

Singlish in the classroom: Native-speakerism and native and non-
native speaking teachers of English in Singapore

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Abstract

The notion of 'native-speakerism' in the field of English Language Teaching (Holliday, 2005, 2006) involves a cultural chauvinism said to originate in prevailing Western educational culture, whereby learners and teaching associates are 'Othered' to stereotypical caricatures by language teachers of a sociolinguistically more dominant linguistic heritage. The discourses of native-speakerism assume that native speakers of a language are its authorities and arbiters and as such place 'native speaker' competency as a learning target. This study compared the attitudes of a sample ($N = 32$) of self-identified 'native speakers' and 'non-native speaking' English Language subject teachers in Singapore toward the classroom role of a local variety of English (Colloquial Singapore English or CSE, popularly known as Singlish). Data gathered through analyses of an attitudinal questionnaire, follow-up semi-structured interviews and a document analysis study suggested, in regards to Singlish, an apparent role reversal: while Singapore self-described 'non-native speaking' English language teachers evidenced negative views of CSE, their expatriate 'native speaking' counterparts asserted the legitimacy of Singlish as a language variety. These findings share some commonalities with earlier studies identified by Waters (2007b), where data gathered from 'non-native speakers' appeared counter-intuitive to some of the tenets of native-speakerism. The research suggested that the aims of government campaigns intended to foster negative attitudes toward Singlish have been effective among Singaporean English Language teachers, while the field of World Englishes, with its emphasis on pluralism in language varieties, has exerted attitudinal influence on their expatriate colleagues.

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CERTIFICATION OF DISSERTATION

I certify that the ideas, experimental work, results, analyses, software and conclusions reported in this dissertation are entirely my own effort, except where otherwise acknowledged. I also certify that the work is original and has not been previously submitted for any other award, except where otherwise acknowledged.

Signature of candidate

Date

ENDORSEMENT

Signature of supervisor

Date

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Abbreviations

CSE	Colloquial Singapore English, commonly referred to as Singlish
CPDD	Curriculum Planning & Development Division
CT	Critical Theory
EL	English Language (the school subject)
ELT	English Language Teaching
ESOL	English for Speakers of Other Languages
MoE	(Singapore) Ministry of Education
NS	native speaker(s)/native speaking
NNS	non-native speaker(s)/non-native speaking
PC	political correctness
PCE(s)	Postcolonial English(es)
RM	Research method
RQ	Research question
SGEM	Speak Good English Movement
SSE	Standard Singapore English
StdE	Standard English
TC(s)	Teacher Consultant(s)
TESOL	Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages
WE	world Englishes

Singlish in the classroom: Native-speakerism and native and non-native speaking teachers of English in Singapore

Chapter 1: Introduction

Holliday (2005) uses the term ‘native-speakerism’ to describe an ideological divide said to be at work among educators in the field of Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL). The culturist orientation said to be characteristic of native-speakerist ideology emphasises cultural difference rather than ‘cultural continuity’, and holds ‘native speaking’ educators above ‘non-native speaking’ colleagues, who are seen as second-rate. In the ideology of native-speakerism the norms and models of English are the proprietary rights of the ‘native speaker’, who serves as an arbiter of an English language and culture to the unversed; by contrast, the educator from outside the English-speaking West is set outside the reach of ownership of the language, and therefore perpetually reliant on foreign know-how (Holliday, 2005).

This study compared and contrasted the views of two groups of English language teachers in the Republic of Singapore on classroom approaches to a variety of English formally called Colloquial Singapore English (CSE), but popularly known as Singlish: local teachers who considered themselves to be non-native speakers of English (NNS), and expatriate teacher trainers who deemed themselves to be native speakers of English (NS). Through questionnaires and semi-structured interviews, the insights of these two groups on the classroom use of Singlish were sought. At several key points, a questionnaire identified significant differences between the attitudes toward classroom Singlish held by NS and NNS, and between those teachers who were trained specifically as English teachers, and those trained in other disciplines who were currently teaching English. These differences were further explored through follow-up semi-structured

interviews with three NNS and two NS Singapore English teachers. These contrasting views among teachers of English in Singapore seemed to diverge from some of the tenets of Holliday's description of the ideology of native-speakerism (2005, 2006). A third research strand of the study considered to what extent the expressed views of the teachers were mirrored by official policy. An analysis was carried out on key documents from the 2012 version of the Speak Good English Movement (SGEM) website. Here as well, the conception of native-speakerism was found to be opposite of what one might expect.

These results seem to show that the government's persistent campaigns to replace the localized CSE with 'standard English' are effective in altering Singaporean language teacher reported attitudes (if not practice) towards the local language variety. Conversely, the data suggests that the field of 'world Englishes' (WE) has had its impact on the expatriate trainers, who were much more likely to ascribe legitimacy to CSE. The findings suggest a calling into question of neo-colonial stereotypes associated with English Language Teaching (ELT), and further suggest the largest threat to local variations may in fact be local attitudes, supported by both official policy and couched in pedagogical beliefs and practices.

This first chapter of the dissertation presents the study's background, relates this background to the conceptual frameworks upon which the study is based, specifies the problem of the study, describes its significance, and describes an overview of the methodology employed. Delimitations of the study are noted next. The chapter concludes with a brief summary.

1.1 Background to the study/research problem

‘*Ba, my head very pain!*’ my nine-year-old Canadian-born daughter announced one day upon returning from school. Her enrolment at a Singapore neighbourhood primary school had jarringly moved my purely theoretical interest in the local variety of English to a very practical one: my girl was well on the way to acquiring native speaker proficiency in Singlish.

* * *

The master’s level first semester course title looked decidedly bland: Introduction to TESOL 1. I skimmed quickly over the course description: after all, I knew little about the field of English Language Teaching (was there a field?). I had entered this program with only the vague goal of getting to see the world. And so I did: from the opening pages of one of our course texts, Phillipson’s *Linguistic Imperialism*, I was getting to see the world, all right, but it was turning out to be a very unsettling and uncomfortable journey.

* * *

My colleagues looked frustrated. I had thought things were going their way: a hotel conference room full of English Language teachers from various parts of rural Malaysia had come to hear the imported trainers expound their knowledge on effective teaching methodology. It should have been a teacher trainer’s dream! It was not like my colleagues were not getting any questions – the participants swamped them on the way back to the snack table during every tea break. The trainers’ frustrations, rather, had to do with the content of the questions: *What’s the correct way to pronounce poem? Which is correct: in the field or on the field? Can you tell me the rules for when we use simple past or present perfect tense? How do you say tortoise? Pencil? Or pen-CIL?* These expatriate trainers, master’s degrees and considerable international experience all, were well-prepared to explain English Language Teaching methodology. They

were, as I think back on it now, quite ill-prepared to assist teachers in being arbiters of language proficiency.

* * *

This examination of native-speakerism takes place within the context of multilingual Singapore, where English has grown from small beginnings with the arrival of Sir Stamford Raffles in 1819 to become the language of politics and government and, since 1987, the medium of education. Though the constitution designates four official languages (Malay, Mandarin, Tamil and English), English is used for parliamentary legislation, while the other three languages are taught as ‘mother tongues’ in school. In 2010, English was listed at the language most frequently spoken at home by 32% of the population (DSS, 2010).

The localised variety of English, Colloquial Singapore English (CSE) or Singlish, as it is usually referred to in Singapore, continues to generate considerable debate. Referred to i) by Prime Ministers as a ‘handicap’ and a hindrance to global economic aspirations (Chng, 2003); ii) as ‘quaint’ or ‘charming’ to expatriates but ‘not really intelligible to non-Singaporeans’ (Chew, 2007b, p. 80); iii) often in the local media as being synonymous with bad or broken English (Fong, Lim, & Wee, 2002); and iv) as the smoking gun of falling standards of local education (Kramer-Dahl, 2003), Singlish is at the same time vigorously defended as an important part of the city-state’s national identity (Rubdy, 2001), a typical mark of what makes someone a Singaporean (Chng, 2003).

Singapore English is one of the more studied varieties of the ‘new Englishes’ (Platt, Weber, & Ho, 1984), with descriptions of its lexical, grammatical, and phonological features (for example, see Alsagoff, 2001; Alsagoff & Ho, 1998a, 1998b; Bao, 1998, 2005, 2009, 2010;

Brown, 1999; Brown & Deterding, 2005; Deterding, 2007; E. M. Lee & Lim, 2000; L. Lim, 2004; Wee, 2004), as well as considerations from various sociolinguistic perspectives (for example, see Bao & Hong, 2006; Bokhorst-Heng, Rubdy, McKay, & Alsagoff, 2010; Gupta, 1994a, 2006; L. Lim, Pakir, & Wee, 2010; Tapas, 2011). Some selected examples of CSE have been provided for purposes of illustration in section 2.1. Singapore English is usually spoken of in terms of two forms: Standard Singapore English (SSE) which differs little from other varieties of Standard English (Gupta, 2010b), and CSE, its informal form. CSE differs considerably from SSE, with which some scholars assert it exists in a relationship of diglossia (Gupta, 1994b). It is at variance from both SSE and Standard English (StdE) in a number of ways: some features of vowel and consonant pronunciation; grammatical features like topic prominence (Alsagoff & Ho, 1998b; L. Tan, 2003) and copula deletion (M. L. Ho & Platt, 1993); aspectual features in common with Chinese languages (Bao, 2005); its use of particles (L. Lim, 2007; Wee, 2004, 2010b; Wong, 2004); and various items of vocabulary (Leimgruber, 2011).

The use of CSE in the school classrooms of the Republic is, though officially discouraged, widespread (Doyle, 2009; Rubdy, 2007). This is despite a stated syllabus aim of ‘internationally acceptable English (Standard English) that is grammatical, fluent, mutually intelligible and appropriate for different purposes, contexts and cultures’ (MOE, 2010, p. 10), and despite the beliefs of Singaporean teachers about the general inappropriateness of CSE for school contexts (Farrell & Tan, 2007; Poedjosoedarmo & Saravanan, 1995, 1996; Teh, 2000).

Waters (2007a) points to several conceptions that ‘have come to occupy an increasingly prominent place in ELT discourse, but which, for the most part, have had only sparse grass-roots take-up’ (p. 353). One of these primarily ideological perspectives says Waters is the critique of ELT offered by native-speakerism. While acknowledging the import of critical perspectives in

identifying inequitable power relations in ELT, Waters asserts that counteracting native-speakerism is best done through empirical investigation to substantiate claims (2007b).

This study attempts to add to that gap by applying social research methodology to consider some of the claims of native-speakerism. To do so, the study examines the comparative attitudes of ‘native-speaking’ (NS) and ‘non-native speaking’ (NNS) English language teachers in Singapore with regard to their views on a localised variety of English. The identification of attitudinal similarities and differences among these language teachers afforded an opportunity to gain insight into several theoretical constructs in the field: chiefly, the conception of native-speakerism (Holliday, 2005, 2006), but also, as a Postcolonial English (Schneider, 2007) a way to examine the degree of shift in Singapore from exonormative to endonormative standards for a language variety (Foley, 1988; Haugen, 1972; Newbrook, 1993; Schneider, 2007); the relationship between classroom teacher response and official language planning policy in general (Farrell & Tan, 2007; Ramanathan & Morgan, 2007; Stritikus, 2003); and pedagogical practices of utilising a non-standard language form in particular (Siegel, 1999a, 2007).

