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# ELF pedagogy and awareness: an action research applied to Italian tertiary students in ELF *Skype* interactions

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## *Abstract:*

English today is the language of global communication and has gradually developed into a number of varieties shaped by speakers from different lingua-cultural backgrounds. This contribution discusses action research applied in an English language classroom of Italian and Spanish tertiary students with the purpose of exploring the open question of the legitimation of a less prescriptive, but more pragmatic, *pedagogical space*, where the teaching objective is constituted by the adoption of ELF-informed practices to foster learners' ELF-awareness and confidence as intercultural speakers. From a pedagogical perspective, this contribution also encourages teachers to challenge the traditional WE teaching paradigm through an ELF-aware approach.

*Keywords:* *action research, ELF awareness, ELF pedagogy, intercultural speaker, pedagogical space*

## *1. Introduction*

This work deals with action research (AR) in a language classroom aiming to explore the open question of the legitimation of a pedagogical space for English as a lingua franca (ELF) in the English classroom. We draw on conceptualisations of ELF as a contact language and communication tool to help learners further develop and use “their own English” (Kohn 2011: 89) for communication purposes in ELF situations. Through ELF related activities based on *Skype* interactions, we have attempted

\* This work is the result of a collaboration of the authors in all respects. However, Antonio Tagliatela is responsible for sections 2, 5 and 6; Giulia Tardi for sections 3 and 7. Sections in common: 1, 4 and 8.

to make students understand how ELF works, making them explorers of the diversity and plurality of ELF communication and helping them to strategically and consciously join the global practice of communication using English (Sifakis, Lopriore, Dewey, *et al.* 2018).

The article is structured as follows:

- Section 2 reviews the area of focus, i.e. ELF, and the developments in English language teaching in response to the changing needs of learners that mark a “paradigm shift” from conventional English teaching as a foreign language (EFL) and learning models;
- Section 3 examines the concepts of intercultural communicative competence and plurilingualism and the overlapping features of the “intercultural speaker” and the “lingua franca speaker”;
- Section 4 defines the type of students involved in the investigation, and the actions and methods adopted for the data collection;
- Section 5 analyses the data collected;
- Sections 6 specifies the evidence emerging from the AR;
- Section 7 illustrates how to work with and within ELF with a holistic, emically- and interactionally-oriented approach;
- Section 8 discusses the overall findings of the AR.

## 2. *ELF and the teaching scenario*

English today does not only belong to Inner Circle countries, where English functions mostly as a first language, but also to any individual who is a proficient user in this language regardless of their bilingual status (Graddol 2006). On this basis, it is necessary to re-think its function across the curriculum as it seems no longer to be a foreign language as it used to be within the traditional World Englishes (WE) paradigm elaborated by Kachru (1985). Within this paradigm, English language teaching and learning complied with a native-speaker model, which has been progressively reconceptualised (Bachmann 1990; Firth and Wagner [1997] 2007; Kramsch 1998a; Jenkins 2000; Seidlhofer 2001; Kiczkowiak and Lowe 2018).

This implies considerable changes to the reasons why English is learned, because the way English is taught and assessed is to necessarily take into account the needs and aspirations of a growing number of non-native speakers (NNS) who use it to communicate with other NNS, and whose language skills may not reflect those of a native speaker (NS). In fact, a recent study conducted by Kiczkowiak and Lowe (2018) revealed that more than 80% of language interactions in the world occur among different L1 speakers<sup>1</sup>.

In this respect, Jenkins (2000, 2002, 2007) and Seidlhofer (2001, 2004, 2011) paid attention to the intelligibility of English rather than accuracy in intercultural communication and, in so doing, they laid the theoretical foundations of the English Lingua Franca (ELF) learning paradigm (see Pakir 2009) which constitutes a goal which many teachers may start to look at. ELF is a language that all speakers from different lingua-cultural backgrounds utilise for cross-cultural communication purposes (see Seidlhofer 2011; Jenkins [2003] 2010, 2012; Cogo 2016). Jenkins ([2003] 2010: 40), in particular, stresses that “to the extent that English is the “global lingua franca” it is neither to the advantage of its native speakers nor controlled by them”. An ELF-informed approach, therefore, shifts from the assumption of English as

<sup>1</sup> Another survey reports that there are 378 million NS and 743 million NNS in the world <<https://lemongrad.com/english-language-statistics/>> (06/2020).

a foreign language to the awareness of English as a commodity for communication among different L1 speakers, that is, “a contact language” in Firth’s words (1996: 240). From this viewpoint, English is no longer exclusive to NS (Widdowson 1994; Seidlhofer 2004; 2011), due to its role as “a lingua franca [that] has no native speakers” by definition (Seidlhofer 2004: 211). The majority of English teachers are NNS. A broader didactic perspective thus is now required in which also NNS can be considered legitimate owners of the language, and teaching and learning assessment should consider this point. Although many teachers believe that such a didactic approach is somewhat questionable (Seidlhofer 2011; Weber 2013), it is important to pinpoint that each teacher has the opportunity to adjust a lesson’s content and their didactic approach to the real learning needs of the class. To this end, teachers should consider ELF as an integral and legitimate part of English language teaching (Hall, Wicaksono, Liu *et al.* 2013; Dewey 2012, 2014; Bayyurt and Sifakis 2015; Sifakis 2014, 2019; Vettorel 2015), broadening their teaching to reflective practices which may guide students towards a conscious use of strategies and processes that encompass their entire linguistic repertoire (Sifakis 2014; 2019).

In her volume *The Phonology of English as an International Language*, Jenkins (2000) proposes the *Lingua Franca Core* (LFC) which is a set of pronunciation features enabling ELF speakers to communicate successfully with other ELF speakers. She seeks to re-define and re-classify pronunciation errors and, in so doing, to embrace the sociolinguistic facts of regional variation. The proposal recognises the rights of NNS to their own legitimate regional accents rather than regarding deviation from NS pronunciation norms as an “error”. As a matter of fact, in this contribution, we refer to ELF “deviations” from the norm rather than “errors” or “mistakes”.<sup>2</sup> It is worth remembering that Jenkins’s principles are also intended for the creation of programmes and assessment materials.

