not least (iv) that children aged 7-10 have already acquired both expressions \( i \) and \( ani \) and they understand the scale of likelihood (the pragmatic aspect).

5. Summary and conclusion
The experimental results show a tendency of children aged 7-10 to have already acquired \( i/ani \), which was proved by statistical analysis. Our initial four hypotheses were not confirmed. The experimental results show that children in grade 2 understand scalar expressions. Both \( i \) and \( ani \) are acquired approximately at the same time, although
children made fewer mistakes in sentences with \( i \). The middle options were marginal, which corresponds to Kim's (2011) finding. Even though there is only one lexical item \( \text{even} \) in English as opposed to Czech \( i/ani \), children have to learn the pragmatic aspect, i.e., the likelihood, in both languages. Moreover, children have to learn how the likelihood changes with respect to positive/negative sentences.

Since the particles are generally marginally included in the methodological plan for language education at primary schools, we assume that the acquisition of expressions \( i/ani \) depends on the individual development of the child's cognitive and pragmatic competences independently of language education. Getting to know how language is acquired is crucial for many areas connected to child development. In the current Czech linguistic environment and renewed interest in child language the main attention has been paid to pre-school age language acquisition, e.g. Smolík & Bláhová (2017); Smolík & Seidlová Máliková (2014); Saicová Římalová (2013); Doleží (2014); Mertins et al. (2014). It might seem that once children enter school there are not many things going on linguistically speaking. Opposite is the case, though. With our study we tried to contribute to the understanding of how later phases of acquisition work and support it by concrete results and analyses and not impressions. The results might have interesting implications for mother tongue as well as second or foreign language teaching in understanding whether, when and how to teach or confront children with particular linguistic phenomena so that they can master them fully. To see when and how exactly the \( i \)- and \( ani \)-expressions are acquired by Czech children we have to pay attention to younger children and carry out further research with first grade and pre-school age children.

References


Kim, S. 2011. Focus Particles at Syntactic, Semantic and Pragmatic Interfaces: The Acquisition of \( \text{only} \) and \( \text{even} \) in English [Unpublished PhD dissertation]. University of Hawaii at Manoa, Manoa.


Školní vzdělávací program pro základní vzdělávání ZŠ a MŠ Rovečné. 2015. Rovečné.

***

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Polish pre- and upper-intermediate learners’ opinions on the significance of linguistic and non-linguistic determinants of speech in developing their EFL speaking skill: A quantitative study

Abstract. Since “spontaneous verbal expression is not solely a product of knowledge and skill in using a language code” (Rivers 1968: 192), many scholars have emphasised the interdisciplinarity of the ability to speak. Having stressed the multifaceted character of speaking in the light of the selected linguistic and non-linguistic determinants of speech, we aim to explore Polish learners’ opinions on what components underlying a speech production process influence their ability to speak English. The quantitative study that we conducted among the group of 66 Polish EFL secondary school and university students revealed that out of 12 linguistic and non-linguistic determinants of speech, the knowledge of FL vocabulary and culture were respectively judged to be the most and least relevant. Even though some statistical differences in pre- and upper-intermediate students’ choices were keenly anticipated, between-group comparisons of A2 and B2 level subjects’ answers did not render any statistically significant similarities or differences.

Keywords: FL speaking, EFL pre-intermediate speakers, EFL upper-intermediate speakers, linguistic determinants of speech, non-linguistic determinants of speech, learners’ opinions, Polish EFL classroom.

1. Introduction
With the growing importance of English as a lingua franca and a high utility of speaking in communication, interaction as well as knowledge sharing and building, many researchers have underlay a decisive role of oral proficiency in EFL instruction.
(Bailey 2003; Boonkit 2010; Brown & Yule 1983; Byrne 1976; Chastain 1971; Dakowska 2005; Daszkiewicz et al. 2018; Hinkel 2006; Komorowska 2005; Lazaraton 2001; Nation 2011; Thornbury 2006). Nevertheless, the mastery of the ability to speak in a foreign language (FL) requires a range of issues to be addressed and explored in classroom contexts – including linguistic and non-linguistic determinants of speech, which can be further categorised into student- (e.g.: knowledge of the target language, TL, vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation, intercultural competence, personality traits, motivation, age of onset, exposure to the TL), teacher- (e.g.: qualifications and teaching expertise, teaching and learning materials, teachers’ attitudes towards the teaching of speaking) and context- (e.g.: differences between L1 and FL culture, the role of the TL in the community, language examinations and their influence on teaching) related factors – therefore, fluent and accurate production of spoken language poses many challenges to FL instructors and learners, who frequently refer to speaking as the least teachable and learnable language ability (Bailey 2003; Byrne 1976; Thornbury 2005; Pawlak 2011).

For the purpose of the present paper, we would like to limit the scope of the discussion to EFL learners by providing an overview of student-related linguistic and non-linguistic determinants of speech (e.g.: Bailey 2003; Boonkit 2010; Brown 2001; Bygate 1987, 2009; Canale & Swain 1980; Chastain 1971; Erdonmez 2014; Goh 2007; Goh & Burns 2012; Levelt 1989; Nation 2011; Nerlicki 2011; Savignon 1976; Thornbury 2005; Wilson 2014). In order to find out what the significance of selected factors as perceived by EFL students in a Polish instructional context is, we carry out a quantitative study with an intention of examining pre- and upper-intermediate learners’ views on the importance of the linguistic and non-linguistic aspects underlying their ability to speak English. The goal of the study is, first, to reveal which of the 12 factors is judged to be the most and least significant by the secondary school and university students, and, second, to find out whether any correlation between the age, the level of the respondents’ proficiency and their choices can be observed.

The objectives of the paper are threefold: (1) to provide a literature review on speaking skill in the light of student-related determinants of FL speech, (2) to describe the results of the study conducted among secondary school and university students, and (3) to discuss pedagogical implications of our research with reference to the teaching of EFL speaking in a Polish classroom.

2. Speaking and student-related determinants of FL speech

In the literary investigations devoted to the study of FL speech, it has been a common procedure to juxtapose the productive oral skill, speaking, with its productive written sister skill, writing. The most noticeable difference between the two is said to lie in the medium used with the former, auditory, discussed at the level of phonemes
and the latter, visual, requiring the use of graphemes (e.g.: Bailey 2003: 48; Thornbury 2005: 2). Such a distinction conditions not only the temporary versus permanent character of spoken and written texts, but also their organisation which is governed by para-linguistic/non-verbal resources and punctuation respectively. Some differences between speaking and writing that point to the simplicity of the former have been also identified. Spoken and written texts are characterised by distinctive syntactical and lexical structures. While speech is known for a repetitive use of selected linguistic forms, the relationships between sentences are more complex, resulting in an extensive use of subordinate clauses in writing. The majority of vocabulary used by native speakers is organised at the very basic level of cognition with non-specific nouns, such as *stuff, sort of or you know*, constituting a large part of everyday speech (Brown & Yule 1983: 9).

Even though a seemingly less demanding structure of spoken language with regard to grammar and vocabulary seems to work to the speakers’ advantage, the complexity of a speech production process has been one of the critical issues concerning FL speaking. Since the processes of planning and speaking usually take place simultaneously, the burden is placed on speakers’ cognitive and linguistic resources because, following Levelt’s (1989) monolingual model of speech production, they have to, first, conceptualise, then, formulate and, finally, produce speech. Oral language is produced in real time and an utterance is based on the preceding one what conditions the contingency, spontaneity, instantaneity, reciprocity, transience and temporariness of speech, *ergo*, speakers are expected to concurrently apply different kinds of knowledge, including the knowledge of subject matter, language as well as sounds and prosody (Bygate 1987; Pawlak 2011; Thornbury 2005, 2006; Tonkyn 2000; Wilson 2014).

Apart from speaking- versus writing-oriented considerations of the ability to speak, frequent references to speaking as a combination of different types of knowledge and subskills have been made:

> A description of the characteristics of speaking in a foreign language can be approached from different angles, but typically it is conceptualized in terms of two interrelated facets, that is the various types of knowledge that learners possess and their expertise in adeptly using this knowledge in real communication (Pawlak 2011: 5).

One of the trends concerning the analysis of FL speaking has traditionally centred on the presentation of language-related aspects of speech production. Foreign Language Teaching (FLT) theoreticians and practitioners have been unanimous in describing the role of the FL grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation in developing speaking (Chastain 1971: 338-342; Brown 2001: 272; Bygate 2009: 565; Boonkit 2010: 1306; Brown & Bown 2014: 61-63; Erdonmez 2014: 40-41; Goh 2007: 5; Tarone 2005: 498; Gilakjani 2011: 74; Wilson 2014: 18-19). Nonetheless, some have claimed that declarative
knowledge of a FL is not satisfactory in the context of oral proficiency since both accuracy and fluency underlie speaking (Gower et al. 1995: 99; Levelt 1989: 10; Nation & Newton 2009: 152). Probably the most convincing explanation for their significance in acquiring the ability to speak is offered by Bygate (1987, 3) who draws an analogy between an act of learning to speak and drive a car. Following that line of reasoning, those who produce speech as well as those who operate a vehicle are obliged to acquire, first, declarative knowledge, for instance, how sentences are built or uttered and a car’s wheel is steered and, second, procedural knowledge how to perform these tasks in real life situations.