Maxwell’s (2005) ‘interactive’ model of research design lists a series of questions to be asked by the researcher under the heading ‘Conceptual Framework’:

Conceptual Framework: What do you think is going on with the issues, settings, or people you plan to study? What theories, beliefs, and prior research findings will guide or inform your research, and what literature, preliminary studies, and personal experiences will you draw on for understanding the people or issues you are studying? (p. 4)

This description of a conceptual framework allows for the researcher’s own prior experience and background to be brought to bear on the topic at hand, not excluded as ‘bias’ (p. 37), but laid alongside existing theory and research findings. This introductory chapter attempts to straddle these two aspects of a conceptual framework by both making plain the researcher’s

initial interactions with the topic, as a prelude to explaining the conceptual framework drawn from extant literature.

The genesis of this line of inquiry probably began the day when this researcher realized his daughter had become proficient in CSE. *'Daddy, if I talk that way [Canadian English], they [her classmates at a Singapore neighbourhood school] won't understand me.'* The nine-year-old girl was actually just another example, albeit an especially close to home one, of the every resourceful language environment of the Republic of Singapore, of which CSE plays a vital part. The stuffy and out of touch Cambridge-accented English teacher mocked in local television sitcoms; the chicken rice vendor who seems to understand and be understood by even the most grammatically standard UK visitor; the non-inflected verbs of the taxi driver talking politics; the rough and tumble comic routines of television icon *Phua Chu Kang*; the carefully crafted and (necessarily?) well-rehearsed speeches of political leaders about the importance of 'speaking properly'; the relatively linguistically neutral ground of the hawker's centre where even the most refined Singaporean is free to shed his or her 'internationally acceptable English'; the way a persuasive speaker wins over an audience by using Singlish at just the right junctures. All of these (and more) contradictions and paradoxes, like the island city-state itself, irreversibly drew this researcher in.

This particular study began to further take shape and definition through the researcher's own involvement in teacher training projects in Malaysia and Singapore from 2004 to 2010. During this time, the researcher conducted ELT methodology training for hundreds of Malaysian and Singaporean English Language (EL) subject teachers, and further observed my colleagues doing the same. Charged with a job description of 'removing obstacles to effective English language instruction' (CfBT, 2003) and English language curriculum enhancement (CfBT,

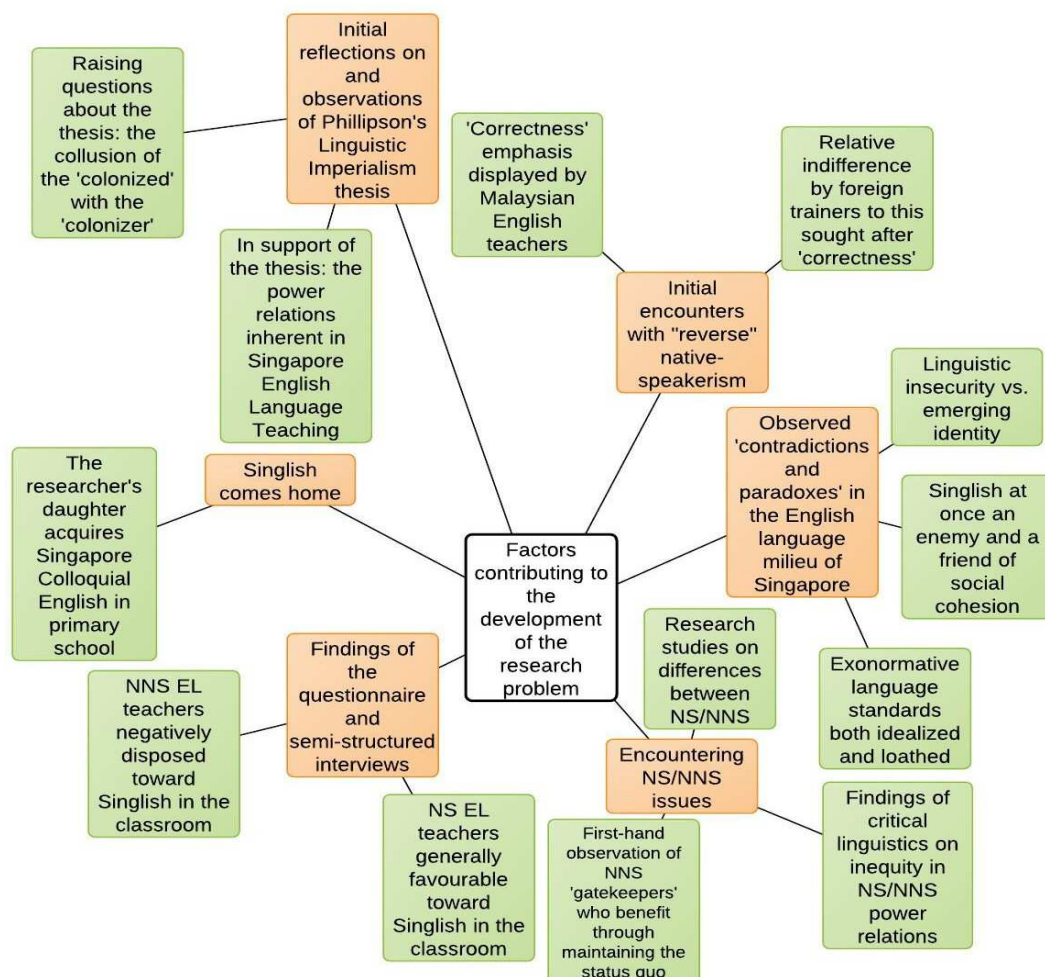
2010), the researcher became conscious of an observable gap between the expressed needs of trainees for direct instruction in what they termed ‘proper’ or ‘standard’ English and the noticeable hesitancy by expatriate trainers to deliver the requested instruction. What factors might account for this difference? Were the Malaysian and Singaporean EL teachers who attended methodology training sessions mistaken about what ‘proper English’ was? Were the ‘native speaking’ (NS) expatriate trainers equally unsure? Why did the local teachers seem so eager for their own English to be corrected? And why were the expatriate trainers so careful to avoid providing that desired correction? Whatever the cause, in practice, where one would expect to encounter behaviour characteristic of native-speakerism (Holliday, 2006), the reverse seemed to be in evidence: the NS expatriate language teacher opted for communication over correctness; her already effectively-communicating local, non-native speaking (NNS) counterpart seemed to want to be corrected. The NNS teacher was working hard to stamp out localized varieties of English in her classroom, while the NS trainer seemed quite unconcerned.

An ideal opportunity presented itself in 2008 to formally investigate the apparent attitudinal differences toward CSE between local English teachers and their expatriate counterparts when the researcher began employment in the initial phases of a Teacher Consultant (TC) project under the direction of the Curriculum Planning and Development Division (CPDD) of the Singapore Ministry of Education (MoE). In this initiative, TCs were placed as teachers/trainers in a consultancy role in participating schools, to ‘develop the skills and expertise of local teachers . . . assist in developing and enriching the curriculum; [and] contribute to raising standards in English language among students’ (CfBT, 2010). With the formal approval of project management from leadership in the TC initiative, the researcher began to craft the research instruments to pursue this line of inquiry.

As will be detailed in subsequent discussions of methodology, the research foci began to emerge more sharply and definitively as the study progressed. The initial aim was solely to determine how attitudinal differences between self-described NS/NNS English teachers in Singapore might shape the teaching of the English language in Singapore schools. However, when the analysis of results from the questionnaire and semi-structured interviews pointed to an unanticipated result, the researcher opted to consider a further dimension in the research: whether the tenets of native-speakerism held up in light of the data gleaned from the participants in this particular study.

Figure 1 visually represents the various factors that led the researcher to focus on the particular research problems that constitute this study. Some of the elements illustrated in the mind map correspond to ideas being shaped long before the study was even conceived of, others occurred during the initial phases of the data gathering, and still others took definitive form as the study evolved and developed.

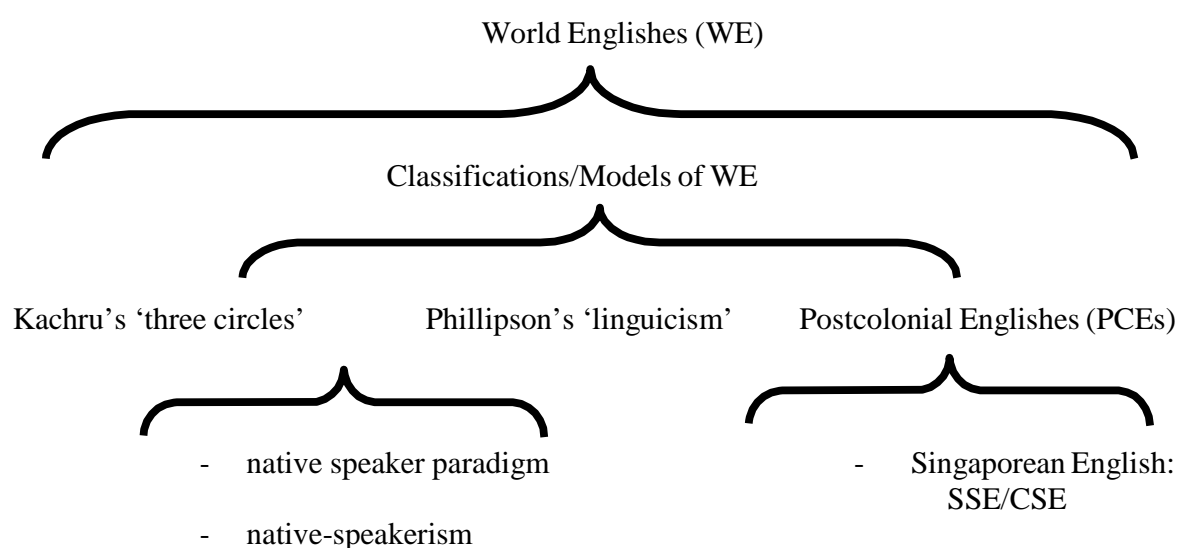
Figure 1: Factors contributing to the development of the research problem



1.2 Theoretical frameworks

A theoretical or conceptual framework has been defined as ‘a collection of interrelated concepts, like a theory, but not necessarily so worked out’ (Borgatti, 1999). Maxwell (2005), as noted above, affirms both the role of the researcher’s own prior experiences in investigating the phenomenon, while at the same time stresses the importance of bringing extant theories, previous research and literature to bear during the development of the conceptual framework. One’s own experience needs to vigorously interact with existing theory and research to avoid ‘reinventing the wheel’ (Wengraf, 2001, p. 93), a departure from the viewpoints of the more strenuous grounded-theory advocates. These intersecting ideas, then, drawn both from broad theoretical perspectives and prior studies found in the existing literature, inform, shape and direct the study as conceptual frameworks. As these analytical frameworks are explored in-depth in the literature review of Chapter 2, they are sketched in an introductory fashion here. They are presented in the form of ‘umbrellas’ (see Figure 2, following), from overarching thematic concepts to a more narrow scope.

Figure 2: ‘Umbrellas’ of WE as a conceptual framework of this study



1.2.1 World Englishes (native-speakerism, the native speaker paradigm and Postcolonial Englishes)

The first theoretical framework guiding this study is scholarship in the area of what has come to be called world Englishes (WE). The deliberate use of the plural form (Englishes) helps to delineate the cultural pluralism and recognition of variation that underlie this field of study. These variations are sometimes also described as ‘varieties of English’, ‘new Englishes’ or ‘international Englishes’. Because Singaporean English makes up one of these ‘new Englishes’, the overarching conceptual structure of WE is important in situating this present study in existing literature on the worldwide spread of English and the resultant contact language varieties.

Beginning primarily with descriptive linguistics (e.g., McArthur, 1998; Quirk, 1972; Quirk & Widdowson, 1985), Kachru (1992b; 1992c, etc.) is credited with expanding the initial emphasis on feature-based descriptions of world Englishes to a global frame; his ‘socially-realistic’ (1992c) approach to the field is said to have been influential in many later studies addressing political issues in sociolinguistics (Bolton, 2005).