One criticism of the LFC is that it promotes and justifies any deviation from the norm in a non-native speaker, but in practice, it merely describes when a deviation is functional for communication. The LFC is proposed to respond to the need of intelligibility while facilitating the learning procedure. Therefore, it helps in understanding the view that ELF speakers develop their own skills to communicate internationally, such as the ability to adapt their language competences to their interlocutor.

Moving in the same direction, Seidlhofer (2001; 2005b) lists a series of lexico-grammatical features which are not problematic for intercultural communication, such as the lack of third-person singular present tense *-s* marking, the pluralisation of Standard English non-count nouns (*advices, informations, knowledges*, etc.), the omission of the auxiliary *do/did* in questions, the use of the relative pronouns *who* and *which* interchangeably in place of *who* for humans and *which* for non-humans (as in *things who* and *people which*), the uses of certain verbs with semantic generality to cover more meanings than in Standard English, especially *make*, but also *do, have, put, take*, the use of a uniform, invariable tag (usually *isn’t it*, but also others, e.g. *no?*), etc. The tendency of ELF speakers is to exploit regularities that are in principle possible in the language system, but not recognised as correct in Standard English.

This complex scenario calls for a redefinition of the pedagogy of English and the exploration of a “pedagogical space” for ELF in the English classroom where deviation from the norm is generally accepted for communication purposes, as Kohn (2015) points out.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed distinction between “error” and “mistake”, see Iyere (2013).

### 3. *Towards the intercultural speaker through ELF-awareness*

Since Chomsky's generative linguistics, the concept of competence has been theorised by focusing on linguistic competence and claiming that any consideration of social factors is outside the domain of linguistics. It was considered as an innate biological endowment with a language acquisition device and knowledge characterising a native speaker-listener of a particular language (Chomsky 1957, 1965). Reactions to this purist theory began to flourish with Hymes (1967, 1972) drawing from anthropology to redefine the concept of competence. Hymes argued that, in addition to acquiring a grammatical system or linguistic competence, learners also need notions of sociolinguistic competence, "competence as to when to speak, when no, and as to what to talk about with whom, when, where, in what manner" (1972: 60), namely a communicative competence.

Since then, the concept of communicative competence has attracted significant attention and has been reconceptualised over the years (see Canale and Swain 1980; Canale 1983; Bachman 1990; Bachman and Palmer 1996; Celce-Murcia 1995; Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei and Thurell 1995; Celce-Murcia and Olshtain 2000 for a historical perspective), shifting from the native speaker model and recognising the importance of the use of the language in social contexts, also referred to as pragmatics.

To ensure distance from "the native speaker" (NS) as a model for communicative competence, Byram and Zarate in the mid-1990s coined the phrase "intercultural speaker" (Byram 2008, 2009)<sup>3</sup> seen as "someone who has an ability to interact with others, to accept other perspectives and perceptions of the world, to mediate between different perspectives to be conscious of their evaluations of difference" (Byram, Nichols and Stevens 2001: 5). In Byram's model (1997), which is grounded in foreign language teaching, the intercultural speaker, is defined as one who can appropriately and effectively mediate between world of origin and world of encountered difference. Such capability to establish, mediate and maintain relationships with individuals from a different culture – aka "intercultural communicative competence" (ICC) – is made up of communicative competence and intercultural competence. Communicative competence consists of linguistic, sociolinguistic and discourse competences. Intercultural competence consists of three components – knowledge, skills and attitudes – and is supplemented by five values: intercultural attitudes, knowledge, skills of interpreting and relating, skills of discovery and interaction, and critical cultural awareness (Byram Gribkova, and Starkey 2002: 11-13).

The value of the concept of the "intercultural speaker" was noted by Kramsch (1998: 27b):

In the increasingly grey zones of our multilingual, multicultural societies, the dichotomy between native versus non-native speakers has outlived its use. Both native speakers and non-native speakers potentially belong to several speech communities of which they are the more or less recognized, more or less unrecognized members. Instead of a pedagogy oriented toward the native speaker, then, we may want to devise a pedagogy oriented toward the intercultural speaker.

Byram's model of ICC is one of the most influential and it is endorsed by many important educational organisations around the world (CoE 2001; UNESCO 2009). Due to the spread of English as a commonly shared code of communication among people with different lingua-cultural backgrounds, the ICC has been integrated into English language teaching.

<sup>3</sup>The phrase "intercultural speaker" was coined in a working paper on the assessment of socio-cultural competence drafted for the group involved in the preparation of what later became the CEFR (2001).

The notion of “intercultural speaker” as someone mediating and negotiating between their own and other cultures is also particularly relevant for ELF users, who are by definition bi- or multilingual/cultural speakers, and the “intercultural speaker” and the “lingua franca speaker” have overlapping features.

Byram contemplates three possible scenarios of intercultural communication or interaction, between: 1. people of different languages and countries where one is a native speaker of the language used; 2. people of different languages and countries where the language used is a lingua franca; and 3. people from the same country but with different languages, one of whom is a native speaker of the language used (1997: 22). When communicating with speakers of other languages, foreign language learners require a competence that combines both linguistic and socio-cultural skills to suit the context of communication. When communication occurs in a lingua franca, at least three cultures are involved in the interaction: the culture of each interlocutor and the culture of the lingua franca (Willems 1996). Therefore, foreign language teaching must move from a communicative approach to an intercultural communicative approach where the goal is trying to mediate and connect the native language and culture with the new language and culture, creating, as House points out, “something new and autonomous in-between, hybrid, third way” (2007: 15).

According to Vettorel (2010: 13), two intertwining factors have increasing importance and impact in the scenario of language learning and teaching in Europe: on the one hand, the existence of multilingualism in the societies of European countries; on the other hand, the spread of English as a global language, and its role as lingua franca (ELF) among speakers of different mother tongues. European policy responses to multilingualism – intended as the presence of more than one “variety of language” – go not only towards the acknowledgement of the multiplicity of languages and cultures, postulating that multilingualism and multiculturalism do not only consist of merely placing different communities side by side (CoE 2007). The Council of Europe and its member states have taken the position that the promotion of linguistic diversity through plurilingualism as the principle and goal of citizenship, language and personal education, as a way of living together, as an educational value, is the basis for the positive acceptance of diversity (CoE 2007). In this sense, “plurilingualism” considers languages not as “objects” but from the point of view of those who speak them: the repertoire of varieties of language which many individuals use.<sup>4</sup>

Plurilingual and pluricultural competences, not seen as a “superposition or juxtaposition of distinct competences” (CoE 2001: 168), do not imply a quantitative approach aiming at proficiency in “as many languages as possible”, but they are complex and composite competences on which the user may draw, referring “to the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social agent, has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures” (*ibidem*).