The concept of communicative competence discussed in the context of Communicative Language Teaching by, among others, Savignon (1976) has revealed the complexity of speaking which is by no means limited to linguistic competence. Apart from fluent and accurate oral performance, successful production of a spoken language requires the use of strategies, which adjusted to a culture-specific context, help speakers appropriately manage conversational turns. By way of illustration, Savignon (1976) argues that communicative competence:

requires much more than a knowledge of the linguistic code. The native speaker knows not only how to say something but what to say and when to say it. The linguistic features of an exchange are embedded in a cultural context which includes the role of the speaker in a particular context, the roles of the other participants and a host of non-verbal communication cues such as distance, posture, gestures, facial expressions (Savignon 1976: 4).

2 Accuracy and fluency have attracted a lot of attention in the field of FLT. While the former shares some similarities with the concept of knowledge, involving the mastery of language subsystems, that is grammar, lexis and pronunciation, the latter concerns spontaneous oral language performance in which more attention is paid to the meaning conveyed in an utterance rather than its form (Bailey 2003; Jong & Perfetti 2011; Leon & Cely 2010). The relationship between these two concepts is an intricate one because learners’ attempts to improve their speech in terms of grammatical, lexical or phonological correctness usually have a negative impact on their fluency. Similarly, speakers’ excessive preoccupation with the communication of their message might put at stake the accuracy of their utterances. Alternatively, a pair of notions, what learners know and what learners do, discussed by Thornbury (2005: 1), can be applied to maintain a close link with the concepts discussed above.

3 In his more recent publication, Bygate (2009: 415) divides theoretical and practical knowledge into that of phonology, lexis, grammar and discourse. The latter, or procedural knowledge, denotes knowledge “how to” and enables the processing of the former, or declarative knowledge, to take place, which, on the other hand, stands for encyclopaedic knowledge of concepts, lexis and situational discourse (Bot 1992: 3).

4 Canale and Swain (1980: 27) make a distinction between grammatical, sociolinguistic and strategic competences in their conceptualisation of communicative competence. The first, grammatical competence – similarly to the concepts of accuracy or declarative knowledge – highlights the importance of syntactical, phonological and morphological structures in speaking. The remaining two, sociolinguistic and strategic competences, describe speakers’ abilities, first, to use appropriate language forms
Goh (2007) provides a slightly different, because skills-oriented, approach to FL speaking, putting forward the concept of speaking competence and discussing it from the perspective of (1) phonological skills, (2) speech function skills, (3) interaction management skills and (4) extended discourse organisation skills. The first subcategory suggests that successful FL speakers should be prepared to operate at the level of phonemes. Since the fundamental property which underlies FL speaking is the learners’ familiarity with the sound structure of the TL and the knowledge how to pronounce words, speakers are expected to know how to articulate sounds of a given language or, more importantly, use proper intonation to convey intended meanings of their communiques\(^5\). The second component, speech function skills, directs speakers attention to the goals of communication. Since “in learning a second language, one must learn more than pronunciation, the lexical items, the appropriate word order; one must also learn the appropriate way to use those words and sentences in the second language” (Gass & Selinker 2001: 243), FL speakers ought to be equipped with the interlanguage pragmatics, the concept which stands for the pragmatic knowledge. It enables one to produce language whose form is adjusted to the function it ought to serve in a given situation. The third element of speaking competence concerns interaction management skills\(^6\). Having mastered the abilities underlying the set of skills in question, speakers initiate a conversation, sustain it for a desired period of time, and, eventually, end it in an entirely appropriate manner. In a similar vein, Brown & Bown (2014) analyse speech from the point of view of public speaking. The scholars refer to three responsibilities of speakers, that is construction, framing and deconstruction, each of which refers to a different set of abilities to be possessed by speakers. Considering the guidelines referred to by Brown and Bown (2014), learners are expected to construct new ideas, (1) construction, input them to general discussion, (2) framing, and, if necessary, refute other interlocutors’ propositions, (3) deconstruction, by communicating counterarguments and providing solutions. The fourth component of Goh’s (2007) speaking

\(^5\) Tarone (2005) puts into the centre of attention FL learners’ phonology, referred to as interlanguage phonology, stating that a FL learner is obliged to learn how to correctly pronounce each individual phoneme of the TL, and, next, to be able to follow the so-called allophonic rules and appropriately change the sounds to adapt them to a given context. For instance, in British English voiced plosives /b, d, g/ are fully voiced when they occur between two voiced sounds whereas they are partially voiced in word-initial and word-final positions. Native speakers of Polish learning English as a FL are accustomed to devoicing the word-final voiced sounds and, thus, they find it difficult to maintain the partial voicing of sounds in word-final positions.

\(^6\) In the majority of cases, excluding instances of lecturing or giving public presentations, speaking is not synonymous with a monologue, but instead it is based on turn-taking, in which the reception of a spoken language, listening, intermingles with actual production of speech, speaking.
competence framework includes extended discourse organisation skills. It helps speakers function as competent speakers who are able to make themselves heard and understood. The very asset to the set of skills in question is that once mastered, they enable speakers to produce and structure coherent and cohesive utterances in such a way that their messages are comprehensible to other interlocutors.

Similarly, Erdonmez (2014) foregrounds the significance of (1) mechanics, (2) functions as well as (3) social and cultural rules and norms, three prerequisites to spontaneous conversation. Each of them is later divided into more specific subcategories. Mechanics, for instance, involve the notions of grammar, lexis, pronunciation, expressive devices and connected speech. Functions concern negotiation of meaning whereas rules and norms refer to, first, conversational rules and structure, such as turn-taking or the rate of speech, and, second, conversational strategies, including paraphrasing, approximation, asking or checking.

Since an individual’s speech is instantly evaluated by other speakers, speaking is not only a linguistic matter. It, in fact, touches upon a psychological and emotional sphere of human life because “in many contexts, people judge a language user ‘at face value’ upon speaking skill” (Erdonmez 2014: 40). As a result, it is common to make assumptions about other interlocutors on the basis of the quality of their speech. Therefore, the field of psychology has proven to be a primary source of insights into the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and FLT with students’ emotions, identity and personality traits claimed to determine the success or failure in learning a FL. It has been repeatedly confirmed that FL speaking is the most emotional language skill. This is exemplified in Bogdanowska-Jakubowska’s (2013) study carried out among MA students whose task was to prepare and present a presentation in front of their classmates and MA supervisor. What the results of the research point to is that student-presenters tend to experience the so-called stage fright since an act of performing in public is believed to be a stressful experience.

One of the psychological concepts frequently investigated in the context of the productive oral skill is willingness to communicate (WTC). It originated in the study of L1 speakers’ fondness towards speaking and it is connected with both production modes,

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7 A similar classification of the features of speech to that of Erdonmez’s (2014) is encapsulated in Brown and Bown’s work (2014), who investigate the ability to speak from the perspective of debates. They discuss a variety of speech-influencing factors, including pronunciation, fluency, vocabulary, grammatical accuracy, knowledge of tasks as well as sociolinguistic and cultural appropriateness (Brown & Bown 2014: 61-63), maintaining that it is not only linguistic, but also the socio-cultural knowledge that ensure successful speaking.

8 Tarone (2005) stresses the importance of suprasegmental phonetics, or stress, intonation and rhythm, in FL learners’ interlanguage since prosodic features are frequently believed to be the main source of judgement, conditioning the perception of speakers’ linguistic proficiency.
speaking and writing in a FL (Piechurska-Kuciel 2011a: 239). It is defined as readiness to engage in written or oral communication which is conditioned by, among others, learners’ anxiety⁹, their cultural background, the topic of a written or oral assignment¹⁰ as well as the ethnolinguistic vitality¹¹ of the TL (cf. Figure 1).

Figure 1. Willingness to communicate (WTC) pyramid model
(taken from MacIntyre et al. 1998: 547)

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⁹ Pawlak (2011: 153) states that anxiety is a complex concept whose influence has a serious impact on learning events. Acknowledging the results of previous studies as well as the findings of his own research, Nerlicki (2011: 134), who investigates the topic of speaking-related anxiety among Polish students of Germanic studies, concludes that this problem occurs when speakers face communicative acts. Goh and Burns (2012: 27) also refer the problem of language anxiety, comparing an act of speaking to a considerably unpleasant and unwanted experience.

¹⁰ If it is does not match the interests of students, there is every likelihood that they will remain silent, at the same time withdrawing from the participation in the discussion (Rivers 1968).

¹¹ Ethnolinguistic vitality should be taken into account while considering the level of EFL WTC since it determines learners’ attitude towards the FL community. Languages characterised by high ethnolinguistic vitality gain greater prestige and attract more speakers in contrast to less popular languages (MacIntyre 2004). Nowadays, English, as a global lingua franca, outranks other less prominent languages, such as, for instance, Polish. Therefore, the higher status of the English language suggests that Polish EFL students are more likely to participate in communication in English with a view to becoming a part of a more prestigious community.
As seen in the figure above, WTC is a complex psychological construct which is highly dependent upon the speakers, context and language. This can be seen in Piechurska-Kuciel’s (2011b) study examining the effect of self-perceived FL skills on the strength of WTC in Polish EFL secondary grammar school students. She found out that the subjects’ degree of WTC positively correlates with their own perceptions of the level of their FL skills. The results of the questionnaires conducted among 278 students of English demonstrate that the subjects communicate with increased self-confidence, lowered language anxiety and improved WTC provided that they report higher levels of their self-perceived FL skills.