Though Kirkpatrick (2007b) identifies several schema to classify WE, the study of the dissemination of the English language around the world is often referenced with Kachru’s (1985) description of three concentric circles. An Inner Circle includes the traditional historical settings of English where it is used as a primary language: the UK, the USA, Australia and New Zealand. Inner Circle members are described as language norm-providing in that language norms and standards are a feature of this circle (conversely, Outer and Expanding Circles are described as norm-dependent). An Outer Circle refers to English in the context of former British or American colonies, where English is employed as an additional language for such purposes as government

administration, law or education. Singapore, Kenya, India and the Philippines are cited as examples of countries which exhibit features of Outer Circle Englishes. An Expanding Circle demarcates territories where English is used primarily for international communication (China, Brazil, Iran or some countries of the European Union are examples). The assertion that Singaporean English (specifically SSE) differs little from an Inner Circle variety (Pakir, 1991) is an important element to consider in this study, as it impacts upon two categories which figure centrally in the research: NS/NNS identifications, and language norm-production versus norm-dependency.

Kachru also (1992b) identified two ‘diasporas’ of English. An initial diaspora brought the language from a mother country to new territories like North America or Australia through the movement of English speakers (though it could be argued that the dominance of English over languages in Ireland, Scotland and Wales preceded this: see Y. Kachru & Smith, 2008). The language in these new situations adapted and began to develop distinctly from the English of Great Britain, due to contact with speakers of other indigenous languages and the variety of dialects brought together by the settlers. A second diaspora, of which Singapore is part, took shape through colonisation in Africa and Asia. Though initially introduced through trading, colonial administration, education or missionary work, the English language was adopted and spread by the local populations, undergoing phases of nativization in the process (Schneider, 2007).

The application of Critical Theory (CT) to linguistics figures significantly in more recent discussions of WE, and as Holliday draws upon critical perspectives for his conception of native-speakerism, has a direct intersection with this study. The resultant hybrid of CT and WE, through the ‘constant questioning of the normative assumptions of applied linguistics’, relates the task of

the applied linguist to ‘questions of gender, class, sexuality, race, ethnicity, culture, identity, politics, ideology and discourse’ (Pennycook, 2001, p. 10). Drawing upon postcolonial theory or neo-Marxist political interpretations, critical linguistics resists what it sees as the cultural hegemony of English vis a vis other languages.

Phillipson’s *Linguistic Imperialism* (1992) and its roots in critical theory has had a very large influence on scholarship regarding WE. Phillipson describes linguistic imperialism as a subset of ‘linguicism’, a term originally coined by Skuttnab-Kangas to ‘draw parallels between hierarchisation on the basis of “race” or ethnicity (racism, ethnicism), gender (sexism) and language (linguicism)’ (Phillipson, 1997, p. 239). Contrasting the structural inequities between ‘core’ English-speaking countries and ‘periphery’ countries where English is a second or foreign language, Phillipson argues that the ELT enterprise serves to maintain a relationship of economic and political hegemony. Pennycook (1994, 1998) builds on Phillipson’s assertions, identifying the role of ELT in maintaining capitalist interests by the Anglophone West, and calling for a radical rethink of pedagogy by ELT educators.

Native-speakerism

Holliday’s notion of native-speakerism (2005, 2006), which figures centrally in this investigation, draws heavily from critical applied linguistics as it intersects with WE. Conceptualising as a ‘struggle’ the task of teaching English as an international language, Holliday describes an essentialist cultural chauvinism said to be endemic within ELT. Native-speakerist educators assume the ownership of English resides with them, take for granted the pre-eminence of the ‘native speaking’ teacher, and reduce learners to reductionist stereotypes. This cultural chauvinism, along with its accompanying stereotypical caricatures, is said to have been become embedded in the so-called professional discourses of ELT with wide-reaching

effects. Resisting native-speakerism, according to Holliday requires a deliberate reset: of ideas about who ‘owns’ English, of the professional status for the non-Western ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) educator, and of ideas about what constitutes language norms from within the English-speaking West (2005, p. 12).

The native speaker paradigm

Another subset of the WE theoretical framework, and upon which native-speakerism draws its critique, is the native speaker paradigm. It closely intersects discussions of world Englishes, and figures heavily in critiques offered from critical perspectives.

The native speaker paradigm ‘constructs a binary classification of speakers, native and non-native’ (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 2001, p. 99). The assumption that the ‘native speaker’ of a foreign language makes her or him the ideal teacher still holds considerable popular currency, and can figure prominently in the advancement (or not) of an ELT educator’s career (Braine, 1999; Clark & Paran, 2007). Phillipson (1992) called this belief the native speaker fallacy, and argued that the (false) supposition of his or her superiority is a central tenet of the ELT enterprise, an assertion echoed by Holliday’s conception of native-speakerism (2005).

These beliefs persist despite the assertions of linguists that native speaker is a social construction, rather than a linguistic one (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 2001; Davies, 1991, 2003; Pennycook, 1998; Widdowson, 1994). Kramsch (1998) notes the influence of Chomsky’s ‘idealised abstraction’ in early discussions of native speaker-ness as something one is born into, perhaps in part explaining the persistence of the belief.

The studies of WE turn the NS/NNS dichotomy on its head. Inherent in this notion is a pluralistic approach that recognizes the ‘legitimacy’ of Singapore English, Philippine English, Kenyan English or Indian English, to cite just a few examples. A speaker of Singaporean

English or Indian English, if following localized norms, might well be considered a native speaker – a native speaker of Indian or Singaporean English (Higgins, 2003). Linguistically, the notion of the native speaker has been largely debunked (Davies, 2003), and some have suggested that the nomenclature be abandoned (Higgins, 2003; Kamhi-Stein, 2005; Leung, Harris, & Rampton, 1997; Rampton, 1990); Holliday prefers to surround the terms in inverted commas (‘native speaker’ and ‘non-native speaker’) ‘to show that they are as stated by the discourse, and as such are disputed’ (2005, p. 4). As will be discussed later, the potential that the use of the terms NS and NNS in this study would serve to undervalue the work of English teachers or perpetuate any existing inequities required clear justification for their usage.

Postcolonial Englishes and Singaporean English

An analytical framework also intersecting with WE is the linguistic study of Postcolonial Englishes (PCEs) in general, and Schneider’s (2003, 2007) Dynamic Model in particular, of which Singapore is offered as an example of. Schneider asserts that the dialect development of New Englishes is a relatively uniform process; that despite the great diversity of languages and cultures in settings where English has been encountered through colonial contact, ‘the results are surprisingly similar in many ways, both structurally and sociolinguistically’ (2003, p. 234). The Dynamic Model’s five-stage developmental cycle, he suggests, can be applied to most or even all Englishes (Schneider, 2003, p. 256). This developmental cycle of a New English sits alongside models proposed by Kachru (1992a) and Moag (1992), and will be discussed further in the next chapter. Also, considerable space in the second chapter is devoted to surveying the literature on both linguistic and sociolinguistic dimensions of English in Singapore, with particular attention paid to CSE.

1.2.2 Non-standard varieties in educational policy and practice (Bourdieu's 'cultural' and 'linguistic capital', Bernstein's 'code', and Labov's 'varieties')

A second overarching part of this present study's conceptual framework is the theoretical basis and research findings regarding non-standard language varieties in educational policy and practice. Corson (1995, 2001) identifies three theorists whose influence continues to hold import in discussions of non-standard language varieties in schools: Pierre Bourdieu's notion of linguistic and cultural capital, Basil Bernstein's intersections of language with his principle of 'code', and William Labov's linguistic work with vernacular English in the United States.

Scholars have previously drawn upon Bourdieu's understanding of capital in explaining roles and functions of the English language in Singapore (e.g., Silver, 2005). Bourdieu deemed capital to be 'accumulated labor' with which social actors could gain 'social energy' (Bourdieu, 2006, p. 105). He extended the notion of capital beyond its usual economic definition to a wider usage referring to a complex system of social exchanges (R. Moore, 2008). Cultural capital refers to those advantages, held in high regard by others, and 'linguistic capital' is one of those. Linguistic capital includes appropriateness of language use: the ability to select the right language variety for the appropriate situation, and education requires a certain type of linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). Linguistic ability is of high value in education, though not all have equal access to it, despite commonplace assertions to the contrary. When education produces failure for some groups, cultural and social factors are often overlooked, and the conclusion drawn is that the process of selectivity was a fair one (Corson, 2001).

Bernstein's complex system of 'code' (Bernstein, 1971, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c) intersects with Bourdieu's stress on the importance of the role of language and education in social

differentiation. Because educational knowledge and its distribution was posited by Bernstein as a key element of social control, it followed that the means of transmission of that educational knowledge was of central import. Through Bernstein's three 'message systems' of curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation, educational knowledge was transmitted and societal relations then ordered accordingly. One of those message systems, curriculum, is drawn upon by Holliday (1994a) in attempting to frame the global spread of English with the accompanying pedagogical conflict. Bernstein placed curriculum along a dichotomous collectionist and integrationist scale: collectionist curricula exhibit clear subject areas and high levels of instructor subject specialisation, while integrationist models of curriculum utilise a more interdisciplinary approach. Holliday suggests a problematic transfer as English is taught in other contexts, as integrationist-oriented Western TESOL approaches are brought into conflict with the collectionist settings in which English is often taught.

Labov's (1972a, 1972b) work with non-standard language varieties, and African-American English in particular, was influential in shaping the understanding that non-standard varieties have their own rules of usage, and are not just 'bad English'. Following, he asserted that use of a non-standard variety with its own phonology or grammatical norms in school was not, in and of itself, evidence of educational failure. At present, educational planners in Singapore are a long way from accepting such a view. The intersection of the Singapore Ministry of Education's 2010 English Language Syllabus with some of the assertions of Labov and others with similar views is explored further in the literature review.

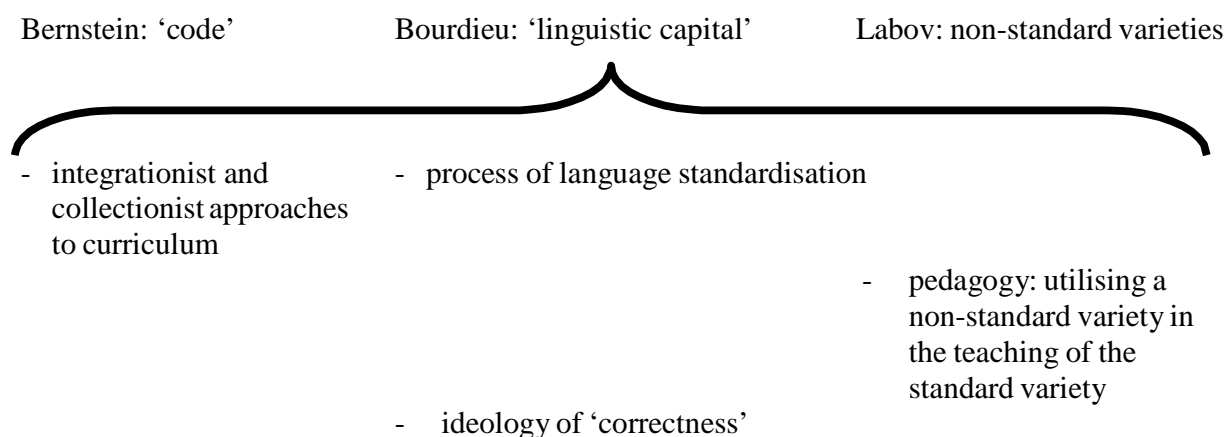
Labov's foundational work was influential in research which followed on the role and place of non-standard vernacular use in schools. The accounts of Siegel (1999a, 1999b, 2007),

Rickford (2005), Wheeler (2005), and others of how minority dialects and varieties are utilized in the teaching of the standard variety will be explored further in the context of classroom CSE.