The concepts mentioned above take into account the emergent realistic goal of intercultural communicative competence achieved through plurilingualism:

<sup>4</sup> Although the CoE states a conceptual difference between multilingualism and plurilingualism, multilingualism is the most commonly used term in English, as it shares some characteristics with plurilingualism. In this paper, however, we will maintain the distinction between the two terms.

Inter, an indicator of relationship and not of simple juxtaposition, oscillates between the bi and / pluri modes: while the concept of interlanguage is governed by duality, the intercultural concept operates sometimes in the mode of “two” (relations between two cultures or existence of a mixed culture, or appearance of a stage in-between), and sometimes in the “more than two” mode (interception, interpenetration, interference or inter-construction and inter-definition of several cultures). (Coste, Moore and Zarate 2009: 10)

The focus on plurilingualism has important implications for language teaching, showing that speakers and learners use their plurilingual resources across languages, and this opens up possibilities to learn languages in a more efficient way because some languages can act as “connected growers” (Cenoz and Gorter 2013, 2014). According to Cummins’ “Interdependence Hypothesis” (1979, 2007), there are no separate competences between the development of L1 and L2 skills, instead, there is a “Common Underlying Proficiency”. Consequently, provided that sufficient exposure and motivation are there, a transfer of proficiency across languages can occur.

Plurilingual teaching practices adopt a holistic plurilingual perspective and soften boundaries between languages (see, e.g., Coste and Simon 2009; Cenoz and Gorter 2011). Such a perspective involves all the languages and plurilingual discursive practices of speakers, drawing on learners’ metalinguistic awareness and experiences.

An ELF-aware approach, which is inclusive in terms of the lingua-cultural heterogeneity of ELF speakers, implies the introduction into language education of reflective practices that guide learners towards the awareness of processes and strategies that involve the entire linguistic repertoire and, in particular, as stated by Sifakis (2019):

*Awareness of language and language use* relates to discourse and elements that differentiate ELF from native-speakers’ English concerning syntactic, morphological, lexical, phonological, pragmatic and sociocultural features; the processes of languaging and translanguaging and one’s own perceptions about normativity, appropriateness, comprehensibility and ownership of English;

*Awareness of instructional practice* refers to teacher practice, what they do (and not to do) in the classroom, their theories about instruction, perceptions and attitudes about the notion of error and normativity and feedback. Other forms of this kind of awareness involve textbook and policy-related instructional practice;

*Awareness of learning* concerns the impact that ELF use has on learning. Learners attending typical EFL courses are users of ELF – in day-to-day, face-to-face, online or offline interactions – and these experiences play an important role in their learning. These experiences must be acknowledged by teachers, textbooks, testers and policy makers.

An ELF-aware approach highlights how learners relate the languages in their repertoire to each other when speaking or learning English as an additional language and when they use their languages in a social context. This represents an opportunity to accelerate a learning process by using plurilingualism as a resource to set realistic and attainable goals, employing learners’ plurilingual repertoire as a resource (Cenoz and Gorter 2013).

#### 4. *The action research: subjects, actions, data-gathering methods*

According to Mills (2000), action research (AR) is an inquiry made by teachers to gather information, and subsequently improve the ways their particular educational setting functions, how they teach, and to what extent their students learn. Despite there being many models, action research is fundamentally about taking an action and systematically observing what

follows in a cyclic process of *planning, action, observation and reflection* (Kemmis, McTaggart and Nixon 2014).

The focus of our AR was to explore the question of the legitimation of a less prescriptive – and more pragmatic – pedagogical space for ELF, where the objectives are to adopt an ELF-informed approach and foster ELF-awareness with a view to encouraging learners' confidence as intercultural speakers.

Our AR involved a group of Italian post-graduate EFL learners in *Skype* interactions with a group of Spanish peers.

The main issues we dealt with were:

- 1) verifying which deviations occurred most frequently when the Italian learners interacted in ELF situations and determining whether these are in line with the literature on the subject (Jenkins 2000, 2002; Seidlhofer 2005b; Cogo and Dewey 2006) to detect which lexico-grammatical and pragmatic features are not problematic in terms of intercultural communication (Jenkins 2000, 2002; Seidlhofer 2001, 2004, 2005b, 2009b, 2011; Cogo and Dewey 2006);
- 2) through practical experiences of an ELF context, guiding learners towards language awareness, language use and learning (Sifakis 2019) with the purpose of encouraging an enthusiastic attitude towards plurilingualism and intercultural communicative competence.

Our methods of data-gathering were observing and “recording” what learners do, reviewing deviations from the norm, and asking students for their views and opinions.

Observation included other-observation (teacher's observations of participants), self-observation (students' own behaviour, actions, and interactions) and peer-observation (by and with teaching and research colleagues, e.g., an English teacher at the University of Valencia).

#### 4.1 Subjects involved in the AR

This study focuses on two groups of tertiary students. The first group consisted of 46 Italian students – 31 BA graduates and 15 MA graduates from different fields of study – aged 21-30 with an average B1+ level of English following a post-graduate (PG) course in *Tourism and Hospitality Management* at Parthenope University of Naples in the second semester of academic years 2015-2016, 2016-2017 and 2017-2018. A grammar test (A1-C1) and an interview concerning their expectations from the course proved their level of proficiency. The second group included 43 Spanish BA graduates aged 21-25 enrolled on a similar PG course at a partner university, the University of Valencia. At both universities, each PG course included a 60-hour English module. The observations were conducted during their *Skype* interactions and concentrated on the Italian students' interactional production in an ELF situation, though a contrastive analysis with the Spanish students' replies was sometimes necessary.

The English lessons were integrated with the *Skype* activities to expose students to “real” ELF situations where the negotiation of meaning for mutual understanding becomes crucial in terms of students' intercultural awareness. This negotiation implies deviations from the norm that teachers should not regard as incorrect, but acknowledge as useful for the purpose of communication. Therefore, in-class language focus plus discussion followed the chat sessions. In fact, as these students were supposedly going to operate across international contexts as well as manage the competitive dynamics of tourism businesses and the differentiated needs of diverse clients, ELF-awareness is the key to communicating on a global scale.