Far from being exhaustive, Table 1 offers an overview of selected student-related linguistic and non-linguistic factors in FL speaking.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Student-related determinants of speech</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chastain (1971)</td>
<td>knowledge of FL pronunciation, knowledge of FL vocabulary, knowledge of FL grammar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savignon (1976)</td>
<td>communicative competence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canale &amp; Swain (1980)</td>
<td>grammatical competence, sociolinguistic competence, strategic competence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bygate (1987)</td>
<td>theoretical knowledge, practical knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levelt (1989)</td>
<td>declarative knowledge, procedural knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gower et al. (1995)</td>
<td>accuracy, fluency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown (2001)</td>
<td>sixteen microskills, i.e.: segmental and suprasegmental phonetics, fluency, pragmatics, knowledge of FL grammar, knowledge of FL vocabulary, cohesion, turn-taking, nonverbal clues, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linnebrick &amp; Pintrich (2003)</td>
<td>self-efficacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarone (2005)</td>
<td>segmental phonetics, suprasegmental phonetics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thornbury (2005)</td>
<td>what learners know, what learners do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Student-related determinants of speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Goh (2007)                      | phonological skills  
speech function skills  
interaction management skills  
discourse organizational skills |
| Bygate (2009)                   | knowledge of phonological features  
knowledge of lexico-grammatical features  
knowledge of discourse features |
| Boonkit (2010)                  | knowledge of FL pronunciation  
knowledge of FL vocabulary  
knowledge of FL collocations |
| Gilakjani (2011)                | knowledge of FL pronunciation |
| Nation (2011)                   | knowledge of FL pronunciation  
knowledge of FL vocabulary  
knowledge of FL grammar  
sociolinguistic competence |
| Nerlicki (2011)                 | language anxiety  
self-construct |
| Piechurska-Kuciel (2011a, 2011b) | willingness to communicate (WTC)  
language anxiety  
self-efficacy |
| Goh & Burns (2012)              | language anxiety |
| Brown & Bown (2014)             | knowledge of FL pronunciation  
fluency  
knowledge of FL vocabulary  
grammatical accuracy  
knowledge of tasks  
sociolinguistic and cultural appropriateness |
| Erdonmez (2014)                 | mechanics  
functions  
social and cultural rules |
| Mills (2014)                    | motivation |
| Rubio (2014)                    | motivation  
self-concept  
self-esteem |
| Wilson (2014)                   | linguistic correctness  
appropriate behaviour |
| Daszkiewicz et al. (2018)       | personality traits |
Having presented the selected student-related determinants of speech, it is justified to claim that speaking is the most problematic skill to be sharpened. The specificity of the language skill under discussion, different kinds of knowledge and subskills as well as a highly emotional character of FL speech production are said to be the main culprits responsible for posing grave problems with speaking. For the purpose of the current quantitative study, we would like to focus on 12 student-related linguistic, cultural, cognitive, psychological and socio-psychological determinants of EFL speech – knowledge of FL grammar, vocabulary and culture, TL pronunciation, topic of the discussion, fear of other people’s assessment and mistakes, WTC, self-confidence as well as extrinsic and intrinsic motivation – and their importance in EFL speaking as perceived by the secondary school and university students.

3. The quantitative study
Below there is the description of the study with regard to its goals, participants, procedure, instruments and results.

3.1. Goals
In contrast to a vast quantity of empirical research done with the aim of investigating the influence of linguistic or non-linguistic constructs on the production of FL speech, there is a scarcity of studies conducted with an intention of assessing their significance in speaking as perceived by students. Due to the shortage of learner-centred investigations concerning their ability to speak in Polish EFL educational contexts, this small-scale quantitative study aimed to demonstrate the relevance of 12 linguistic and non-linguistic determinants from the perspective of pre- and upper-intermediate students of English. Two research questions guided this study:

RQ1. Which of 12 factors was judged to be the most and least relevant in EFL speaking as reported by the secondary school and university students?

RQ2. Was any correlation between the age, the level of the respondents’ proficiency and their choices found?

3.2. Participants
The study was conducted with the learners from Kazimierz Wielki Secondary School and The Maria Curie-Skłodowska University (MCSU) in Lublin, Poland during the 2019/2020 academic year. In total, 91 Polish EFL first-grade secondary school pupils and first-year students from the English Department at MCSU participated in the pre-study.
3.3. Instruments

Two quantitative methods, New Enterprise Placement Test\textsuperscript{12} and a questionnaire, were adopted. The former consisted of 100 closed-item questions which aimed to evaluate the participants’ knowledge of grammar and vocabulary as well as their comprehension of written texts. Its results were later used to divide the test-takers into two groups. The aim of the questionnaire, on the other hand, was to examine the subjects’ views on the significance of selected linguistic and non-linguistic factors in their EFL oral proficiency. In the first section, the respondents were to provide information concerning their schooling, age and gender. In the second part, using a five-point Likert scale, they assessed their frequency of FL speech production inside and outside instructed settings and judged the relevance of student-related linguistic (knowledge of FL grammar and vocabulary, TL pronunciation), cultural (knowledge of the TL culture), cognitive (topic of the discussion), socio-psychological (fear of other people’s assessment, WTC) and psychological (fear of lexico-grammatical mistakes, fear of pronunciation mistakes, self-confidence, motivation) determinants of EFL speech. The questionnaire was written in the subjects’ L1, that is Polish.

3.4. Procedure

In the pre-study, the students were given 45 minutes to take a placement test. The maximum number of points that they could get was 100 points, including 55 points for grammar, 25 points for lexis and 25 points for reading comprehension. The majority of secondary school pupils scored between 35 to 60 points, which means that they were assigned to the A2 level group while the university students achieved more than 90 points on average and, therefore, they were allocated to the B2 level group. Out of 91 EFL learners who participated in the first stage of the study, 66 students, that is 33 pre-intermediate secondary school learners and 33 upper-intermediate university students, obtained the intended scores. The two groups differed with respect to a number of variables (cf. Table 2) and comparing them was particularly interesting since between-group differences were expected to be found.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major differences</th>
<th>Teenage learners</th>
<th>Students of English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>14-16 years old</td>
<td>19-21 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level of TL proficiency</td>
<td>pre-intermediate (A2 level)</td>
<td>upper-intermediate (B2 level)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{12} Taken from https://egis.com.pl/pl/newenterprise/placementtest

Table 2. Comparison of the two groups of subjects (n=66)
In the study proper, the participants were requested to fill in the questionnaire. It took them approximately 10 minutes to provide answers to the questions asked in the survey.

### 3.5. Results

The respondents’ answers were counted and then analysed by means of the programme STATISTICA. Two types of operations were performed, descriptive statistics, the mean, median and SD, and inferential statistics, the nonparametric Mann-Whitney U test.

Sixty-six Polish EFL learners, including 41 girls and 25 boys, filled in the questionnaire. The average age of secondary school and university students was 15,2 and 19,5 respectively. Their answers revealed a statistical difference between A2 and B2 level students’ frequency of FL speech production inside (p<0,01) and outside (p<002) instructed settings, with the students from the English Department speaking English more often than secondary school learners.

The results of the survey indicated that the knowledge of vocabulary, self-confidence and WTC were assessed to be the most significant by the subjects (n=66). Slight differences between the means and medians concerning the knowledge of grammar (±0,57), self-confidence (±0,81) and WTC (±0,80) could be noticed. On the other hand, as seen in the table below, the knowledge of the TL culture and community was judged to be the least important by the Polish speakers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major differences</th>
<th>Teenage learners</th>
<th>Students of English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amount of exposure to spoken English</td>
<td>six hours of English lessons a week</td>
<td>approx. 25 hours of classes conducted in English a week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of exposure</td>
<td>one English teacher provides one speaking and pronunciation model</td>
<td>many teachers with various speaking and pronunciation models</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount of speaking practice</td>
<td>all four language skills are practised during one class</td>
<td>specific course devoted to speaking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount of phonetic instruction and training</td>
<td>limited to occasional practice</td>
<td>specific course in theoretical and practical phonetic training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal of learning</td>
<td>basic communication with foreigners/passing the Matura exam</td>
<td>becoming English-language professionals: teachers and interpreters</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3. Means, medians and SD presenting the significance of 12 linguistic and non-linguistic factors as reported by the respondents (n=66)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Median</th>
<th>Min.</th>
<th>Max.</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F_1 – Knowledge of FL grammar</td>
<td>4.03</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F_2 – Knowledge of FL vocabulary</td>
<td>4.64</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F_3 – Knowledge of FL culture</td>
<td>2.26</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F_4 – FL pronunciation</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F_5 – Topic of the discussion</td>
<td>3.76</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F_6 – Fear of other people's assessment</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F_7 – Fear of lexico-grammatical mistakes</td>
<td>3.36</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F_8 – Fear of pronunciation mistakes</td>
<td>3.47</td>
<td>3,5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F_9 – Self-confidence</td>
<td>4.27</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F_10 – WTC</td>
<td>4.39</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F_11 – Extrinsic motivation</td>
<td>4.21</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F_12 – Intrinsic motivation</td>
<td>3.48</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1 presents the respondents’ choices made with reference to their evaluation of 12 EFL determinants of speech. The students unequivocally stressed the importance of lexical knowledge (F_2) and such psychological constructs as self-confidence (F_9) and WTC (F_10). The chart also clearly shows the weak position of culture (F_3) in comparison to other factors.
Having provided an answer to RQ1, it is worth drawing a comparison between the two groups of students, RQ2, with regard to their perception of the 12 factors. Even though some statistical differences in secondary school and university students’ answers were anticipated, the mean score comparisons did not render any statistically relevant contrasts between the respondents’ choices since U Mann-Whitney test was not relevant (cf. Table 3).