These themes crisscross the larger framework of debates surrounding language standardisation. Such debates reflect the clash of different visions of social reality (Blommaert, 1999), and are identifiable at a particular historical point (Bokhorst-Heng, 2005). Again, Bourdieu's (1991) theoretical construct of symbolic capital describes the progression of language standardisation leading to a situation where all other linguistic practices are gauged by a standard form. An 'ideology of correctness' (Corson, 2001) creates a circular relationship whereby the state attributes a high prestige to the standard, and then asserts and maintains the legitimacy of that language variety through official state rules and functions, including education and the ways and means of educational assessment. One of standardisation's effects is that beliefs about an idea of 'correctness' become widespread within a language group, until it is taken as 'common sense' that a certain form is correct and a certain form is incorrect (Milroy, 2001). Such seemingly common sense ideas of language standardisation are, as Fairclough (1989) reminds us, rife with the politics of power.

Figure 3 summarises the previously described themes related to the study's conceptual framework in regard to non-standard language varieties in educational policy and practice.

Figure 3: ‘Umbrellas’ of non-/standard language varieties in educational policy and practice as a conceptual framework of this study

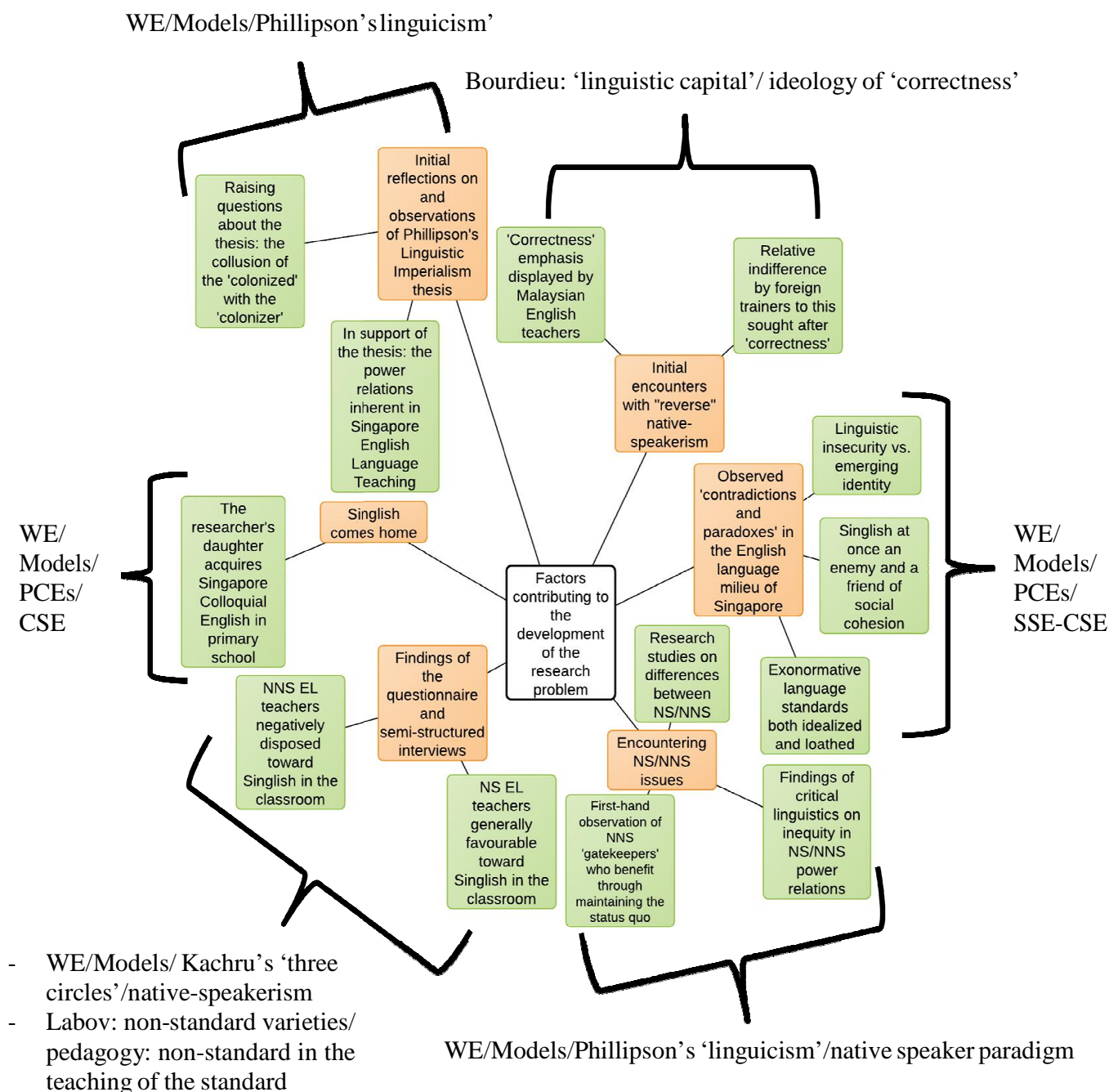


1.2.3 Summary: Theoretical frameworks and background factors

How then, do the background factors leading the researcher interrelate with the study’s conceptual frameworks? Figure 4 reproduces the visual representation of the factors contributing to the development of the research problem (Figure 1), and illustrates how this background intersects with the themes from the study’s conceptual framework.

As previously noted, a guiding principle in outlining the experiential backdrop to this present study was Maxwell’s (2005) assertion that the interrelatedness of the analytical frameworks with the researcher’s own background is a critical factor in shaping the investigation.

Figure 4: Relationship between conceptual frameworks and study background factors



1.3 Research questions

Creswell (2013) posits that research questions in qualitative studies are ‘open-ended, evolving and non-directional’ (p. 138). They attempt to strike a balance between providing a structure and focus to the research, while at the same time not limiting potential unanticipated findings by an overly narrow thrust. As will be explained further, the researcher’s initial three questions were expanded to include a fourth question following the collection of preliminary data.

Initial phase

This research study sought the views of Singapore teachers of English involved with the TC project – both Singaporeans who described themselves as ‘non-native speaking’ (NNS) EL teachers, and expatriate who describe themselves as ‘native speaking’ (NS) EL teachers – on attitudes toward the use of CSE in the classroom. The following research questions were investigated, and formed the basis for the development of the first two methodologies:

1. What are the views of Singaporean NNS English teachers and expatriate teachers on the use of Singlish in the classroom? In what way, if any, does a teacher’s self-described ‘nativeness’ or ‘non-nativeness’ as an English speaker impact his/her view of CSE in the classroom?
2. What other variables (e.g., education inside or outside of Singapore, gender, university major, etc.) result in significant attitudinal differences between teachers in the study?

3. Do these attitudinal differences or similarities among teachers yield any insights that might illustrate best classroom practices in regard to Singlish in Singapore classrooms?

Second phase

In keeping with the description of research questions as ‘evolving’ (Cresswell, 2013), following the gathering and analysis of data from the questionnaires and semi-structured interviews, another – potential avenue of inquiry emerged, which was then formulated into the following fourth research question with which to revisit the existing data and inform the collection and analysis of future data:

4. To what extent are the attitudes expressed by NS and NNS English teachers in Singapore a confirmation of, or a contradiction to, the fundamental assertions of native-speakerism?

Figure 5: Summary of research questions

Initial phase	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What are the views of Singaporean NNS English teachers and expatriate teachers on the use of Singlish in the classroom? In what way, if any, does a teacher’s self-described ‘nativeness’ or ‘non-nativeness’ as an English speaker impact his/her view of CSE in the classroom? [RQ1] 2. What other variables result in significant attitudinal differences between teachers in the study? [RQ2] 3. Do these attitudinal differences or similarities between teachers yield any insights that might illustrate best classroom practices in regard to Singlish in Singapore classrooms? [RQ3]
2nd phase (pursued after analysis of initial data)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. To what extent are the attitudes expressed by self-described NS/NNS teachers a confirmation of/contradiction to the fundamental assertions of native-speakerism? [RQ4]

1.4 Significance of the study

1.4.1 For the broader field

The notion of ‘native-speakerism’ in the field of ELT (Holliday, 2005, 2006) describes an essentialist cultural chauvinism originating in the prevailing educational culture of Western countries, whereby learners and teaching associates are ‘Othered’ to stereotypical caricatures. An ideological division between educators from the English-speaking West and their colleagues serves to reinforce unequally distributed power relations. Native-speakerism has its origins in the applications of critical approaches to applied linguistics (Canagarajah, 1999b; Fairclough, 1989, 1995; Holliday, 2005; Jenkins, 2000; Pennycook, 1998; Phillipson, 1992). Waters (2007a, 2007b), while accepting the reality of native-speakerism as it operates in ELT, suggests that resisting its effects ought rather to be done through substantiation of verifiable research, since CT is itself a Western ideology with the potential for hegemonic influence.

The context of this particular study presented an environment suited to investigating some of the claims of native-speakerism: potential ‘Other-ers’ (those who identified themselves as NS) and those who might potentially be ‘Othered’ (those who identified themselves as NNS) were both involved in the TC initiative. The NS represented instruction in a standard Inner Circle language variety, and the NNS a local variation. Would neo-colonial power relations be reinforced and culturist us-them stereotypes be in operation?

Data gathered through analyses of an attitudinal questionnaire and follow-up semi-structured interviews suggested, in regards to Singlish, an apparent role reversal: while Singapore NNS English language teachers evidenced negative views of CSE, their expatriate NS counterparts asserted the legitimacy of Singlish as a language variety. In this instance, data from

NNS appears counter-intuitive to some of the tenets of native-speakerism. Further, document analysis carried out of official policy suggests the greatest threat to the language variety known as Singlish is not an exonormative standard imposed from afar, but local attitudes.

The contribution of this research to the broader field of applied linguistics lies in the fact that the notion of native-speakerism, while having a wide currency, has been subjected to only limited scrutiny through established methods of social research (Waters, 2007b). Waters (2007a, 2007b) cited research results that ran counterintuitive to some of the axioms of native-speakerism and Critical Theory (CT) (see Bygate, 2001; House, 2003; McDonough, 2002; Spratt, Humphreys, & Chan, 2002) and the findings of this study substantiated those findings.

1.4.2 For where a standard and a local variety coexist

As one participant in the study put it, in Singapore schools, ‘Singlish happens’. Despite official pronouncements against this variety of English, despite government campaigns promoting its more ‘standard’ alternative, despite an EL syllabus with ‘standard’ ideals, and despite multitudinous efforts by individual school leaders to discourage the use of CSE, Singlish persists in the school canteens, morning assemblies, staff rooms and classrooms of Singapore schools. The widespread use of CSE is a feature of Singapore schools (Doyle, 2009; Rubdy, 2007), the wishes of and sometimes tacit denials of educational officials notwithstanding. Further, if its resiliency in the past is an indicator, Singlish is not likely to be eradicated any time soon.