#### 4.2 Actions and data-gathering methods

The *Skype* interactions were arranged around written chats of couples of students (one Italian and one Spanish) via *Skype* for up to 30 minutes across 4 weeks. All chats were preceded by pre-task activities to give participants linguistic support for the interaction. Even considering the peculiarities of *Skype* when developing the tasks we are going to describe below, the reflections we made can be generalised and adjusted to different online environments. In our contribution, we use the term “task” to refer to the *Skype* sessions that were preceded by preparatory “pre-task” activities and followed by “post-task” reflective activities (Figure 1), such as in-class discussions with the English teacher and fellow students. This concept of task cycle stems from Leaver and Willis’s (2004) study and was applied to all the tasks in the three stages at operational, intercultural and critical levels, which will be described in section 6.

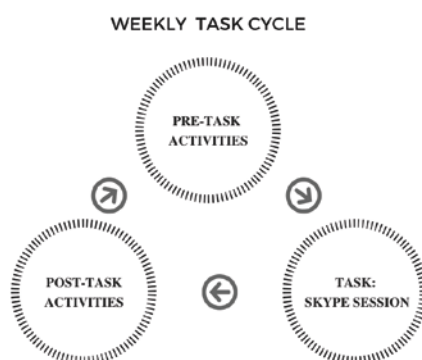


Figure 1. Weekly task cycle for the Italian-Spanish student *Skype* sessions

The tasks were basically aimed at student presentations of themselves, of their study paths and their past or expected work experience, and of their respective cultures, etc. Each student was asked to save and hand to the teacher the relevant transcripts at the end of their chat sessions.

We adopted a blended approach, i.e., a combination of online environment, which offered an experiential learning space at intercultural level, and face-to-face attendance, where the teacher provided constant scaffolding and guided learners towards critical reflection (see Guth and Helm 2012: 42). After initial familiarisation with the *Skype* tool and the virtual space, particularly useful for those who were not accustomed to it, the interactants were asked collectively to prepare questions for their first interview, so as to get to know their Spanish peers. This gave them some linguistic preparation for the task proper.

Following the interviews, students shared their initial impressions in the classroom and then reflected on their learning. For all of them, this virtual exchange was their very first. To prepare for synchronous discussion, they were asked to focus on a topic to deal with during their chat sessions, though occasional digressions occurred. In so doing, interactants could prepare themselves linguistically.



### 5. *PaVa corpus: analysing and interpreting the data*

The transcripts built a corpus, named PaVa, which consists of 368 texts (IT+SP students) with 292,137 running words extracted through *AntConc Concordancer*.<sup>5</sup> We adopted a *corpus-driven* approach, that is to say, we grounded our analysis in the wordlist obtained because, as Murphy (2012: 55) contends, “starting from wordlists is a typical technique in a bottom-up approach to language analysis, which may appear to be initially arid. However, it enables researchers to ground their observations in data, before making an interpretation”. The features that emerged from the corpus were verified, qualitatively classified in context and selected for in-class discussion. Some of the most representative examples with reference to lexico-grammatical, syntactic, semantic (occasionally) and pragmatic communicative strategies are analysed in this contribution.

After introducing the two main corpora available today for the study of the multiple facets of ELF (see 5.1), the data we collected are analysed and interpreted (see 5.2). Deviations are analysed and discussed in the following sub-sections 5.3 and 5.4: the first one pertains to the most common deviations from the norm of the Italian students in terms of ELF lexico-grammatical and syntactic features, while the second one includes their pragmatic strategies in the co-construction of meaning. The lexico-grammatical issues, in particular, also include some expressions with L1 semantic interference with English. The latter, in fact, did not emerge from the corpus analysis as a problematic area of communication, and where issues with L1 interference occurred, these were immediately negotiated and resolved by the participants.

#### 5.1 *ELF and corpora*

The study of ELF interactions is supported by the availability of two leading corpora: the *Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English* (VOICE) and the *Corpus of English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings* (ELFA). The VOICE corpus was compiled at the Department of English at the University of Vienna and constitutes a reservoir of over one million words recorded during ELF interactions over a wide range of different domains and situations<sup>6</sup>. The ELFA corpus, on the other hand, is the result of a project led by the University of Helsinki with the partnership of other Finnish universities and includes one million words of spoken academic English as a lingua franca across a number of disciplinary domains (e.g. social sciences, technology, medicine, economics and finance, etc.) and undergoes regular updates<sup>7</sup>.

The results reported in this contribution are in line with the deviations from the norm found in the VOICE corpus. We have not considered the ELFA corpus, as it deals solely with ELF features encountered within academic settings. In fact, while on the one hand, our investigation focuses on tertiary students attending a post-graduate course, on the other hand, their interactions cover different aspects of their daily life, these taking distance from a peculiar academic ELF. Nevertheless, some deviations from the norm occur in both corpora.

<sup>5</sup> AntConc Concordancer. <<https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/>> (06/2020).

<sup>6</sup> VOICE, 2013. The Vienna-Oxford International Corpus. Director: Barbara Seidlhofer, <<http://www.voice.univie.ac.at>> (06/2020).

<sup>7</sup> ELFA, 2008. The Corpus of English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings. Director: Anna Mauranen. <<http://www.helsinki.fi/elfa/>> (06/2020).

### 5.2 Data analysis and interpretation

The Italian students demonstrated similar deviations when writing in English. Issues in communication arose mainly due to the students' inability to recognise their *L1* → *ELF transfer* process in certain circumstances. Such a process is triggered when NNS unconsciously “transfer” their innate logical, lexical, semantic, textual and pragmatic structures from their native languages (L1) into their uses of English as a second or foreign language.

Many of the examples considered in this study have an issue mainly with grammar and syntax, and less frequently with semantics and pragmatics. Pragmatic competences served strategically for their co-construction of meaning. As for the lexico-grammatical features, some of the main problems encountered stem, in no particular order, from the lack of distinction between countable and uncountable nouns (e.g. *evidences*, *informations*, *moneys*, *news*), by the lack of the auxiliary *do/does/did* in questions, by the repetition of words with a high level of semantic generality (*do*, *get*, *make* and *put*), by the incorrect use of verbs like *make* and *take*, by the misuse of *for* in the present perfect tense, by the occurrence of zero marking in the present simple and by the misuse of the pronouns *who* and *which* (Table 1).