It is useful, however, to compare the answers provided by Group A2 (n=33) and Group B2 (n=33). As shown in Table 4, the mean levels and other statistics were calculated for the two groups. First of all, the knowledge of TL vocabulary (F_2) and culture (F_3), fear of assessment (F_6) and extrinsic motivation (F_11) got similar students’ answers with vocabulary and culture being regarded respectively as the most and least relevant factors. The students mostly disagreed on the negative influence of pronunciation mistakes (F_8) and self-confidence (F_9). To be more specific, from the perspective of B2 level students, the fear of pronunciation mistakes was more significant in their EFL speaking than it was for secondary school students. At the same time, secondary school students believed that self-confidence was more relevant in their EFL speaking than it was for university students.

| Table 4. Means, medians, SD and between-group comparisons of the significance of 12 linguistic and non-linguistic factors assessed by pre-intermediate, A2, (n=33) and upper-intermediate, B2, (n=33) learners |
|---------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mean | Median | Min. | Max. | SD | p | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| F_1 | 3.85 | 4.21 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 1.12 | 0.86 | 0.213991 |
| F_2 | 4.61 | 4.67 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 0.61 | 0.54 | 0.746754 |
| F_3 | 2.15 | 2.36 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 0.91 | 1.17 | 0.528660 |
| F_4 | 3.97 | 4.27 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 1.07 | 0.84 | 0.275191 |
| F_5 | 3.85 | 3.67 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 0.94 | 1.16 | 0.615568 |
| F_6 | 3.30 | 3.30 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 1.49 | 1.38 | 0.963312 |
| F_7 | 3.42 | 3.30 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 1.25 | 1.24 | 0.640024 |
| F_8 | 3.52 | 3.42 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 1.23 | 1.15 | 0.741212 |
| F_9 | 4.42 | 4.12 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 0.75 | 0.86 | 0.126807 |
| F_10 | 4.42 | 4.36 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 0.75 | 0.86 | 0.908408 |
| F_11 | 4.21 | 4.21 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 0.82 | 0.93 | 0.862564 |
| F_12 | 3.61 | 3.36 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 1.12 | 1.25 | 0.504112 |

F_1 – Knowledge of FL grammar; F_2 – Knowledge of FL vocabulary; F_3 – Knowledge of FL culture; F_4 – FL pronunciation; F_5 – Topic of the discussion; F_6 – Fear of other people’s assessment; F_7 – Fear of lexico-grammatical mistakes; F_8 – Fear of pronunciation mistakes; F_9 – Self-confidence; F_10 – WTC; F_11 – Extrinsic motivation; F_12 – Intrinsic motivation.
3.5. Discussion
The trend that emerged in the subjects’ answers provided by them in the questionnaires is clearly indicative of their uninformed and, hence, incomplete outlook on a successful speech production process in the TL. Out of the three components underlying the FL knowledge, grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation, it was lexical knowledge that was assessed to be the most relevant in developing EFL speaking. It is surprising that in spite of the varying levels of the respondents’ language proficiency (A2 versus B2) and the distinct type of instruction (secondary school versus university), no statistically significant difference in the means between the students’ choices concerning the relevance of pronunciation in EFL speech production, 3.97 versus 4.27, was shown. Since sounds are “produced in a continuous stream, with many different vocal organs involved concurrently, such that the articulation of one sound will affect the articulation of its neighbours” (Thornbury 2005: 5), the key components which are said to condition learners’ ability to produce and comprehend oral language concern the mastery of individual sounds, stress, rhythm and intonation (Lazaraton 2001: 103). Correspondingly, FL learners’ awareness of the significance of good pronunciation, the issue of intelligibility as well as the perception of foreign accent in non-native speech by other interlocutors should be gradually increased in EFL classrooms on account of the fact that poor pronunciation rather than lexical or grammatical knowledge causes the most serious breakdowns in communication (Gilakjani 2011: 2; Nation 2011: 448; Nation & Newton 2009: 75).

Despite the fact that FL speakers “should not only form grammatically correct sentences, but also use these sentences in appropriate social contexts taking into account the cultural background and social status of the interlocutors” (Erdonmez 2014: 40), the subjects’ displayed almost complete insensitivity towards cultural aspects in their FL learning. The intricate relationship between culture, language and communication has been studied by Hofstede (1991: 14), who makes a distinction between (1) small versus large power distance, (2) individualism versus collectivism, (3) masculinity versus femininity, (4) uncertainty avoidance and (5) long versus short-term orientation, each of which is believed to affect the ways in which people communicate. Even though such insights provide accurate reflection of the close connection between language and culture, both secondary school and university students disregarded the role of the latter in developing their EFL speaking. Therefore, the clash between the respondents’ indifference towards cultural aspects in FLT and their factual practical importance in communication ought to be decisive in changing students’ attitude towards the treatment of cultural aspects in EFL classrooms.

The participants’ tendency to assess the socio-psychological and psychological determinants of speech as considerably significant was in line with the results of research which view speaking as a highly emotional act. Khan and Khattak (2011) and Nerlicki (2011) who investigated language anxiety explain that the fear of speaking occurs
when learners attempt to speak in a FL, concluding that there is a positive relationship between anxiety and failure in learning. In spite of the differences in the level of the EFL proficiency (A2 versus B2 level), the amount of exposure to English (six hours versus 25 hours or more) and the university students’ increased production of oral output, the participants’ choices with reference to the evaluation of psychological constructs were generally consistent. Both A2 and B2 level students regarded the psychological construct connected with the presence of other interactants as important in their EFL speaking, proving that regardless of non-native speakers’ FL linguistic competence, speaking causes natural language anxiety. Since the lower the speakers’ self-esteem, the more problems they have with communicating in a FL (Rubio 2014: 48), it is necessary to exploit every classroom situation to provoke positive feelings and improve the students’ self-efficacy beliefs.

4. Conclusion

Having enumerated some facets of FL speech production, it becomes evident that the mastery of the skill of speaking is a multidimensional, hence an intricate task for the majority of EFL learners. Speaking is harder and more stressful than the remaining language skills due to a number of reasons. Owing to time constraints and, for instance, simultaneous processes of conceptualisation, formulation and articulation, FL speakers may suffer considerable cognitive, linguistic and emotional hardship since under time pressure they are expected to produce coherent and cohesive speech of different lengths or rates of delivery with the help of grammatical, lexical, sound and discourse structures. It can be, thus, proposed that speaking can be discussed from a variety of perspectives, including linguistic, psychological, interactionist and socio-cultural views on the process of speech production, which raise a series of issues touched on in the present paper.

Taking into account the instruments and procedure of the preliminary small scale study, there are certain limitations that need to be acknowledged. Firstly, the measure used to collect the data in the pre-study, the placement test, did not assess the subjects’ oral proficiency. The sole criterion applied to divide the students into two groups was the results of the test which took into account the students’ linguistic competence limited to two language subsystems, grammar and vocabulary, and one language skill, reading. Secondly, there is the problem of self-reported data obtained from the questionnaires whose validity can be questioned owing to the fact that no other method – for instance, open-ended questions, in which students could write their own answers, or interviews – was adopted and, consequently, no triangulation took place.

The results of our study cannot be generalised. Nevertheless, they provide a good account of how EFL speech production was approached by the Polish pre- and upper-intermediate learners. Their perception of FL speaking was highly limited since
the majority of the subjects seemed largely ignorant about the key determinants of speech, including, most importantly, English sounds and prosody as well as EFL culture. Vocabulary- and grammar-oriented instruction is necessary, nevertheless it should not occupy the whole classroom time since there is an abundance of other factors about whose influence FL speakers should be aware of. Thus, we are convinced that the learner-oriented investigations of EFL speaking should be further pursued in Polish educational environments with an intention of raising learners’ awareness about the importance of a range of factors in developing their EFL speaking skill. With the support of learner-centred insights into FL speaking combined with theoretical considerations and the results of empirical research, a more effective, conscious and successful FL education for both teachers and learners can take place.