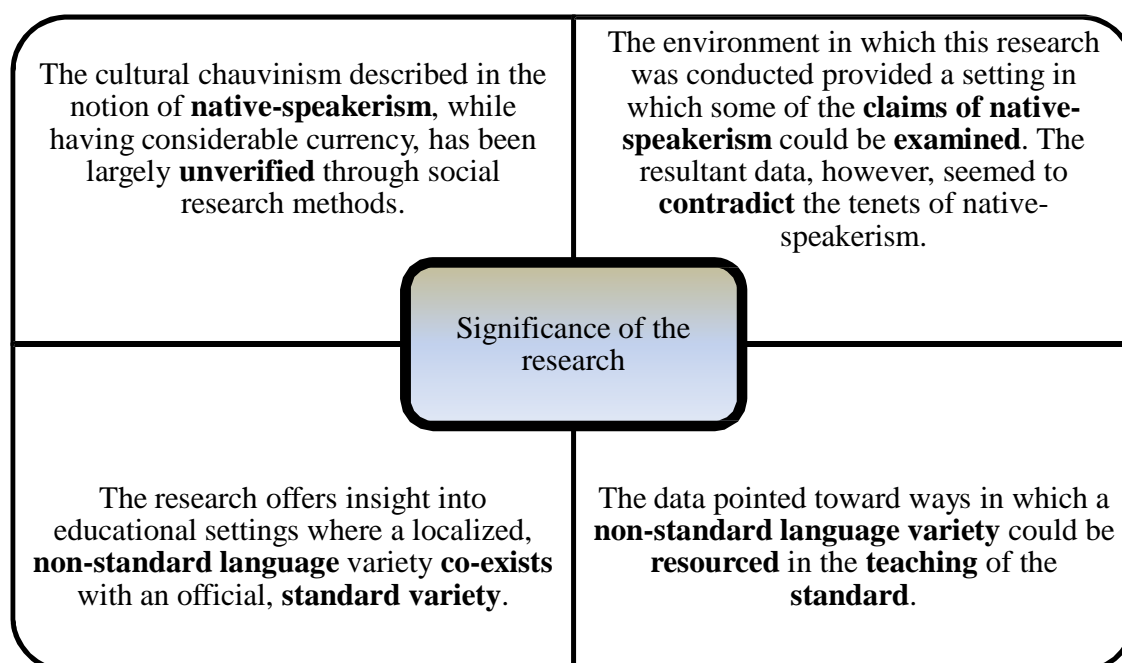
This study has significance for EL teachers in Singapore struggling with the demands of implementing national language policy in the reality of classrooms where an officially discouraged language variety exists and persists. Moving forward, this research gleaned some

insights from language teachers into the possibilities for accepting Singlish, not as a hindrance to developing proficiency in Standard English (StdE), but as a potentially helpful tool in doing so (Rubdy, 2007). The findings therefore may have wider application outside of Singapore to educators facing similar circumstances: the practical implementation of language policy for a standard language variety in a school setting where a non-standard language form operates.

In this regard, the research may also be important for educational administrators and curriculum planners in Singapore, and by extension, to their counterparts in other educational contexts where a localized language variety functions. School-level bans of Singlish by well-meaning principals and department heads, according to informants in this present study, did little to curb student (or even teacher) use of CSE. These findings may be examined along with the considerable body of evidence which suggests that a non-standard variety, rather than official denial of its existence, can be intentionally and effectively put to work for the teaching and learning of the standard variety (Rickford, 2000, 2005; Siegel, 2007).

The significance of the study is summarised in Figure 6.

Figure 6: Summary - significance of the research



1.5 Methodology of the study

A complete explanation of the research methods will be discussed in Chapter 3, so what follows here is a brief summation. This study falls under the rubric of a mixed methods approach (Bryman, 2006; Tashakkori & Cresswell, 2007; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009), as it combined the quantitative data generated by a questionnaire with qualitative data gathered through semi-structured interview and document analysis (see Sieber, 2006). Initial data was gathered through an attitudinal survey of teachers and TCs participating in the MoE initiative during 2010, using non-probability sampling, with participants drawn from all schools participating in the TC program. T-tests for independent samples were conducted of self-identified NS and NNS teachers to determine if significant differences existed between their views. A number of questions from Section B of the questionnaire exhibited noteworthy dissimilarities between categories of respondents.

These were further explored through five semi-structured interviews: 3 NNS and 2 NS. The interview questions included both structured and unstructured items, to allow for the pursuance of standard data as well as opportunities to explore potentially tangential details that might yield valuable information (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2007). The interviews were then transcribed and coded under emerging themes to facilitate analysis; the coded data was analysed to glean further attitudinal commonalities and differences between the two groups.

A third phase of research searched for corroboration of the findings with official documentation, through document analysis (Bowen, 2009). An analysis was carried out on key documents from the 2012 version of the SGEM website. The documents were coded for content analysis (Labuschagne, 2003), using the themes generated during the analysis of the semi-structured interviews. Confluence of the data from the three methodologies was observed in key areas.

1.6 Delimitations of the study

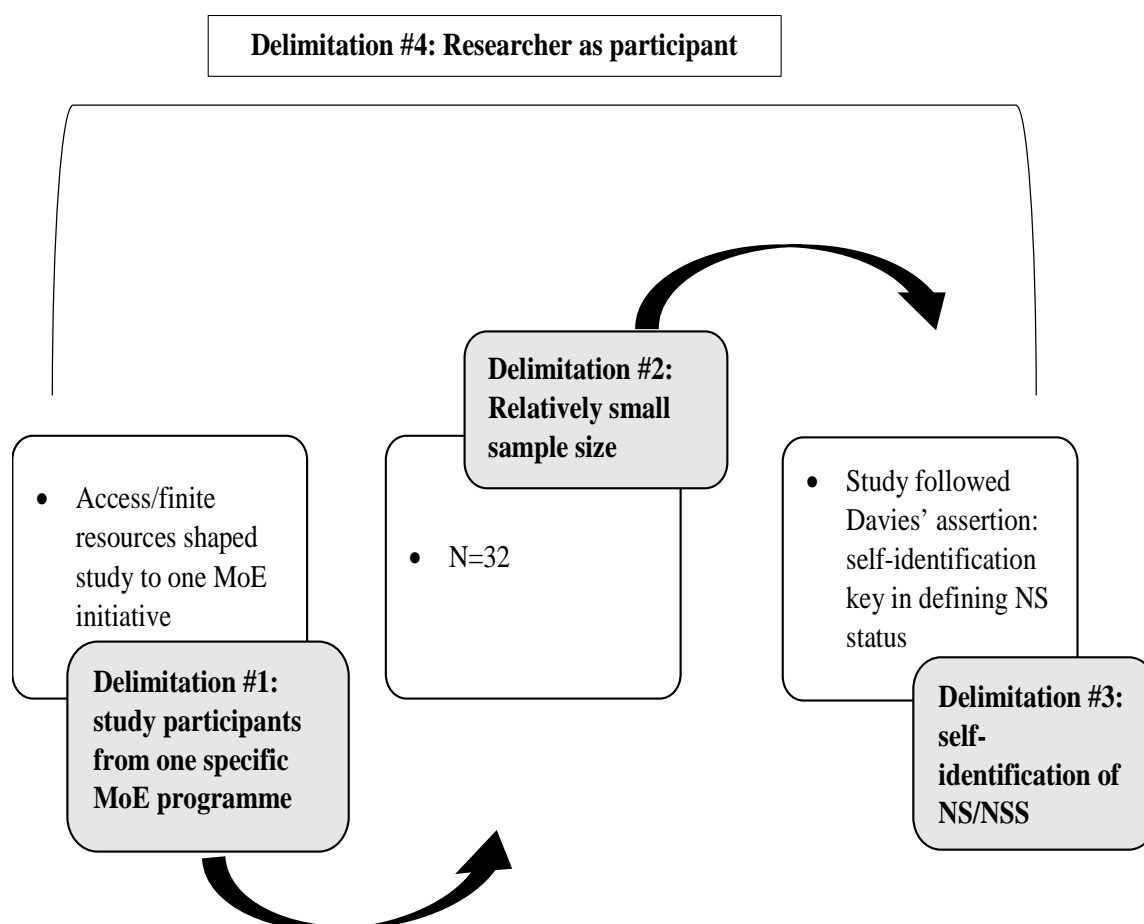
Several delimitations are important to consider when drawing wider conclusions from the study. First, the research participants were drawn exclusively from schools participating in the TC initiative; this was done because the researcher was afforded direct access to the teachers in this program. There are other programs within the MoE which place NS language teachers in local schools, but these were not considered due to inaccessibility to the researcher. The relatively high levels of education (Master's degrees and above) and international experience required for employment as a TC (TES, 2009) may not be the norm for expatriate English teachers in other initiatives within the MoE; this difference needs to be factored in when

considering the wider generalisability of attitudinal findings to NS English language teachers in Singapore.

The relatively small sample size (N=32) for the initial questionnaire also needs to be taken into account. Finite financial, time and accessibility resources limited a larger sample of Singapore schools and teachers. Extension to the research at a later date is anticipated, and would extend further the understanding of dimensions, roles, and functions of classroom CSE.

Another important delimitation to note is the self-identification of NS/NNS. No attempt was made to provide a definition to participants. While conceivably research participants could have made linguistically uninformed judgments regarding who was/was not a NS of English (the country of one's birth, for example), the researcher followed Davies (1991, 2003) in considering self-identification as an important factor in what constitutes a native speaker of a particular language. As Davies points out in his attempt to define NS, all those who consider themselves to be native speakers of a language '... have responsibilities in terms of confidence and identity. They must be confident as native speakers and identify with other native speakers and be accepted by them' (Davies, 2003, p. 8). The act of indicating on a survey form that one was either NS or NNS demonstrated a considerable amount about how the participant viewed her/himself in terms of group membership, a central feature of what, sociolinguistically, constitutes a native speaker: 'For the distinction native speaker – non-native speaker, like all majority-minority power relations, is at bottom one of confidence and identity' (Davies, 2003, p. 213).

Figure 7: Delimitations of the study



Finally, the limitations of researcher as participant must be considered. While traditional assumptions regarding the absolutist centrality of objectivity in knowledge, drawn from positivist paradigms (see Denzin, 2001) are not held by the researcher, the potential conflict of describing a project of which the researcher is a part should be considered in research design. In this particular study, the researcher straddled roles between participant-as-observer (Gold, 1958; LeCompte, Preissle, & Tesch, 1993) and participant. The researcher worked as a Teacher Consultant as part of the MoE project in which this study is situated. The MoE was the project

client, to whom ultimately TCs reported, in a contract relationship. To what extent was it possible for the researcher to ‘step outside’ this role and examine the viewpoints of colleagues?

Yet, post-positivist critiques of traditional arguments about objectivity in research stress the interrelatedness of the research and the researcher, admitting, and even valuing, the fact that the researcher is part of the environment being researched, and that the researcher rather than the research method is central (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007). The researcher draws upon the feminist critique of positivism in this regard, which disputes the conception of objectivity and subjectivity as binary opposites, but rather perceives the two extending along an interrelated continuum (Scott & Usher, 2010). Blumenfeld-Jones uses the term ‘fidelity’ to describe both the accurate description of a research account and the research subject’s agreement with that description (Blumenfeld-Jones, 1995); the researcher in this study attempted to strive for fidelity in this sense, especially given his own involvement in the TC project. The researcher endeavoured to keep the question of *Cui bono* (‘to whose benefit?’) (Coombes & Danaher, 2001) at the forefront at every stage of the study’s planning and implementation in order to consciously counter, as far as was possible, the researcher’s own vested interests.

Braine (2005), in surveying research on NNS/NS language teachers, notes that the investigations are typically carried out by NNS. Citing concerns of validity and reliability, Braine suggests that a NNS asking another NNS for preferences might lead to only positive responses; conversely, a NNS interviewing a NS might yield data ‘more politically correct than accurate’ (2005, p. 22). In the case of this present study, the researcher had to take into account the possibility that negative statements about Singlish in the classroom by NNS participants were designed to reflect what Singaporean teachers *should* think, as opposed to what they *actually* think. The researcher was conscious of this, and attempted to counter this tendency in two ways.