TYPES OF DEVIATION FROM THE NORM	IT	SP	TOT
1. Overall no. of verbs with semantic generality used incorrectly ( <i>do</i> , <i>get</i> , <i>make</i> and <i>put</i> )	221	188	409
2. Overall no. of non-count nouns used as count-nouns	167	148	315
3. Lack of <i>do/does/did</i>	<b>125</b>	<b>166</b>	291
4. Use of <i>from</i> instead of <i>for</i> with present perfect	144	129	273
5. Zero marking with present simple	<b>119</b>	<b>151</b>	270
6. Issues with collocation ( <i>make</i> and <i>take</i> )	<b>70</b>	<b>95</b>	165
7. Zero marking with <i>do</i>	75	71	146
8. Misuse of <i>who</i> and <i>which</i>	<b>56</b>	<b>69</b>	135
9. Other	29	28	57

Table 1. Main ELF lexico-grammatical deviations in PaVa corpus (no. of occurrences)

Table 1 indicates that deviations from the norm of the Italian graduates outnumbered those of their Spanish peers (figures in bold), except for the tendency to omit the auxiliary *do/does/did*<sup>8</sup> and the third person suffix *-s*, and to misuse *make* and *take* in sentence collocations<sup>9</sup> as well as *who* and *which*. However, no dramatic differences can be underlined. This seems to be substantiated by the EF English Proficiency Index 2019 which ranks Spain #35 and Italy #36 in terms of English language skills, with moderate proficiency.

<sup>8</sup> In Italian and Spanish no auxiliary is required for question forms.

<sup>9</sup> In Spanish, there is only one verb (*hacer*) to mean both *make* and *do*, with the result that Spanish speakers may confuse the two and use them interchangeably, for example, <I didn't *make* the homework>.

Our observations reveal some other occasional deviations which did not compromise mutual understanding, in line with the VOICE corpus. These have been extracted from PaVa and are listed below:

- Confusion in the use of (in)definite articles;
- Omission of the auxiliary *be* in present continuous;
- Misuse (or lack) of prepositions, for example, <I waited you 15 minutes>, or <we have to discuss *about*>;
- Replacement of infinitive constructions with explicit sentences, for example, <you want that I...>, <I hope that I...>.

In terms of number of occurrences, such deviations appeared occasionally both in Italian and Spanish writings and, for this reason, they are included under the tag 'Other' in Table 1.

Although the MA graduates demonstrated higher proficiency than the BA graduates, there were still several deviations, perhaps as these are strictly culture-bound, regardless of the level of proficiency. However, proficiency level becomes important when counting the number of deviations of the Italian students, as the MA students' writings displayed fewer deviations than the BA students' writings (Table 2).

TYPES OF GRADUATION	Italian	BA	MA
1. Overall no. of verbs with semantic generality used incorrectly (do, get, make and put)	221	139	82
2. Overall no. of non-count nouns used as count-nouns	167	124	43
3. Lack of do/does/did	125	66	59
4. Use of from instead of for with present perfect	144	103	41
5. Zero marking with present simple	119	101	18
6. Issues with collocation (make and take)	70	43	27
7. Lack of third-person singular present tense marking with do	75	51	24
8. Misuse of who and which	56	31	25

Table 2. Deviations of the Italian students by type of graduation (no. of occurrences)

### 5.3 Lexico-grammar and syntax

The Italian students (I) tended to use shorter sentences and phrases to make the interaction with their Spanish peers (S) more understandable and clearer, as most of them reported at the end of their experience; however, it is reasonable to assume that such brevity could be caused by limited vocabulary. Either way, they unconsciously embodied the principle of language economy (Martinet 1962) in their interactions, as the following examples concerned with greetings and daily engagements show:

## Example #1 [italics is mine]

(S<sub>1</sub>): <Hello Luisa, *how are u doing* today? It's been two weeks now since we started chatting. [...]>

(I<sub>1</sub>): <Hi Ana, you fine today? *I'm doing the course at university.*>

(S<sub>2</sub>): <But is everything ok?>

(I<sub>2</sub>): <Oh yes sorry... Me super today! Thank you. And yes, it's [been] two weeks 😊>

Reply (I<sub>1</sub>) lacks the auxiliary verb in the question form 'are you fine today?', as well as the verb in the answer 'I *feel* super!'. Also, there is no distinction between the subject pronoun 'I' and the object pronoun 'me', and 'super' replaces *very well* (word count 1:2). This reply displays the lack of understanding of the Italian student, so his Spanish peer rephrases his previous question (S<sub>1</sub>). In this case, the negotiation of meaning takes place with the question clarified (S<sub>2</sub>) and the adversative conjunction makes (I) aware of his own misinterpretation. This can be inferred from his apologies in reply (I<sub>2</sub>) 'Oh yes *sorry*'. Though the expression 'Yes, it's two weeks' is fine in its own right, it stands for the full expression 'Yes, *it's been* two weeks' in the same sentence (word count 3:5), and the smiling emoji denotes the student's joy and satisfaction.

## Example #2 [italics is mine]

(S<sub>1</sub>): <You liked the lecture you talked [to] me last time?>

(I<sub>1</sub>): <Yes! The *informative* lecture on "How to market your business" *impressed* all of my classmates here.>

(S<sub>2</sub>): <You took some *informations*?>

(I<sub>2</sub>): <Sorry, what *informations*?>

(S<sub>3</sub>): <*I want to say* some informative material on the course.>

(I<sub>3</sub>): <Oh, yes, sure! 😊 A lot of material! [...]>

Reply (I<sub>1</sub>) is short for "The lecture on 'How to market your business' *gave us a lot of information and made a deep impression on* all of my classmates here" with a word count of 16:26 words. The initial part of the sentence (I<sub>1</sub>) emphasises the subject of such information exchange by remarking on the type of lecture attended, i.e. "the informative lecture on 'How to market your business'" in place of the possible straightforward expression *Yes, it impressed all of my classmates here*, where the initial repetition is avoided. The Italian student noticed that his Spanish peer did not use the auxiliary *did* in his question but, at the same time, that the meaning was clear. The teacher clarified that the omission of the auxiliary is common even among NS of English but stressed that communication proves effective in any case.