References


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Klaudia Gajewska is a PhD candidate at The Maria Curie-Sklodowska University and an English teacher in a secondary school in Lublin, Poland. Her research interests
centre around Second Language Acquisition and Foreign Language Teaching with a special emphasis placed on examining the relationship between the productive skill of speaking and its subskill, pronunciation.
Teacher identity and agency in language teaching: Adult ESL instructors as explorers

Abstract. As the world becomes more globalized, various social, cultural, and historical contexts are shaping teacher identities. Exploring teacher identities is essential in understanding experiences, interactions, and beliefs that influence language teachers’ practices inside and outside the classroom (Farrell 2011). This narrative study, conducted in a large urban community college located in the southeastern region of the United States, engaged seven adult ESL instructors in critical reflection on their assumptions, teaching, personal experiences, and an institutional environment. Data collection included semi-structured interviews, classroom observations, journal entries, and classroom observations, including notes about artifacts used in the lessons. The findings of this study highlight the relationship between teacher identity and agency in teaching culturally and linguistically diverse learners. Participants characterized themselves as explorers, who valued various cultural experiences and acted agentively to create culturally responsive lessons and an enriching learning environment. These findings have significant implications for language teacher training and further research.

Keywords: language teacher identity, language teacher agency, language teaching, adult ESL, culturally and linguistically diverse learners.

1. Introduction
With a growing immigrant population in the United States, the number of English as a Second Language (ESL) classes in higher education institutions has been steadily increasing. The Community College Consortium for Immigrant Education (2015) reported that adult ESL instruction is the largest and fastest-growing section of the adult education system in the United States. More than 40 percent of students are enrolled in adult ESL programs in community colleges across the nation. Adult ESL classes are culturally and linguistically diverse spaces and prepare English Language Learners (ELLs) to “acquire the skills and knowledge necessary to become productive workers, parents, and citizens” (U.S. Department of Education 2016: 1). While adult ESL classes...
are increasingly popular, some researchers have asserted that limited research on successful strategies for teaching adult English Language Learners exists (Cronen et al. 2005; Burt et al. 2008; Mathews-Aydinli 2008; Snell 2013).

Research in English language teaching also highlights the importance of understanding teacher identity (Beauchamp & Thomas 2009; Buchanan 2015; Farrell 2011; Kumaravadivelu 2012; Mockler 2011; Varghese et al. 2005). For example, Farrell (2011: 54) asserted that exploring teacher identities is essential in understanding “beliefs, assumptions, values, and practices that guide teacher actions both inside and outside the classroom”. A number of scholars contended that, teacher identities are shaped by various social, cultural, political, and historical contexts. Thus, teacher identity is not fixed, but changes depending on different interactions, experiences, and environments (Buchanan 2015; Kumaravadivelu 2012; Mockler 2011; Varghese et al. 2005). While identity work in language teaching is currently gaining significant interest, little empirical research has been conducted on adult ESL instructor identity and agency negotiation when teaching culturally and linguistically diverse learners. This research fills a void by shedding light on adult ESL instructors’ identity construction and agency negotiation. It sought to answer the following research question: What is the role of teacher identity in shaping a sense of agency for teaching culturally and linguistically diverse learners?

2. Literature review

Two concepts framed this study: teacher identity and teacher agency. Teacher identity refers to how teachers construct their ideas of “how to be, how to act and how to understand their work and their place in society. It is negotiated through experience and the sense that teachers make of that experience” (Sachs 2005: 15). Professional identities vary among teachers and can change throughout their careers (Bachanan 2015; Mockler 2011; Sachs 2005; Walkington 2005; Varghese et al. 2005). Buchanan (2015) added that teacher identity is seen as both a process and a product and is shaped by multiple social, cultural, political, and historical contexts. It is created through relationships, and it changes based on interactions and various factors, such as context, experiences, policies, and school culture. Kumaravadivelu (2012: 58) also highlighted that teacher identities are “constructed at the complex intersections between individual, social, national, and global realities”. Therefore, Buchanan (2015), Kumaravadivelu (2012), Sachs (2005), and Walkington (2005) agree that teacher identity is how teachers define themselves through their experiences, and that teacher identity is negotiated throughout their careers.

Many scholars in the fields of TESOL and English linguistics have theorized on teacher agency. There are many definitions of teacher agency. In this study, it is characterized as “a capacity to act that is achieved within continually shifting contexts over time” (Priestley et al. 2015: 3). It helps us understand how teachers are “reflexive and creative, act counter to societal constraints, and are both enabled and constrained by their social
and material environments” (Priestley et al. 2015: 3). Thus, teacher agency in this study is understood from the ecological perspective because it is shaped by culture, social contexts and structures, physical resources, and environment (Priestley et al. 2015). For example, Dadvand (2015) explored pre-service teachers’ beliefs and agency using an ecological approach. Pre-service teachers, in that study, showed a strong sense of agency in “creating a more democratic classroom environment” (Dadvand 2015: 87). Studying teacher agency through this lens helps us recognize how “the interplay of individual efforts, available resources, contextual and structural factors” (Biesta & Tedder 2007: 137) constrain or enable teacher practice as they “act by means of their environment rather than simply in their environment” (Biesta & Tedder 2007: 137). Research on language teacher agency has focused on advocacy, decision making, and accepting or resisting curricular reforms, policy environments, prescribed resources, and school practices (Edwards & Burns 2016; Kayi-Aydar 2017; Lasky 2005; Ollerhead & Burns 2016; Tao & Gao 2017).

A growing body of research in language teaching (Beauchamp & Thomas 2009; Edwards & Burns 2016; Kayi-Aydar 2015a; Kayi-Aydar 2015b; Kayi-Aydar 2017; Tao & Geo 2017) also illustrates the interdependent relationship between agency and identity. Mockler (2011) stressed that teachers who are aware of their professional identities are better positioned to make a difference in their classrooms and in the community. This means that teacher identity influences teacher agency. In other words, how teachers see themselves through their experiences enables or constrains them to perform certain actions and to engage in instructional practices. Research indicated that concerning identity, teacher agency is negotiated in various ways: through participation in continuous research opportunities (Edwards & Burns 2016; Tao & Geo 2017), incorporation of new projects and strategies in the classroom (Colegrove & Zuñiga 2018), enrollment in a doctoral program (Kayi-Aydar 2017), participation in professional development (Brooks & Adams 2015; Edwards & Burns 2016; Jaar 2017), engagement in the community of practice (Liu & Xu 2011), and enrollment in study abroad programs (Trent 2011). Kayi-Aydar (2015a) argued that language teachers’ life experiences and interactions with their mentors shaped their sense of agency and influenced their professional identities. In another study, Kayi-Aydar (2015b) explained that Paloma, a language teacher, acknowledged that her agency was shaped throughout her personal and professional experiences, and affected by the social context and interactions. Furthermore, in Tao & Gao’s (2017) study language teachers exercised a strong sense of agency for continuous learning and sustained engagement in teaching. This study adds to this body of research by providing an insight into how adult ESL instructors’ personal and professional experiences and contexts shaped their identities and influenced their sense of agency in teaching culturally and linguistically diverse learners.
In addition to the research affirming a strong connection between teacher identity and teacher agency, some researchers highlighted the role of power in negotiating identity and agency. Teacher identity and agency formation are influenced by power structures since teachers experience educational, social, and political constraints during their teaching careers (Kumaravadivelu 2012; Ollerhead & Burns 2016). Recently, researchers in the TESOL field called for more liberating education to resist current practices that promote passiveness and cultural assimilation (Eyring 2014; Griswald 2011; Kolano et al. 2014; Kumaravadivelu 2012; Samoukovic 2015). Morgan (2009) asserted that language teachers most often take on the identity of technicians who mainly focus on transferring knowledge and rarely exhibit the role of transformative practitioners. This is because language teachers may consider English language teaching as an ideologically neutral activity or ESL teachers may feel incapable to work towards transformation. Kumaravadivelu (2012: 56) explained that transformative practitioners “play the role of change agents raising educational, social, cultural, and political consciousness in their learners”. This study offers an additional insight into this debate.

3. Methodology

3.1. Theoretical framework
Drawing on critical theory, especially on Paulo Freire’s (1993) work, this study focuses on understanding the social, historical, and contextual conditions of teachers’ work in promoting culturally inclusive classroom environments by engaging participants in critical self-reflection. Freire (1993) argued that if teachers engaged in critically examining their assumptions, experiences, and practices, they were more aware of their own purpose as teachers. Accordingly, the goal of this research was to bring awareness of identity and agency construction in culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms. The exploration of language teachers’ identity and agency through critical reflection via interviews and journal writing shed light on the complexities of teaching and supporting ELLs and the actions participants take to advocate for their diverse students. This study uses a critical lens in learning how teachers recognize that “inclusive practices are not isolated from the structural and cultural contexts of their workplace that might encourage or impede such practices” (Pantić & Florian 2015: 345).

3.2. Study design
This narrative study engaged seven adult ESL instructors in critical reflection on their identities, teaching, and an institutional environment. The purpose of this narrative study, then, was to gain a deeper understanding of multiple participants’ narration of their identity and agency negotiation (Creswell 2014). Phillion & He (2007) underlined that a narrative study as a research methodology offers an opportunity to delve into
participants’ personal experiences and gives them a safe space for storytelling, meaning making, and relationship building. This narrative study offers a way of understanding experiences of a group of adult ESL instructors and their identity construction process. In supporting a theoretical understanding of critical theory and in taking an ecological approach to agency into consideration, this narrative study provides a useful framework for studying how participants’ various contexts and experiences influenced their understandings of their identity and agency for teaching culturally and linguistically diverse learners.