First, participants were given pre- and post-interview explanations of the purpose of the study along with assurances, both in writing and orally, of confidentiality. The researcher attempted to make clear that opinions and attitudes expressed, after the data analysis phase of the research, would be impossible to link to any particular teacher or school. Second, during the semi-structured interviews, the researcher attempted to be mindful of, and where possible to record in note form, answers that seemed to be ‘political’ (in the way that Braine used the term in the above instance). Those were then explored through further questioning in the interview, in an attempt to seek a less ‘edited’ version.

The above concern expressed by Braine in regard to NNS/NS research can, conversely, also be understood as a strength of this particular investigation. NS participants, speaking to a fellow NS researcher, may feel less constrained to offer a ‘political’ explanation of their views on Singlish, NNS teachers, Singapore’s education system, etc.

1.7 Summary

This introductory chapter provided the background to the study, introduced the conceptual frameworks and their relationships, specified the research questions, highlighted the significance, gave an overview of the methodology, and listed the study’s delimitations. With the backdrop described in this introductory chapter, we now turn our attention to a review of the literature on the intersection of the themes that make up this study’s conceptual framework.

After an introduction to Singapore English and its roles and uses in the classroom, the literature review will explore WE and its relevant subsets in the context of native-speakerism, with a focus on the challenge to WE from key proponents of critical theory in applied linguistics. Theoretical perspectives and pedagogical research on non-standard language forms in the context of school

and educational policy will be explored with reference to the role of CSE. Chapter 3 will detail how the study was carried out, making explicit the link between the research questions and methodology, and explain how the methodology was shaped and sharpened after the collection of initial data. The next section of the study, Chapter 4, will present the results obtained by the research methodologies, grouped around the central research questions. The fifth and concluding chapter will provide an overview of the study and its methodology before interpreting the study's findings in light of the conceptual framework, making some potential recommendations to educators as a result of those findings, and suggesting avenues for future research directions.

Chapter 2: Literature review

This second chapter discusses the literature key to the central research questions of the study, namely: the attitudinal differences and similarities between self-identified NS/NNS toward the role of a non-standard contact language variety in the classroom, and whether their attitudes and practices are consistent with Holliday's theory of native-speakerism.

As noted previously, a conceptual framework seeks to bring existing theoretical and research literature to the phenomena under investigation (Maxwell, 2005; Wengraf, 2001). A large body of literature on the nature of non-standard language varieties, from both sociolinguistic and pedagogical perspectives, forms a basis for this present study. Research literature on Singaporean English is situated within a substantial amount of literature relating to several lines of inquiry. Linguistic investigation into the broader field of models and classifications of world Englishes overlays literature on the native speaker paradigm and native-speakerism, both of which draw upon perspectives rooted in CT. Theoretical understandings of the role of language in power distribution, as expressed in education, intersect with empirical inquiries into non-standard varieties in the school; these in turn inform research about classroom pedagogical approaches to dialects and non-standard language forms. These two analytical frameworks interact in this study with a substantial body of literature on Singaporean English. The diagram below (Figure 8) illustrates the conceptual frameworks for this study and the interactions between them.

This literature review, then, consists of three sections as delineated by the conceptual frameworks. It will begin by providing an overview of Singaporean English, surveying its features primarily within a sociolinguistic perspective. This is followed by a look at CSE in macro and micro contexts. Beginning at a classroom level, a review is provided of studies on the

roles and functions of CSE in a classroom and school context. On a macro level, CSE is considered in light of the Singapore government's language policy in general as reflected in the Speak Good English Movement (or SGEM), and in the 2010 English Language Syllabus in particular.

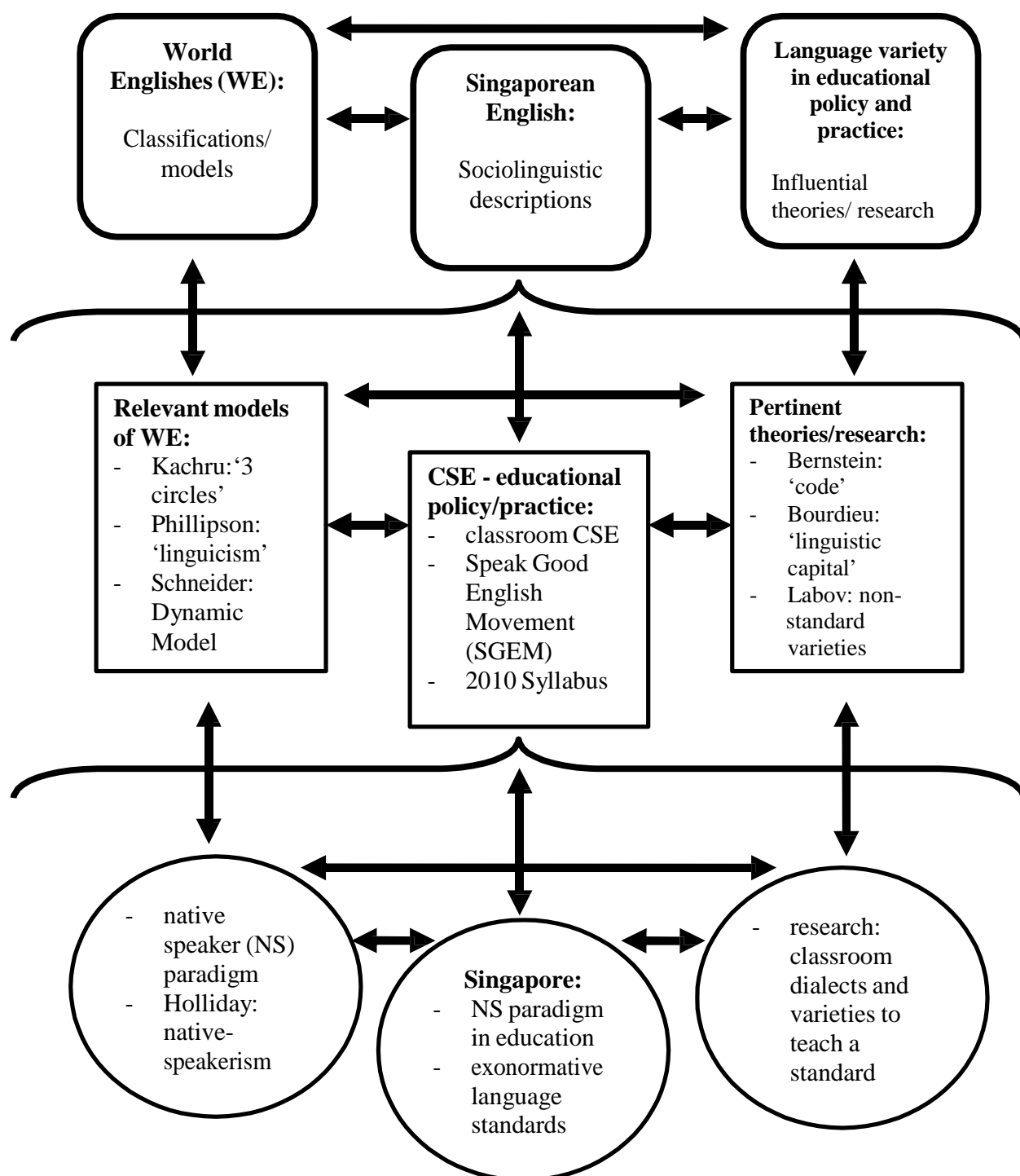
The second section of the literature review is concerned with the findings of this study as they relate to the branch of linguistic study known as world Englishes (WE) and the subsets of WE which are relevant to this present study. After an overview of WE, classifications of the spread of English around the world are considered; especially germane to this study are Phillipson's linguisticism and the relationship of Singapore and the data gathered in this study to various models of the spread and development of varieties of Englishes, notably Schneider's (2003, 2007) Dynamic Model. Linguicism and its linguistic imperialism thesis are examined in light of the various critiques offered to them. The critical applied linguistics perspective is further explored as expressed in the native speaker paradigm with specific attention to Holliday's (2005, 2006) conception of native-speakerism. Native-speakerism will be explored in light of its roots in Holliday's understanding of appropriate methodology, and then critiqued from the standpoint of its epistemological foundation to determine whether such an approach can account for the attitudinal variation toward CSE evidenced in this study's data.

A third section considers theoretical and research perspectives on the role of non-standard varieties in pedagogical practice and at an educational policy level. The influence of theories by Bourdieu and Bernstein has impacted debates about the roles of standard and non-standard language in education, and they will be surveyed in light of this study's purposes. In particular, the suitability of Bourdieu's conceptualisation of linguistic capital as a conceptual framework in accounting for attitudinal variation toward CSE will be considered. Labov's (1972a, 1972b)

research laid foundations for further investigations into standard and non-standard language varieties in pedagogical practice, which interact with the discussion of CSE in classrooms where a standard variety is called for. These three theorists, Bourdieu, Bernstein and Labov are seen as archetypal in that their theoretical conceptions have inspired and generated considerable discussion and research, and therefore are used as ‘headings’ in this literature review under which related research themes are examined.

To assist the reader, Figure 9 illustrates the conceptual framework from the literature review in table form: presented in summary are the central themes of the literature review, the relationship of a particular theme to this present study, the contribution which the particular grouping of relevance/theme makes to existing knowledge in the context of this study, and the section of the paper in which each grouping can be found.

Figure 8: Conceptual framework overview and interactions¹



¹ The terms *relevant* and *pertinent* as used in the above Figure mean 'relevant/pertinent to this present study'.

Figure 9: Summary – conceptual frameworks with key themes of the literature review

Section:	Theme:	Relevance to the study:	Study's contribution to knowledge:
2.1	Overview of Singaporean English	-delineates features of Standard Singapore English (SSE) & Colloquial Singapore English (CSE) for the purposes of this study	
2.1.1	Singlish in the school classroom	-attitudinal variations toward classroom CSE make up the central component of this investigation	-native speaking (NS) English educators figure in teacher recruitment strategy, but are absent from the research literature in attitudinal studies of classroom CSE
2.1.2	Speak Good English Movement (SGEM)	-hypothesis: exposure to SGEM might account for attitudinal differences between NS/NNS (non-native speaking) teachers of English	-results of this study suggest that SGEM has been successful in its aims with shaping attitudes along the 'frontlines' of English Language (EL) teaching
2.1.3	Singlish and the 2010 English Language (EL) Syllabus	-Syllabus aims allow for situational appropriate language use, but stop short of moving beyond exonormative standards	-previous studies have drawn upon earlier versions of the EL Syllabus -this present study suggests that future EL Syllabus revisions formally recognise CSE for informal domains
2.2.1	world Englishes (WE) overview	-situates SSE and CSE within a broader conceptual framework around the spread of English worldwide	
2.2.2	WE classification schema	-identifies relevant theoretical perspectives for this present study of SSE	

		and CSE	
2.2.3	Phillipson's linguistic imperialism	- this thesis would expect to find language Centre/Periphery hegemony at work in the study's context	- the findings of this present study provide a micro view of ways internal forces (as opposed to external ones) may function to maintain linguistic hegemony
2.2.3.1	critiques of the linguistic imperialism thesis	-provides alternative theoretical explanations for attitudinal variation toward CSE among study participants	-the data gathered in this study suggest support for a notion developed in the literature that internal factors, rather than external forces of global language hegemony, pose a greater threat to local language varieties
2.2.4	Singaporean English as a Postcolonial English	-grounds this present study in extant literature on the theoretical processes in contact language dynamics relating to the worldwide dissemination of English	-the study's results offer supplementary evidence in discussions of the place of Singaporean English in Schneider's Dynamic Model and other models of the spread of English
2.3/2.3.1	Native-speakerism	-defines and identifies features of Holliday's native-speakerism -reviews critiques of native-speakerism in light of the data from this study	-this study assists in providing an empirical inquiry to a theoretical framework holding relatively wide currency but with minimal empirical substantiation -the findings of this study provide further evidence to suggest that Holliday's native-speakerism may be an inadequate