A typical deviation is found in sentence (S<sub>2</sub>) regarding the use of the non-existent plural form of *information*, which is a non-count noun. On the other hand, (S<sub>3</sub>) shows that (S) resorts to the pragmatic expression 'I want to say' for negotiation of meaning, which is confirmed by reply (I<sub>3</sub>). Even if the latter may result in a forthright statement, the context determines the right balance of directness between the two interactants and no communication issues arise.

## Example #3 [italics is mine]

(S<sub>1</sub>): <In what part of Naples is your university?>

(I<sub>1</sub>): <Our central teaching building is *seaward*.>

(S<sub>2</sub>): <*What do you mean*?>

(I<sub>2</sub>): <In front of the sea.>

(S<sub>3</sub>): <Ah, okay! [...]>

In reply (I<sub>1</sub>), the adjective ‘seaward’ substitutes a longer expression such as *facing the sea*, and it is shorter, this being 1 word instead of 3. As to achieving mutual understanding, a pragmatic request for clarification is required with the question (S<sub>2</sub>), implying that the Spanish student does understand the meaning of that word, but it was used in error, as can be seen with the interjection of (S<sub>3</sub>). The Italian student clarifies the meaning with his reply (I<sub>2</sub>), so that a shared communicative solution is achieved.

On other occasions, the Italian students employed some parts of speech redundantly, hoping to further clarify the message, as they confirmed, and the following replies #4(I<sub>1</sub>) and #5(I<sub>1</sub>) regarding students’ work experience are representative in this sense:

Example #4 [italics is mine]

(S<sub>1</sub>): <Why did you choose that company?>

(I<sub>1</sub>): <I wanted to apply for the position of Assistant in the import/export office advertised *with reference to their advertisement* in the “Local Business Journal”, *for an Assistant in the import/export office, I wanted to apply for the position.*>

(S<sub>2</sub>): <Was it difficult for you to join the company?>

(I<sub>2</sub>): <The woman *which did* the interview said [to] me that many people want *to work.*>

(S<sub>3</sub>): <*Do you mean* work for that company or in general?>

(I<sub>3</sub>): <For that company. [...]>

Here the abundance of certain parts of speech makes the text irregular and redundant, but upon discussion, the student concerned answered that more details about his experience could be interesting to his Spanish peer. Of interest is the expression ‘Local business journal’ which highlights L1 semantic interference (*L1* → *ELF transfer*). This was also an opportunity for the teacher to shed light on that interference and elucidate the difference in meaning among *journal*, *newspaper* and *magazine*. Despite such a deviation, the Spanish peer experienced no misunderstanding of the message, as he sought no further clarification (S<sub>2</sub>).

Also of interest is the misuse of ‘which’ (for non-humans) instead of ‘who’ (for humans) in (I<sub>2</sub>), but also the use of the verb ‘did’, a verb with high semantic generality – correct in this context – which is used in place of the full verb ‘interview’ (e.g. *the woman who interviewed me*). The student explained to the teacher that using ‘did an interview’ recalled the corresponding Italian expression *fare un colloquio* and was more straightforward. The Spanish student though asked for further clarification through the pragmatic ‘Do you mean’ in (S<sub>3</sub>), shifting his focus to a different piece of information in the sentence and preempting communication disruption.

#5 [italics is mine]

(S<sub>1</sub>): <Have you ever *done* a work experience?>

(I<sub>1</sub>): <I have already *done* some years of experience in the [field of] insurance with Generali Group (before the *amalgamation* [with] Ina Assitalia) in areas of *high liability* as personal injury and car insurance. I am specialised in insurance relating to *immovables* (especially houses) but I also gave advice to lawyers and professionals in other fields (especially engineers and architects). I have also worked with companies and businesses (especially for car insurance).>

(S<sub>2</sub>): <Very interesting. I am *going* only to university. Are you still working now?>

(I<sub>2</sub>): <Yes, I work *from* 1 year *in one* insurance company here in Naples, but sometimes I always do the same things, and I don’t like. And you?>

(S<sub>3</sub>): <you want to know if I like university?>

(I<sub>3</sub>): <No, I want to say [...]>

Although the general meaning of the extract can be inferred, the overuse of details (see parts in brackets) and some deviations from the norm make the text a little problematic, but stimulating for in-class discussion. In particular, (S<sub>1</sub>) employs a verb with high semantic generality ('do'), not complying with the standard collocation *have/make an experience*, may be influenced by the same verb used in the question. The lack of 'field of' in (I<sub>1</sub>) implies informal L1 interference, as well as the resort to 'amalgamation', whereas *merger* would be more common in such a context. Also, 'amalgamation' requires the preposition *with*, which is missed in the phrase. Upon discussion, the student confirmed he didn't know the term *merger*. The entire phrase in brackets, i.e. 'before the *amalgamation* Ina Assitalia', appears anyway superfluous, as this would imply that the Spanish peer were informed about such a peculiar national fact. The phrase 'high liability' is probably used inappropriately in place of 'responsibility' due to inaccurate vocabulary check. The same issue occurs with the cognate 'immovables' (made plural incorrectly), which resembles the Italian *immobili*, as suggested by the additional detail in its following brackets. The student was informed and appreciated that the final phrase in brackets could be avoided as it reiterates previous information. Nevertheless, in this instance no misunderstanding arose between the two interactants.

Some remarks are necessary for sentences (S<sub>2</sub>), (I<sub>2</sub>) and (S<sub>3</sub>). In (S<sub>2</sub>) 'go' is used in the sense of *attend*, showing L1 semantic interference (*L1* → *ELF transfer*). A common ELF deviation is evident in (I<sub>2</sub>) where the wrong tense is used and the preposition 'from' is employed in place of *for*. In addition, the combination of the two adverbs of frequency 'sometimes' and 'always' causes a communication issue, as the Spanish student, using a pragmatic strategy, asks his peer for further information. Such inaccuracies were highlighted and commented on by the teacher, fostering students' ELF-awareness and confidence.