3.3. Setting and participants
The participants of this study were seven adult ESL instructors working in one community college. Thus, the purpose of this narrative study was to understand the identity and agency negotiation of a group of teachers working in the same institution. This community college is located in the southeastern region of the United States and serves about 3,000 ELLs representing 152 countries. It has eight campuses and offers a variety of courses for ELLs who want to enhance their language and academic skills. ELLs can attend classes free of charge that are part of the following non-college-credit programs: adult ESL, ESL transition, family literacy, and refugee education. Table 1. shows characteristics of seven participants. They differ in teaching experience, educational backgrounds, as well as locations and students they teach. The criteria for participant selection was as follows: (a) currently employed as an adult ESL instructor at the community college; (b) has a degree or certificate in teaching ESL; (c) has a minimum of three years of teaching experience; and (d) works with culturally and linguistically diverse students.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instructor’s Pseudonym</th>
<th>Degree/Certificate</th>
<th>Teaching Experience</th>
<th>Class Location</th>
<th>Student English Language Proficiency Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agnes</td>
<td>M.A.T. in TESOL</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td>On-campus</td>
<td>High Intermediate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>B.A. in International Marketing certificate in teaching adult ESL</td>
<td>29 years</td>
<td>On-campus</td>
<td>High Intermediate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Instructor's Pseudonym | Degree/Certificate | Teaching Experience | Class Location | Student English Language Proficiency Level |
--- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
Cici | B.A. in Foreign Language certificate in teaching adult ESL | 15 years | On-campus | Multi-Level |
Mary | M.A.T. in TESOL | 10 years | On-campus | Intermediate |
Suzy | B.A. in Spanish certificate in teaching adult ESL | 14 years | Community | Literacy |
Sebastian | M.A.T. in TESOL | 25 years | On-campus | High Intermediate |
Tim | M.A. in History certificate in teaching adult ESL | 9 years | Community | Literacy |

3.4. Data collection and analysis

In addressing the research question, data were collected through multiple methods. Data collection lasted one semester (five months) and included three semi-structured interviews with each instructor, and two classroom observations, including my notes about artifacts used during the lessons. The purpose of combining these methods was to explore teacher identity and agency in more depth. Each participant participated in three individual, face-to-face, semi-structured interviews. The interview protocol included open-ended questions that centered on participants’ experiences, practices, perceptions, and opinions. Participants also engaged in reflective writing. They received a prompt every two weeks during the data collection period (10 prompts in total) and reflected on their personal and academic observations, experiences, and interactions in an easily accessible, password protected Google Document. I also observed each participant twice for an entire class to collect the data about teachers’ pedagogical practices and classroom interactions. During each classroom observation, I looked through artifacts, such as handouts and PowerPoint slides and looked through texts and activities in the textbooks used during the lessons I observed. The notes on these artifacts were primarily used for triangulation purposes.

All interviews were transcribed and jotted memos from the interviews and classroom observations were expanded. The interview transcripts, written reflections from
the reflective journals, and expanded field notes, including notes about PowerPoints and handouts were coded using an inductive, iterative process, and all data were analyzed for thematic categories. Consistent with Creswell (2014), a thematic analysis process involved identifying words and phrases and organizing them into meaningful categories and thematic clusters. A thematic analysis was used to discover central themes across the entries. Interpretation of the data consisted of reading the texts, identifying codes, rereading the data, discerning categories, taking notes, and determining overarching themes that provided an insight into the teachers’ personal and professional experiences and practices. The thematic analysis of all data illustrated the commonalities among data and illuminated particular nuances in the data (Creswell 2014).

4. Results
The results of this study indicated that some aspects of participants’ identities strongly relate to being explorers who pursue opportunities to learn about different people, countries, cultures, traditions, and languages. Participants’ personal curiosity and pursuit for gaining various new experiences is felt in their classrooms. Participants characterized themselves as explorers, who valued diverse multicultural experiences and relationships and acted agentively to create culturally responsive lessons and an enriching learning environment. Four themes emerged from data analysis: (1) international connections enhance commitment; (2) transforming learning through inclusion and empowerment; (3) teaching as a conscious and continuous quest; and (4) active efforts in building community bridges.

4.1. International connections enhance commitment
All participants drew on a variety of international experiences that contributed to shaping their identities as explorers. Such global connections seemed to enable them to be understanding, considerate, accommodating, and committed instructors who care about addressing students’ needs. Five categories developed during data analysis, such as intercultural roots, international partners, multicultural friends, international traveling, and multilingual experiences.

The thematic data analysis revealed that possessing intercultural roots, such as grandparents or parents who immigrated to the United States affected instructors’ professional identities. Cici, Mary, Suzy, and Tim shared that knowing that their relatives came from another country facilitated their efforts in relating to experiences of immigrants who learned a new language. Thus, participants in this study saw the interconnection between their family history, culture, personal experiences, and their teaching. They exhibit a strong sense of agency in supporting ELLs because they were familiar with the hardships their relatives or ancestors went through in the past. For example,
Cici reflected that her cultural heritage influenced her work with ELLs, and she sympathized with them. She commented,

My cultural identity influences my work in that I know my roots were from another place also. I can see how both cultures play an important part in my life. I identify with a lot of ELLs.

Having a significant other from another country has also affected adult ESL instructors’ teaching. Agnes, Cici, and Tim shared that seeing what their partners had experienced as immigrants opened their eyes to the challenges immigrants face in terms of learning a new language, finding a job, and acclimating to a new community. Such realization made them more understanding to obstacles ELLs experience, and they became agentive in supporting their students in their educational journeys. For example, Agnes reflected that she decided to become an ESL instructor after seeing her husband’s struggle. She explained,

My husband didn’t speak any English. So that really kind of geared me towards TESOL as well. Seeing his struggle, what he went through that really influenced me to help others.

Some participants also shared that they had multicultural friends, and they built such friendships since childhood. They went to school and college with immigrants, lived in diverse neighborhoods, and had international co-workers. Thus, their explorer identity is evident in continuously seeking opportunities to cultivate friendships with culturally and linguistically diverse people. All participants shared that they loved learning about other cultures and customs and have maintained close relationships with immigrants throughout their lives. Such diverse connections seemed to transform their perspectives, enhanced their understanding of the ELLs’ experiences and needs, and strengthened their commitment to teaching ELLs. This indicated that their interactions with immigrants in their spheres provided opportunities for developing identity as explorers and that enhanced their sense of agency for teaching ELLs. For example, Cici reflected that she was intentional in building international friendships by stating,

I had a lot of international friends, like, you know, pretty much my whole life. So, I had a feeling for international people and sensitivity.

The thematic analysis also showed that participants in this study traveled to many countries, for work and pleasure. Agnes and Suzy studied abroad; Agnes, Sebastian, and Tim taught overseas; and Agnes, Mary, Suzy, Tim, and Sebastian regularly took trips to various countries. For instance, Tim shared in his reflection that he received his CELTA certificate in Canada, taught English in Europe, North and South America,
and traveled around the world to see fascinating places and meet diverse people. Suzy has also traveled to many places, and she reflected that such experiences broadened her horizons. She mentioned,

I would say probably my travel background and being able to experience other parts of the world, other languages, meeting people from different places, um, helps me relate a little bit about how it feels to be somewhere totally different.

Some teachers expressed in their reflections that since they had an opportunity to learn a new language, they recognized the complexity of learning a second language. Mary, Agnes, Suzy, and Cici had learned Spanish in college or while visiting Latin America and Spain. Classroom observations also revealed that these adult ESL instructors used Spanish when teaching and encouraged students to learn classmates’ languages to facilitate learning. That finding provided evidence that participants actively promote linguistic pluralism in their classrooms. For example, Mary expressed,

Through learning a language and study abroad opportunities, I was able to step outside my bubble and experience what it feels like to be in a very different environment. These experiences have greatly influenced my work as a teacher with ELLs since it helps me to better understand what it might be like to walk in their shoes, not understanding the language and how to navigate a very complicated system.

Participants’ accounts illustrated the intricacy of teacher identity negotiation throughout their lives and suggested that having international connections enhanced their commitment to teaching ELLs. Their reflections and field notes indicated that participants drew on their past experiences and interactions, such as cultural heritage, diverse relationships and friendships, and traveling to other countries while narrating their identities as explorers. They constructed multiple identities, but exploration was manifested throughout their various experiences as they took active opportunities to explore diverse countries, cultures, and languages. They make deliberate choices to learn about diverse places and people, and such international connections have provided a venue for building a strong commitment to supporting immigrant students in their classrooms. In short, these findings highlight the importance of considering the multiplicity of past experiences and various relationships that have contributed to shaping a teacher’s identity as an explorer.

4.2. Transforming learning through inclusion and empowerment

Participants in this study are also agentive in promoting transformative learning through sharing their diverse experiences and actively encouraging students to share,
compare, and contrast their perspectives and experiences. There are four categories in this theme, such as sharing own experiences, validating students’ voices, transforming viewpoints, and challenging marginalization.