			explanation for NS/NNS dynamics
2.4	Native speaker paradigm	-self-identification of 'native' or 'non-native' status is a significant factor in attitudinal differences among study participants	-this study's findings suggest that the broader dissemination of the WE paradigm may have impacted attitudes regarding language varieties of educators from the Anglophone West working overseas
2.5	Non-standard varieties in educational policy and practice	-situates this study of CSE within a larger context of classroom approaches to non-standard language varieties	-the data collected in this study identifies ways in which CSE is already being utilised in the learning of Standard English (StdE)
2.5.1	Bourdieu and linguistic capital	-the conception of linguistic exchange for symbolic profit in upward mobility provides a viable explanation for NNS attitudes toward classroom CSE	-this study draws upon Bourdieu's conception of linguistic capital in upward mobility as a more plausible explanation for attitudinal variation to classroom CSE
2.5.2	Bernstein's 'code'	-Bernstein's integrationist – collectionist continuum is an important underpinning to Holliday's conception of appropriate methodology	
2.5.3	Labov and language varieties	-the experimental research literature on the use of non-standard linguistic forms in the classroom provides a framework for this study's consideration	-the study's findings point toward the utilisation of a non-standard form in the service of teaching the standard, and suggest this practice be reflected in future

		of the role of CSE in as a pedagogical strategy for StdE	Syllabus revisions
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2.1 Singaporean English: An overview

Since the arrival of Sir Stamford Raffles and the British East India Company in 1819, English has enjoyed a place of privilege in the linguistic ecology of the island of Singapore. Though beginning as the language of the colonial rulers and distant from the populace, its place has gradually expanded to the point that by 2010, English was listed as the language most frequently spoken at home by 32% of the population (DSS, 2010).

Like any language variety, Singapore English cannot of course be spoken of completely homogeneously, but two broad descriptions are often employed to speak of its varieties: Standard Singapore English (SSE) – a variety differing little from Standard English (StdE) but spoken with a Singaporean accent (Low & Brown, 2005) – and Colloquial Singapore English (CSE), popularly known as Singlish. The word Singlish has become somewhat of a catch-all for the local form of English, despite the impreciseness inherent in the usage (Fong, et al., 2002; Low & Brown, 2005). Ho and Platt (1993) prefer the term Singaporean English, consistent with the adjectival form employed in describing other varieties like American English, British English, or Australian English, and assert that describing it as Singapore English may be derogatory. For the purposes of this study, the researcher has opted for the term Singapore English, since it is usually utilized in the field (Leimgruber, 2009); no negative connotation should be inferred from the usage here.

In the earliest days of the English language in Singapore, apart from the colonial leadership, English was far removed from the vast majority of the inhabitants. Malay was even

taught to British workers in the colonial administration (Turnbull, 1996), a fact indicative of this distance. It was not until the Second World War and later following Independence that English became more accessible to the population as a whole. Central to its ascendancy was the decision in 1987 to make education in Singapore English-medium, and to designate the formerly medium of education languages of Malay, Tamil and Mandarin as ‘mother tongue’ subjects.

As part of Kachru’s Outer Circle of English-using countries (1992b), the English language in Singapore has a history of institutionalized functions and plays an important part in various domains of society (Tay, 1979). Since it serves as the medium of education and the language of the government and its civil service, someone without at least some degree of linguistic competency in English would encounter considerable economic and social difficulty (Leimgruber, 2009).

Educational level, socioeconomic background, speaker ethnicity and the degree of formality have all been posited as factors critical in understanding linguistic variation in Singapore (Low & Brown, 2005). Its varieties have been conceptualized under a number of dominant schemes by researchers. The notion of the lectal continuum (Platt, 1975; Platt & Weber, 1980) categorized Singapore English in a range from a ‘low’ variety the furthest removed from StdE (the basilect) to a ‘high’ variety closely approximating British English (the acrolect). A social continuum intersects the linguistic one, and a speaker is said to have a range of from which they can choose.

Gupta’s (1994a) diglossia framework posited a High variety (H) equivalent to StdE, and a Low Variety (L) markedly different in morphology and syntax. When an otherwise H variety utterance incorporated features of the L variety, Gupta accounted for this by crediting it to a ‘leaky’ diglossia (2006). The expanding triangles model (Pakir, 1991) is extensively referenced

in descriptions of Singapore English. In describing ‘English-knowing bilinguals’ Pakir envisioned two ‘clines’ along which Singapore English varied: a cline of formality where SSE is at the upper end as the language of formal contexts, and with the informal CSE at the other end; and a cline of proficiency that denotes the length of time the speaker has had in English language learning. Pakir asserted that the most proficient speakers have the biggest triangle of expression: these speakers are able to move up and down the proficiency cline, while less proficient speakers, with only CSE at their disposal, would therefore have a smaller triangle of expression. Poedjosoedarmo (1995) suggested a modification of Pakir’s triangles to include the proficiency reflected by educational and socioeconomic differentiations.

The Cultural Orientation Model (COM) suggests that English language variation in Singapore is best understood in relation to the tension between globalizing and localizing forces at play (Alsagoff, 2007, 2010a, 2010b). A growing local ownership of the language among Singaporeans results in speakers appropriating English for development of a distinct identity, while simultaneously competing globalizing forces press for the uniformity of a standard variety. COM attempts to account for instances where CSE forms are employed in otherwise StdE utterances, and posits a global-local orientation rather than diglossia proper.

Leimgruber’s (2009) analysis parted company with the previous explanations and extended the COM model in suggesting that indexicality (cf. Eckert, 2008; Silverstein, 2003) may provide a better explanation of the considerable variation that exists within Singaporean English. In an indexicality approach, linguistic variations mark (index) social meanings. Leimgruber asserts that instances of switching between H and L varieties are best explained by the speaker’s social stance(s) in a given utterance, and that this indexicality surmounts the weaknesses of diglossia and continuum models of variation in Singapore English.

Ethnic variation has also been suggested as a source of variation. One study observed that Chinese speakers of English are most readily identified, followed by Malay and then Indian (L. Lim, 2000). Correct identification of recordings of different ethnic speakers of English was overwhelmingly accurate in informal situations (Deterding & Poedjosoedarmo, 2000).

While it is generally agreed that the genesis of CSE can be traced to the English-medium schools at the beginning of the 20th century, of course the waves of immigration characterizing the history of settlement in Singapore have always given birth to language hybrids facilitating inter-ethnic and inter-language communication (Bloom, 1986; Gupta, 2007; L. Lim, 2010; Miksic, 2004). When school children were using English in ‘natural communication settings whilst still in quite early stages of acquisition’, a variety of English took shape ‘which was strongly influenced by the background languages, particularly the Chinese dialects and Malay’ (Platt, Weber, & Ho, 1983, p. 9). Since the schools were the primary crucible for the development of Singapore English, it follows that who went to school was an important factor in the variety of English that formed. As fewer Malays attended school at the outset, Malay exerted less influence over the structure of the developing language variety than did the Chinese languages, though various lexical items found their way into usage (Leimgruber, 2009).

Officially, CSE is oft-maligned. Former Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew famously called Singlish ‘a handicap we must not wish on Singaporeans’ (quoted in Chng, 2003, p. 46) and urged his audience during a speech: ‘Do not use Singlish! If you do, you are the loser. Only foreign academics like to write about it. You have to live with it’ (quoted in Gupta, 1998, p. 4). Lee’s successor, Goh Chok Tong, in a National Day address, stressed to Singaporeans that ‘We cannot be a first-world economy or go global with Singlish’ (quoted in Chng, 2003, p. 46). Prime Minister Goh presided over the launch of the Speak Good English Movement (SGEM), a

campaign still operating. Its official website says the SGEM's main aim is to 'encourage Singaporeans to speak grammatically correct English that is universally understood' (SGEM, 2012b). SGEM, through media blitzes and various activities, desires to promote a language usage more akin to standard varieties.

Official pronouncements and movements notwithstanding, CSE is alive and well. Supporters of the continued use of Singlish argue that it is an important part of national identity, and while not discounting the importance of being able to use StdE in appropriate contexts, argue for its central place in defining a Singaporean (Chng, 2003). Indeed, CSE's usage is arguable a central feature of Singaporean identity and unity; ironically, one that may be much more effective at achieving the social cohesion sought by its leaders through the promotion of StdE (Rubdy, 2001).

The features of Singapore English can be described according to phonology, lexis and grammar, though it is important to note the variation across the continuum from basilectal to acrolectal varieties. These features have been discussed at length elsewhere (e.g., Alsagoff, 2001; Alsagoff & Ho, 1998a, 1998b; Bao, 1998; Brown, 1999; Brown & Deterding, 2005; Leimgruber, 2009; L. Lim, 2009, 2004), so only brief mention is warranted in this overview section, and some selected examples specific to CSE are summarised in Figure 10. In terms of phonology CSE does not distinguish length in vowels, and word-final consonants are often unvoiced. Dental fricatives are often sounded as labiodentals or dental stops (Bao, 1998).

A notable feature of Singapore English, especially in its basilectal form, is lexical input from other languages. Malay words like *makan* ('to eat') and *bodoh* ('stupid'), Hokkien expressions like *shiok* ('very good'), *kiasu* ('afraid to lose out') and *ang moh* (literally 'red hair'; used for 'Westerner') are features of Singapore English, to the extent that this researcher learnt

these expressions through personal conversations within a few months of arriving in Singapore. Lexical items that have lost considerable usage in StdE remain in everyday speech in Singapore: *spectacles* for ‘glasses’ and *alight* for ‘get off or get out of’ (a bus or train) are two examples (Leimgruber, 2009, p. 19). Some expressions are used differently than in StdE, such as *on/off* (the fan, for ‘switch/turn on’), and *send* (‘give a lift to’).

Grammatical features of CSE include marking verbs with expressions like *last time* and *next time* to indicate tense, aspectual features in common with Chinese languages (Bao, 2005), rules for plural marking differing from StdE, omission of the copula (M. L. Ho & Platt, 1993), and particle usage, for example, *lah*, *meh*, *leh* and *lor* (L. Lim, 2007; Wee, 2004, 2010b; Wong, 2004).