#### 5.4 Pragmatics

As mentioned, our observations highlight the key role of interactional negotiation and co-operation for successful ELF communication, therefore supporting the argument of ELF interaction being "cooperative and mutually supportive" (Seidlhofer 2001: 143). The collaborative productions show the active involvement of participants and a desire to get the conversation going. In other words, all these pragmatic strategies reveal a degree of cooperation between participants who are collaboratively engaged with the purpose of facilitating ultimate comprehension (De Bartolo 2014: 458). Let us look into the following examples:

#6 [italics is mine]

(S<sub>1</sub>): <I'll *do* a party for my graduation next month, *would you like to* come? That would be great, you're nice and funny!>

(I<sub>1</sub>): <*No, sorry.*>

(S<sub>2</sub>): <*Ab!... I see... well...*>

(I<sub>2</sub>): <I think I will *go* to England.>

Something doesn't work in this dialogue. The key to a possible answer is that the two students speak different languages and belong to different cultures. Behind verbal and non-verbal behaviours, there are often different habits, values, communicative styles and cultural dimensions which can break down communication or even make it impossible (Mariani 2015). In this example, (S<sub>2</sub>) appears surprised and maybe disappointed, and this can be explained not only by the type of relationship they have built up (even if based in two different countries), but also

by the straight rejection of the invitation from (I<sub>1</sub>). In Spanish culture, in fact, an invitation should be initially accepted, albeit reluctantly and without a real intention to join.

#7 [italics is mine]

(S): <[...] So, you have a new job now. *What's your monthly salary?*>

(I): <*Well... you know... more or less like in the old job.* I hope that working for them will not be stressful.>

(S): <Right.>

In this example, (S) assumes that, like in Spanish culture, it is acceptable to ask someone about their salary, but the Italian's bewilderment (I) proves otherwise, as was stressed by the teacher upon discussion.

It is important that individual linguistic and sociocultural competences are transferred into personal “know-how” which may assist the speaker in promptly managing the appropriate language tools and using them in tune with the sociocultural characteristics of a specific context, as the following example highlights:

#8 [italics is mine]

(I): <[On] Tuesday I will not come to university because I have to see the doctor. *Is it okay for you* if we chat from home [on] that day?>

(S): <Yes, cool, after 5 pm it's ok for me! *And for you?*>

(I): <Yes, it's perfect.>

(I) uses the expression ‘Is it okay for you if...?’, allowing his peer to make an independent and personal choice, and (S) writes ‘And for you?’ in return, which serves the same purpose. Understanding is achieved in spite of a few deviations from the BrE norm in the first sentence, i.e. ‘on’ in combination with the days of the week, ‘will’ instead of the present continuous for future, and ‘on’ in combination with ‘that day’ – even if in this last expression the ‘on’ is not really necessary. All these points were made by the teacher and appreciated by the students.

By taking into account the three examples above, the way a student employs their language competences, especially in a foreign language, is intimately bound to their proficiency in that language (Manili 2007; Mariani 2015), and this can impact the effectiveness and adequacy of their interactions. For this reason, the proficiency of a student is crucial in terms of the quality of their pragmatic performance (see examples #6 and #7). The teacher explained that, as for example #6, the Italian student's reply (I<sub>1</sub>) could have been more polite, reading, for example, *Unfortunately, I cannot because I will still be busy with university...*, while in example #7, (S)'s question could have been more diplomatic, reading, for instance, *I would be curious to know...*, this being less direct.

In theory, we may decide whether to speak or to stay silent, we may choose the topics of our conversations and make requests, offer invitations and pay compliments, or accept or reject something, but in practice, culture significantly influences such apparent freedom of expression. Social and intercultural, verbal and non-verbal interactions are laced with patterns which become particularly evident when violated, as our examples have suggested.

## 6. Outcome discussion

The results of our investigation confirm that the objective of both the Italian and Spanish students was the negotiation of meaning with full exploitation of their English language competences for the sake of possible “repair strategies” (Mauranen 2006; Kaur 2011). Such repair strategies are often used in ELF interactions to preempt the chance of disruption in communication. They show the mutually supportive nature of negotiation strategies and, as we have seen, ELF is generally oriented primarily to meaning-making rather than accuracy in form, and in most cases non-conventional language forms do not hamper effective communication, which is jointly negotiated and constructed. What is apparent from these features is that ELF means are employed to use English “exolingually” (Hülmbauer, Böhringer, and Seidlhofer 2008), i.e. to appropriate the language according to communicative needs, which often means that traditional norms are not adhered to.

The outcomes highlight that the Italian learners were inclined to unconsciously embody the principle of language economy in their interactions as well as employ some parts of speech redundantly. In this light, many of the examples considered in the AR had issues mainly with grammar and syntax, and more occasionally with semantics and pragmatics. In particular, L1 semantic interference with English was not significant in terms of occurrence, although these data are relevant for our findings. Indeed, occurrences of L1 semantic interference did not appear problematic for communication, and where issues occurred, these were immediately negotiated and resolved by the participants. As for pragmatics, the learners’ pragmatic competences served strategically for their co-construction of meaning.

None of these issues prevented mutual understanding in interaction (Seidlhofer 2004, 2011). We can therefore take on Seidlhofer’s assumption according to which deviations from the norm represent innovation in how ELF speakers exploit language and make it clearer and more understandable to other NNS.

On the operational level, the students found that using *Skype* conferencing can really differ from face-to-face interactions, making it necessary for speakers to negotiate turn-taking rules. On a cultural level, this helped them develop the intercultural competence required to mediate between their own conversational approach and that of their foreign peers (e.g., waiting for their turn to reply, being polite and respectful, co-constructing meaningful conversations through their pragmatic competences, etc.). The engagement with their new peers highlighted that the students felt they had established a “real” relationship with them. On a critical level, learners were encouraged to concentrate on the “language” they used and to determine, based on the teacher’s input, where their deviations from the norm occurred. Where these occurred, the teacher discussed them with the student with the purpose of raising their ELF awareness.

We should bear in mind that, while the traditional view of English as a foreign language pursues the objective of the language proficiency of a native speaker of the “standard” varieties of English,<sup>10</sup> speakers with a different lingua-culture do not necessarily aim at the native-speaker model, as through language they can also express their own identity and sense of belonging to a specific culture. ELF speakers, therefore, can sometimes – consciously or unconsciously – neglect those NS features of language characterising their productions for the sake of mutual understanding.

<sup>10</sup> For the sake of clarity, Kachru (1992: 356) refers to the UK, USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand as custodians of “the traditional culture and linguistic bases of English”.