A few participants, such as Cici and Andrew reflected that they did not travel overseas but gained enriching experiences by living in diverse neighborhoods or interacting with family members or friends who came from another country. Therefore, all participants have many diverse experiences that they share with students in the classroom in order to relate to students’ backgrounds. Such diverse experiences influenced participants’ sense of agency in establishing close, genuine relationships with students and in delivering interesting, culturally responsive instruction. For example, Andrew reflected that he openly shared his personal history with his students and his diverse experiences enabled him to empathize with them. One of his activities engaged students to share own educational, cultural, and social experiences, and he encouraged students to interrogate him about his past. He was very transparent about his diverse upbringing in the northern United States. He also explained this in his reflective journal by stating,

My urban background and cultural sensitivity to people’s interactions with the struggles that life can bring helped me to understand how an individual can see his or herself within any situation, including learning new educational material or investing in an instructional session.

The thematic data analysis also revealed that participants validated students’ voices in various ways. For example, they explored students’ backgrounds, interests, and needs through collaborative and communicative activities and peer sharing. Such instructional strategies help students enhance their critical thinking skills by comparing and contrasting own experiences. For example, Agnes considered using activities that helped students learn from each other very beneficial by commenting,

I give them a chance to share in every class how the topic can relate to their lives in their home countries, as well as their lives in the United States. This allows them to get to hear from their different classmates. I feel like my students feel comfortable to share with me and their classmates.

When creating a collaborative, communicative, and culturally responsive classroom environment, some participants, such as Agnes, Mary, Suzy, and Andrew go beyond learning about students’ backgrounds. They facilitate transformative learning by letting them share unique perspectives and challenges they face while learning English and living in the United States. These participants explained that they also discussed common misconceptions and generalizations about immigrants in order to transform students and fellow teachers’ views. For example, Andrew shared that it was crucial
to engage students in explaining certain holidays, traditions, and customs to dismantle stereotypes. He explained,

What many people think Cinco de Mayo is, it’s the day of independence for Mexico. And a lot of the Mexican people in the class who were from Mexico said it’s not. It’s about a part of independence, but it has not nothing to do with the independence of Mexico itself. So that’s a different perspective. And most native-born people here celebrate is as a big holiday and party all day when most Mexican born people do not. So that was very different than many people in the class didn't know that came from this reading that story.

In addition, Agnes, Mary, Suzy, and Andrew actively empower students to raise concerns and dispute common power structures. Classroom observations and artifacts, such as handouts with discussion prompts and icebreakers illustrated that participants promoted critical pedagogy in their classrooms. They pose problems and challenge societal and cultural norms during classroom discussions and select readings that extend students’ knowledge about discrimination. The results illuminated teachers’ strong sense of agency in offering opportunities for students to critically analyze inequalities in the society and empowering them to resist marginalization. For instance, Suzy mentioned,

It is important to make students aware that in the U.S., discrimination and bigotry does exist, but is not considered acceptable and is against the law. They also learn about the struggles of others including slavery, the fight for freedom and justice, the right to vote, and gender equality. Many can personally relate to these issues and understand that, in many cases, these are issues that we still struggle with today.

The findings of this study indicated that participants are agentive in creating opportunities to value and validate students’ experiences by allowing them to openly share and compare their stories. Such an approach depicts participants’ identity as explorers because they actively promote a safe, welcoming, and inclusive classroom environment that facilitates explorative, transformative learning. This study adds to the existing literature on teacher identity by drawing attention to two ways exploration in the classroom is manifested: first, the teacher-explorers who value and validate various experiences and views, and second, the others who deliberately delve deeper into the nature of power relations and engage in social justice work.

4.3. Teaching as a conscious and continuous quest
In addition to sharing and validating various experiences, backgrounds, and perspectives, participants in this study actively explore in their classrooms by analyzing their
dispositions, being inquisitive, prioritizing students’ goals, creating culturally responsive materials, and adjusting instruction.

Participants maintain their explorer identities by evaluating their dispositions. Their narratives indicated that they were reflective practitioners who regularly examined their practices, experiences, and biases (Kumaravadivelu 2012). For example, all participants reflected on being aware of their privileges. They reported they did not have to go through the hardships of being a foreigner who did not enjoy the privileges of being a citizen and a native speaker of English. Such awareness enabled them to be more understanding and compassionate instructors. For example, Cici shared her recognition of students’ challenges and her active quest to be an empathetic teacher. She explained,

My experiences are different from some ELLs in that some of them have lived through war, terrorism, starvation, and horrible circumstances. They have lived with majorly corrupt governments and have seen it all. I have never had to face these terrors. I am a very compassionate person though and feel deeply for other people and their experiences.

The participants’ accounts also revealed that all participants were inquisitive and curious individuals who were intentional about learning about students and their backgrounds, interests, and needs. For example, adult ESL instructors approached students during group work activities or formed circle times to ask students’ personal questions to engage them in deeper conversations that connected the content and language skills with their personal experiences. Also, Suzy explained that it was important to keep educating herself about students as their previous experiences affect their learning. She is aware of students’ complex histories and seeks ways to find out about their stories and such knowledge informs her teaching. She actively seeks to understand students’ challenging histories, feelings of marginalization, and current life circumstances. She commented,

I always learn from my students. I believe we can learn from each other. They bring new ideas, different experiences, different education and I have learned a lot from my students. They bring a lot to the table.

While exploring students’ experiences and backgrounds, all participants reported they prioritized students’ goals. They conduct needs assessment by talking to their students, giving them questionnaires at the beginning of the semester, and analyzing their student files. They are aware of students’ various goals and prepare lessons that address their unique needs. For example, Andrew explained how he deliberately tried to address his students’ needs by commenting,
Cause you know, so I'll have time to study a student, each student to see all their needs and how to do it and go back and say, okay, I need to do this. What happens is, uh, maybe the next semester I figure out that in some of my classes I need more vocabulary. Everyday situations, common situations as opposed to, um, or I need more audio, um, exercises so people can hear the different accents of U.S. citizens.

Another way participants actively explore in their classrooms is through being creative in providing culturally responsive materials. In their reflections, Agnes, Mary, Suzy, and Andrew shared that their curriculum did not include diverse students’ experiences and voices and that they actively worked to expand the mandated curriculum by giving students a voice to transform perspectives. Simply, they empowered ELLs to be active, agentive learners. Instead of conforming to the required curriculum, participants are agentive in providing additional resources and designing own handouts and PowerPoint slides that are more culturally responsive than prescribed materials. The notes on the artifacts used in the lessons show that participants create or bring materials that relate to students’ lives, such as conversation starters, newspaper clippings, websites, and authentic materials that connect to students’ interests and heritage. This finding supports the important argument to resist the Eurocentric curricula through the incorporation of culturally responsive materials in teaching ELLs (Gunderson et al. 2014; Wiggan 2012). For example, Mary explained her determination in providing materials that were relevant to students’ needs by commenting,

Instructional materials are contextual and need to be chosen carefully and adapted to backgrounds and capabilities of students. Students must be able to relate to the ideas presented and be capable of interacting with the materials and delivery. All my materials are matched to the needs of students. I am constantly searching for new materials. I love to try out new textbooks. So anytime that anybody in the department gets their hands on a textbook, I have it.

Participants also reported that they adjusted their instruction if something did not work or needed more explanation. Instead of strictly adhering to their lesson plans, they are agentive in being mindful, flexible, and accommodating instructors. They actively reflect on their teaching and analyze students’ progress and change their lessons instantaneously when they see the need. That shows that they are risk takers who are not afraid of changing gears and searching for other options when something does not go according to their plan. For example, Tim explained,

Sometimes I'll do a lesson plan and the lesson plan just for whatever reason flops and then I have to make an immediate decision and say okay this wasn't working, you know, I missed
the boat on this one and I’m going to have to focus. They’re having trouble with this particular part of the lesson plan, so I’m not going to be able to move on. I’m going to have to divert.

The results of this study suggested that participants undertake an agentive expedition in their teaching by exploring own dispositions, being curious, focusing on students’ goals, creating culturally responsive materials, and adjusting instruction. Therefore, the instructors’ current teaching practices represent their identities as explorers, and such conscious exploration in the classroom unveils their sense of agency in teaching diverse learners. They exhibit a strong sense of agency in exploring their students’ needs and delivering instruction that matches their goals, interests, and cultural backgrounds. This finding supported claims by Borjigin (2017) who argued for providing culturally responsive teaching strategies that connected adult ESL students’ backgrounds, promoted critical consciousness, and created an inclusive environment in adult ESL classrooms.

4.4. Active efforts in building community bridges
Another theme illuminates participants’ exploration beyond just teaching language and content: adult ESL instructors maintain explorer identities by working diligently in building bridges between their classrooms and community. They continuously promote community resources, invite students’ food in their classrooms, organize field trips, and participate in students’ celebrations in their neighborhoods. Whether it is through inviting guest speakers, promoting community events, or connecting students with community organizations, participants show a strong sense of agency in building strong partnerships that can help students integrate into society.