Undoubtedly, this AR has for each academic year some limitations; there were few participants and the investigation was brief, just 4 weeks, which affected the size of the PaVa corpus. This could have been larger for more extensive research, “though the size of a corpus depends very much on the type of questions that are going to be asked of it” (Evans n.a.). However, the size of PaVa as such allowed us to make some generalisations.<sup>11</sup>

A further limitation is that the analysis concerned only written interactions, whereas ELF is mainly focused on spoken interaction integrating both speaking and listening. However, through authentic written interactions, the students demonstrated features which they often transpose into in-class speaking, revealing their typical deviations from the norm. Notwithstanding, the AR approaches these limits from an emic perspective and, in so doing, can contribute to enhancing learners’ ELF awareness and confidence in interaction.

### 7. Working with and within ELF with a holistic, emically- and interactionally-oriented approach

One of the main assumptions of ELF research is that interactions involve a dimension of negotiation and linguistic accommodation – such as repetition, rephrasing, and code-switching – with the aim of facilitating mutual understanding (Cogo 2009; Firth 1996, 2009). The willingness and attitude of the interlocutors to understand each other translates into a series of pragmatic strategies aimed at reducing ambiguity, improving intelligibility, at meaning negotiation, prevention and repair of misunderstandings (Bayyurt and Akcan 2015), and reaching a high level of cooperation. According to Seidlhofer, ELF users are “fully involved in the interactions, absorbed in the ad hoc, situated negotiation of meaning, focused on the purpose, exploiting the potential of the language” (2009a: 242). Jenkins points out that ELF is not a question of deviation from the norm of a particular group of English speakers, but it is a question of mutual negotiation involving adjustments and efforts from all parties (2009: 201). These linguistic behaviours are certainly not limited to ELF situations, as most human communication involves, to some extent, the use of a “lingua franca”: in the world context, most people are bi- or multilingual, use different registers and linguistic varieties, combine languages and switch between them in order to suit the needs required of the situation (Saraceni 2010: 88). As pointed out by Saraceni, “lingua franca” merges with “language” and “it is not coincidental that the paradigm shift within ELF research is going precisely in this direction” (*Ibidem*).

We have previously stressed the importance of an ELF-aware approach (Sifakis 2019), however, adopting this perspective for teaching does not entail that standards and norms are no longer required, depending on a let it pass principle (Firth 1996), but it means that, as claimed by Sewell, “these are mutable concepts and that learners need to be introduced to language variation” (2013: 7).

In the terms indicated by Firth and Wagner (1997), what we tried to do with the students of the course was to promote awareness of “the contextual and interactional dimensions of language use” and “emic (i.e., participant-relevant) sensitivity towards fundamental concepts” (1997: 758).

It was done, *in primis*, not considering the learners as defective communicators but keeping in mind the possibility that, in an ELF context, they avoided difficulty and preempted some communicative problems.

As recommended by Sifakis, Lopriore, Dewey *et al.* (2018), we haven’t replaced EFL practices with ELF practices, but we have integrated ELF issues into EFL.

<sup>11</sup> See Haan 1992; Biber 1993; Kennedy 1998 with reference to the small size of corpora.

Through practices – *e-tandem* interactions via *Skype* – we have attempted to make students understand how ELF works, making them language explorers and helping them to strategically and consciously join the global practice of communication using English (Sifakis, Lopriore, Dewey *et al.* 2018). An emically-oriented perspective allowed both teachers and learners “to explicate the competencies through which the participants conjointly accomplish meaningful communication with the resources – however, seemingly imperfect – at their disposal” (Firth and Wagner 1997: 762). In other words, we used “a post-normative approach” (Dewey 2012), reconciling the normative conception of language with an acceptance of the fluidity and unboundedness of language.

## 8. Conclusions

The concept of “validity” in AR is highly dynamic and subject to variation, determined by the ongoing and changing aims of the research. Researchers tend to prefer terms such as “trustworthiness”, “worthwhileness” or “credibility” (Burns 2015).

By its nature, AR does not aim to generalise the results of the research but it focuses on both the processes and the results obtained. The reiteration of the cycles of action, observation and reflection allowed us to compare and test each cycle against the previous ones, leading to a sort of triangulation of the data which, in our opinion, makes up for the partiality of the data collected. Furthermore, the results of the interventions cannot show immediate and clear improvements. The process of the reiteration of action, observation and reflection – repeated throughout the AR – has allowed us to verify the most frequent deviations in ELF situations, detect which lexi-co-grammatical and syntactic (and occasionally semantic) features are not problematic in terms of intercultural communication, and guide learners towards language awareness, language use and learning, bringing to the fore evidence that legitimises a pedagogical space for English as a lingua franca in the English classroom.

The students involved in our AR affirmed they had developed, through interaction and collaboration, their “ownership” of English, shaped, in Kohn’s words (2011), by what they were exposed to, where they come from, and where they want to go.

Each EFL teacher has the opportunity to adjust a lesson’s content and their didactic approach to the real learning needs of the class. To this purpose, teachers should consider ELF as an integral and legitimate part of English language teaching (Hall, Wicaksono, Liu *et al.* 2013; Dewey 2012, 2014; Bayyurt and Sifakis 2015; Sifakis 2014, 2019; Vettorel 2015), broadening their teaching to reflective practices which may guide students towards a conscious use of strategies and processes that encompass their entire linguistic repertoire (Sifakis 2014, 2019). Thus, EFL teachers and learners should not be concerned about the “incorrect” forms of language occurring during NNS interaction.

Most of the students involved had a positive perception of the partnership in this exchange, especially in terms of their self-confidence in interaction, and reported they appreciated the real-life experience, as they felt stimulated during the tasks. In fact, the Spanish students had the opportunity to practise their English and they were engaged in a process of intercultural exchange; the Italian students felt they had slightly improved their English, particularly their writing skills, and complained about the brief duration of the experience.

This contribution has, of course, no presumption of completeness due to the limited amount of participants in the study, the short duration of the overall observation and, consequently, the limited number of the results analysed. In terms of data gathering, it would be desirable, for example, to extend the research to a larger group of interactants with different age range

and qualifications to further establish whether deviations from the norm occur similarly, and if not, to what extent. But further investigation can be carried out as regards both the development of students' social constructivist understanding of language learning and the ordinary creativity of ELF communication and learning in the light of students' own requirements of success (Kohn 2019).

It is our hope that the contribution can somehow support ELT professionals, particularly those who are new to ELF when they reflect on the subject they teach. In this light, it adds to the lively debate on ELF in English language teaching.

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