Most of the participants make efforts to connect students to the community by promoting events and organizations that could help them feel more welcomed in their neighborhoods. That implies participants’ active pursuit in advocating for their diverse ELLs in public spheres. For example, during the classroom observations, Mary, Agnes, Suzy, and Sebastian invited guest speakers and shared artifacts, such as brochures about upcoming events to engage students in participating in job fairs and community work. Furthermore, Suzy emphasized the significant contribution of local refugee agencies in facilitating students’ acclimation in their communities. She explained,

Refugee support services, um, they put together a lot of events and activities. So, those of us who work in the refugee community and teach the community classes, um, we also communicate with refugee support services and whenever they have some kind of celebration or activity. Then we will take that information to the classrooms and let them know about it and encourage them to come.
Participants also discussed how they welcomed students’ food in the classroom by encouraging them to share their dishes at the end of the semester. For example, Andrew, Mary, and Suzy showed me pictures of the parties they organized to celebrate students’ heritage. Such events offer a space for cultural validation, in which students can practice communicative skills. For instance, Sebastian explained how he welcomed students’ food to create an inclusive community in the classroom,

Inviting students to share food from their countries is another way to create interest along with a sense of community. They have the opportunity to learn what is different, and it may help to break down cultural barriers, promote awareness of diversity, and encourage mutual respect.

Teacher identity as explorers is also manifested by providing enriching experiences outside the classroom. For example, some participants go beyond just teaching within the classroom walls and take students to local libraries, museums, or movie theatres. For example, Sebastian shared that he had taken his students to a few places in the city,

We went to the public library, uh, talked about library cards. We went to, we walked by museums and we went to the IMAX. And, we watched a movie, a couple of years ago, we watched about something about China panda bears. This time we watched about the nature in Africa. They were totally fascinated by the IMAX.

In addition, some instructors go out to students’ neighborhoods and join them in their personal celebrations. Mary and Suzy volunteered in the World Refugee Day Festival to support their refugee students. Additionally, Suzy, Mary, and Agnes shared that they attended students’ weddings and birthday parties.

Ultimately, in spite of having students of varied experiences, backgrounds, and needs, all seven participants are intentional in providing welcoming, enriching, and validating experiences in and outside their classrooms. Participants’ current instructional strategies and interactions elucidated their strong sense of agency of being explorers who continuously learn about their students and provide enriching instruction that helps ELLs be more successful students and community members. In short, exploration in the classroom goes beyond merely building close relationships since it also strengthens students’ sense of belonging and appreciation of their new community.

5. Discussion
The findings of this study illustrated that participants exhibited a strong sense of agency in supporting their culturally and linguistically diverse students, and their identity as explorers contributed to their strong sense of agency. Participants’ past and present
experiences, interactions, and practices indicated that they were explorers because they engaged in various relationships and experiences to learn about other people, countries, cultures, and languages. They also use intentional, culturally responsive teaching strategies, such as supplementing curriculum, being student goal-focused, being constantly inquisitive, and exposing students to other experiences outside the classroom. Thus, the findings of this study confirmed a close relationship between teacher identity and agency as participants’ explorer identity played a crucial role in developing their strong sense of agency for teaching culturally and linguistically diverse learners (Beauchamp & Thomas 2009; Buchanan 2015). In addition, research on language teacher agency focuses on advocacy, decision making, accepting or resisting curricular reforms, and policy environments (Edwards & Burns 2016; Kayi-Aydar 2017; Lasky 2005; Ollerhead & Burns 2016; Tao & Gao 2017), and the findings of this study provide additional insights into how multiple sociocultural influences, including the past and present personal experiences, relationships, and practices affect language teacher agency.

This research study is essential in furthering our understanding of the role of identity as being dynamic and negotiated throughout teachers’ lives. Thus, it contributes to the large body of research that problematizes identity as never constant (Bachanan 2015; Bukor 2015; Day et al. 2006; Miller 2008; Mockler 2011; Olsen 2008; Sachs 2005; Walkington 2005; Varghese et al. 2005). Participants’ identity negotiation is an ongoing process. Their previous personal experiences, interactions, and current teaching practices illuminated their identities as explorers. Participants have continuously explored in their individual spheres and found opportunities to explore with their students inside and outside the classrooms. Thus, their past personal experiences influenced them as teachers. They became compassionate, understanding, supportive, and committed instructors because they have had opportunities to learn about diversity and inclusion in various local and international contexts. That noteworthy observation provided strong empirical confirmation that the personal lives of teachers and their professional roles in the classrooms are closely intertwined (Bukor 2013; Day et al. 2006; Olsen 2008; Palmer & Christison 2007).

This study drew on critical theory to investigate the role of teacher identity in exercising teacher agency in adult ESL classrooms. It is timely during a debate on transforming language teacher education. Kumaravadivelu (2012) and Wiggan (2012) asserted that language teaching supports the reproduction of dominant cultural and societal thinking and called for engaging language teachers in critical reflection to become aware of how they are positioned in various historical, social, and institutional contexts. Kumaravadivelu (2012) and Morgan (2009) advocated preparing language teachers not to be merely technicians or reflective practitioners but to become transformative intellectuals. The findings of this study offer additional insight into this debate by suggesting another way teachers enact their identities: exploration. This study revealed that
some adult ESL instructors, such as Agnes, Suzy, Mary, and Andrew are transformative practitioners who are change agents empowering students to challenge misconceptions, stereotypes, and marginalization in society (Kumaravadivelu 2012). These instructors recognize the relations of power and dominance as well as challenge hegemonic pedagogies and hidden curriculum by promoting equitable and transformative education. But, Cici, Tim, and Sebastian are more than technicians or reflective practitioners as they are not passive teachers but instead actively take advantage of various opportunities to explore students’ needs, backgrounds, and goals. Their identities as explorers are evident in being inclusive, creative, deliberate, autonomous, and committed teachers, but they have not taken a leap into challenging power structures. The reasons may be many, and it might be a focus of further research. Although Agnes, Suzy, Mary, and Andrew as explorers actively work towards social change in education, Cici, Tim, and Sebastian are still intentional in transforming their students’ learning by exploring and supporting their ELLs’ needs and language goals and embracing students’ perspectives, opinions, and experiences in their teaching. That noteworthy contribution to the current literature draws attention to exploration as a crucial aspect of teacher identity.

That discovery also confirmed the importance of taking into a consideration “a holistic understanding of the dominant influences on teacher identity and instructional practices” (Bukor 2015: 323) as past and present personal experiences have a significant impact on language teacher teaching. This narrative study looked at participants’ language identity development by analyzing data holistically and comparing and contrasting participants’ stories. Thus, analyses revealed that the common aspect of participants’ identities was exploration even though they exhibited multiple identities throughout their lives and experienced shifts in their identities.

6. Pedagogical implications

The findings of this study have significant implications for language teacher preparation programs, language teacher professional development, and further research. This study points to the importance of exposing pre-service language teachers to diverse experiences, for example, ensuring pre-service language teachers have an opportunity to learn about diverse learners during their clinical field experiences. This study also highlights the potential usefulness of incorporating critical self-reflection assignments in the methodology courses in which pre-service language teachers can make connections between their various experiences and teaching practices. The themes that developed in this study suggest the need to critically evaluate own dispositions, foundations of commitment to teaching diverse students, the interconnection between family history and teaching, diversity of own neighborhoods, and influence of own language learning experience on teaching practices. Such critical reflection can provide an extension
to reflecting on practice and can stimulate pre-service teachers to purposefully explore multiple factors that influence their teacher identity and nurture their sense of agency.

As far as professional development is concerned, this study calls for engaging language teachers in critical reflection and dialogue that facilitate sharing experiences, perspectives, and classroom practices, as well as challenging power structures and marginalization in education. Such collaboration among faculty could promote exploring students’ unique stories, their living circumstances, and their various needs. The findings serve as a premise for transforming teacher professional development training in order to enhance instruction quality and improve the learning environments of culturally and linguistically diverse students. Teacher training is not just about gaining new knowledge but also a factor in improving teacher agency by helping teachers build their professional identities. Therefore, this study is significant because it raises awareness on deliberate, ongoing efforts in developing teacher identity and teacher agency.

Moreover, further research is needed to deepen knowledge about adult ESL instructors’ experiences and practices. It would be beneficial to extend this study to longitudinal and comparative ways. Analyzing participants’ teaching over a course of a year would help provide a more in-depth illustration of their practices. Also, comparing their experiences with the students and staff’s perspectives would be helpful in understanding their institutional context.

7. Conclusion

This paper explored how participants’ identities affected their sense of agency. This study answers the research question by providing important insights into teacher identity playing a pivotal role in shaping teacher agency for teaching culturally and linguistically diverse learners. Because adult ESL instructors have had numerous opportunities to explore other cultures, countries, and traditions, they have been open, curious, committed, innovative teachers who currently exhibit a strong sense of agency for teaching culturally and linguistically diverse learners. They actively support and advocate for their ELLs in their classrooms and in the community. These findings are relevant to both researchers and practitioners. However, it is important to remember that this narrative study may not be generalizable to other institutions. Rather, the purpose of this study was to learn about seven participants’ experiences and contexts that shaped their identity and agency.

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