Figure 10: Selected examples of linguistic features of Colloquial Singapore English

Type	Sub-type	Explanation	Example	Reference
Vocabulary	semantic	<i>send</i> – to drive, to accompany	<i>My uncle send me.</i>	(researcher’s notes)
Vocabulary	semantic	<i>follow-</i> to accompany, to go with	<i>She follow you to Malaysia.</i>	(researcher’s notes)
Vocabulary	borrowing	<i>ta pau</i> – to take away (from Cantonese <i>daa baau</i>)	<i>Two chicken rice, ta pau.</i>	(Leimgruber, 2011) (researcher’s notes)
Vocabulary	borrowing	<i>makan</i> – to eat (from Malay)	<i>Later we go makan.</i>	(researcher’s notes)
Grammar	topic prominence	The sentence topic is stated at the beginning of the sentence. Chinese and Malay are	<i>Christmas – we don’t celebrate because we are not Christians.</i>	(L. Tan, 2003)

		both examples of topic prominence languages.		
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Type	Sub-type	Explanation	Example	Reference
Grammar	unmarked third-person singular present tense -s	<p>The third-person -s is not required in CSE.</p> <p>This feature is characteristic of other varieties of English (Kortmann & Schneider, 2008; Schneider & Kortmann, 2004).</p> <p>Deterding (2007) and Leimgruber (2011) report a significant difference in the occurrence of this feature.</p>	<i>She always go there.</i>	(researcher's notes)
Grammar	particle words	CSE employs particle words in the final clause, possibly originating in Hokkien and/or Cantonese (L. Lim, 2007)	<i>Open the door, lah.</i>	(Wee, 2010b, p. 45)
Phonology	vowels	CSE utilises a non-contrastive vowel length (Leimgruber, 2011).	In CSE, <i>bit</i> and <i>beat</i> are pronounced the same.	(Leimgruber, 2011, p. 48).
Phonology	dental fricatives	The -th in words like <i>thought</i> or <i>those</i> is often substituted with a -d or -t sound in	<i>thin</i> sounded as <i>tin</i> .	(researcher's notes)

		CSE, though variation in this feature is reported (Deterding, 2007).		
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2.1.1 Singlish in the school classroom

What variety of English is found in Singapore schools? The stated syllabus aim is ‘internationally acceptable English (Standard English) that is grammatical, fluent, mutually intelligible and appropriate for different purposes, contexts and cultures’ (MOE, 2010, p. 10). If the goals of the syllabus are being met, bidialectalism may be a more accurate description, because the use of CSE in schools and classrooms has been described as ‘robust’ (Rubdy, 2007, p. 308). Singlish persists – and even thrives – despite teacher beliefs about its general inappropriateness for school contexts.

One study surveying the attitudes of Singaporean trainee teachers about the use of Singlish in the classroom found that while CSE was considered appropriate for the establishment of rapport, StdE was held up by many as the ideal form for the classroom (Poedjosoedarmo & Saravanan, 1996). A survey of the beliefs of twenty teachers reflected similar findings: while Singlish was viewed as appropriate for some informal communicative situations, it should be discouraged in school (Teh, 2000).

Teacher beliefs do not always align with what actually goes on in the classroom. Despite official dictates to the contrary, teacher classroom discourse analysed in several research studies showed evidence of non-standard forms (Foley, 1998, 2001; Kwek, 2005; Saravanan & Gupta, 1997). Utilizing a corpus-based research methodology, Doyle (2009) found ‘consistent and persistent use of CSE’, concluding that Singaporean students are not being exposed to a

‘homogeneous model of spoken language, as called for by educational authorities, but a heterogeneous one’ (p. 108).

One study compared the beliefs of three Singaporean teachers regarding their attitudes toward Singlish relative to their actual classroom practice regarding correction of CSE forms (Farrell & Tan, 2007). The researchers found that while in general the beliefs of teachers matched practice, a notable incongruity was that although the teachers felt that Singlish usage ought to be discouraged during lessons, in reality the teachers rarely gave feedback to students who spoke with CSE; the authors suggest that this might be a result of the lack of clarity by teachers as to what exactly constitutes StdE (p. 397). Pakir (1991) found that students in a Gifted Education classroom, despite having access to a range of formalities in the ‘expanding triangles’ of spoken English, often opted, along with their teacher, for informal CSE forms to express affinity and support. Her further data from a Singapore secondary classroom illustrated both SSE and CSE in use (Pakir, 1995). A study of upper-secondary students echoed this finding, noting that while there was an obvious appreciation for the role of StdE, Singlish played an important function, even in elite schools, where one would presumably expect to find acrolectal forms (P. K. W. Tan & Tan, 2008).

Rubdy (2007) found that though teachers do use Singlish in lessons, it is usually because they feel the situation requires it: even by primary school students already demonstrate evidence of an awareness of the individual domains for SSE and CSE in Singapore society. This evidence of domain awareness was also observed in student writing, where Singlish forms evident in speech were noticeably absent in written work (p. 319). An attitudinal study of 256 Singapore secondary school students showed positive views toward Singlish and its use in the classroom for affinity and identity (P. K. W. Tan & Tan, 2008).

Significantly, though foreign teacher recruitment does make up a section of the teaching work force in Singapore, the views of expatriate educators on classroom CSE have been so far largely absent from the research literature. Since concerns about intelligibility figure prominently in government campaigns against the use of Singlish (Bruthiaux, 2010), the views of expatriate teachers in this regard would seem reasonable to include.

2.1.2 The Speak Good English Movement

Singapore's language policy has been described as invisible in the sense that no official language planning body exists, yet without even a designated body, planning of language choices is indeed very visible (Rubdy, 2001; D. Xu & Wei, 2002). SGEM, launched in 2000, is one annually visible effort to direct the speech of Singaporeans away from CSE to a more internationally standard variety, one of the Republic's many public campaigns to promote particular societal values (Bokhorst-Heng & Wee, 2007; Teo, 2005). Through various means including public events, media coverage, speeches from politicians and its own website, SGEM promotes StdE in the interest of international intelligibility and its importance in a globalized economy.

Bruthiaux (2010) takes issue with the stated aims of SGEM, suspecting that intelligibility in actuality is subsumed by a desire for language decorum. Further, he contests SGEM's inaccurate linguistic descriptivism, its lack of outcomes evaluation, and cites the SGEM project as evidence of the Singapore government's intrusion into all aspects of life. Though SGEM was initiated to discourage and even eradicate Singlish, ironically, during political campaigns and other events deemed by leadership as publically significant (Wee, 2010a notes the 2003 SARS

outbreak), the basilectal form can, curiously, be used by those arguing for its elimination (Wee, 2010a).

Drawing upon economic terminology, Rubdy (2001) compares SGEM and its intent to ‘creative destruction’, where product quality is continuously and sometimes aggressively improved to survive a cut-throat marketplace, an approach the author views as consistent with the Singapore government’s outlook in general. Gupta notes that SGEM’s model lessons seem to promote a formality in speaking that ignore the speech domains of everyday life, and erroneous answers are given to questions of usage (2010b).

SGEM, by drawing heavily upon exonormative models, sets Singapore outside the reach of English ‘ownership’ (Higgins, 2003; Norton, 1997; Widdowson, 1994). In one 2006 SGEM launch speech, the then-chairperson seemed to suggest that NS cannot be Singaporeans (Bokhorst-Heng, et al., 2010).

One study included a question on SGEM in a questionnaire about the use of Singlish in the classroom: while the responses of students seemed to imply the goals of the campaign had effectively penetrated attitudes, teachers took a different view (Rubdy, 2007).

A survey of 168 trainee teachers at Singapore’s National Institute of Education (Randall & Teo, 2003) revealed key differences between two categories of respondents. Postgraduate Diploma in Education (PDGE) trainees, studying to be secondary school English teachers, differed markedly in their views on Singlish in general, and SGEM specifically, when compared with first-year Diploma in Education trainees. The views of PGDE trainees on the role of Singlish are more akin to the views of linguists and the academic establishment; the negative views towards CSE are evidenced by Diploma trainees. The study’s authors consider this to relate to the transformative/reproductive tension in education (the Diploma respondents were

training to be primary teachers and so the authors hypothesize that they would therefore be more concerned with the ‘reproductive’ function of teaching a standard variety), and to differences in socioeconomic backgrounds among the two groups.

2.1.3 Singlish and the 2010 English Language Syllabus

The curriculum of the English Language in Singapore has undergone revisions several times since independence, in response both to broader government aims and objectives, and various educational influences from abroad (see Ang, 2000; Cheah, 2004; Chew, 2007a; C. S. Lim, 2000; Lin, 2003). Several stages have been traced in these syllabus revisions: a survival-driven education system (1965-1978); an efficiency-driven education system (1979-1990); an ability-driven education system (1991-2000); and an education system designed to serve a knowledge-based economy (2001-present) (Pakir, 2004; Rubdy, 2010).

The 2010 English Language Syllabus again refers to participation in a knowledge-based economy as driving the necessity of effective English instruction, but also recognizes the increasing use of English as the language of the home, technological innovations and international competition (MOE, 2010, p. 6). The 2010 Syllabus outlines three desired outcomes for English learning, and hints at the grouping of pupils accordingly: while it is desired that all students will attain basic, foundational skills for functional self-expression, a second majority will reach a ‘good level of competency’ in both spoken and written English. Some pupils among this group ‘have a flair’ for English, and will, it is predicted, find it advantageous ‘in frontline positions and various service industries’ (p. 6). A third group, estimated at 20% of all students, will have a ‘high degree of proficiency’ and therefore ‘help Singapore keep its edge in a range of professions, and play an important role in teaching and the media’ (p. 6). A few in this third

group will attain even further proficiency, to a level ‘no different from the best in English-speaking countries’ (p. 6).

This pragmatic link of syllabus educational outcomes to rather explicit statements of future careers is consistent with Singapore as ‘the firm’ (Chew, 2007b). Business enterprises understand that profitability is the key to survival, and the continued existence of Singapore, Inc. requires workers for an increasingly competitive globalized economy.

The paradigm for English language teaching in Singapore has consistently been exonormative in nature (Ooi, 2001; Rubdy, 2010). Indeed, language planners in the Republic have been slow to accept that ‘ownership’ of English (Widdowson, 1994) includes them. The linguistic insecurity (C. Lim, 1986) persists despite the fact that the island city-state has seen the development of its own language variety for formality (SSE). This slowness in acknowledging Singapore English as a variety in its own right results in NS being held up as models alongside unachievable exonormative standards, and speakers of CSE are meanwhile ‘portrayed as uneducated, uncouth and unworldly’ (Bokhorst-Heng, et al., 2010, p. 133). Taking aim at policy makers who uphold unattainable standards, Tickoo argues that ‘the “true believers” among policy planners have not seen the need to redefine their target’ (Tickoo, in Rubdy, 2010, p. 218).

So does the 2010 EL Syllabus break with this dependence on exonormative standards? There are acknowledgements that ‘learning English in a multilingual context is different from learning it in a monolingual or near-native context’ and that ‘language use is guided by our awareness of the purpose, audience, context and culture in which the communication takes place’ (MOE, 2010, p. 8). These statements seem to allow for recognition of Singapore’s own language learning environment, and leave room for communication in an informal language variety. An important feature of document analysis in qualitative research is noting not only what is said, but

also what is not said, since ‘silences, gaps or omissions’ can be especially informative (Rapley, 2007, p. 111). One wonders whether the statement that language use is guided by the communicative situation is in fact an unspoken admission of the role of CSE in informal domains. Whether this was the intention of the writers, any possible allowances hinted at for the role of Singlish are shortly dismissed in the Syllabus Aims section. An explicit aim is that by the completion of secondary education, a Singaporean student will be able to ‘speak, write and represent in internationally acceptable English (Standard English) that is grammatical, fluent, mutually intelligible and appropriate for different purposes, audiences, contexts and cultures’ (MOE, 2010, p. 10). An additional aim is that pupils will ‘understand and use internationally acceptable (Standard English) grammar and vocabulary (p.10). The definition of Standard English is spelled out further in a footnote on page 14 of the EL Syllabus:

Internationally acceptable English that is grammatical, fluent, mutually intelligible and appropriate for different purposes, audiences, contexts and cultures refers to the formal register of English used in different parts of the world, that is Standard English.

Informality in register also figures in the 2010 EL Syllabus’ understanding of the nature of language (p. 48), but again, an explicit reference to Singapore’s variety of English is not present.

Gupta (2010a) grapples with what Standard English might mean in a Singapore context. She contends that StdE actually differs only slightly from one country or region to another, and sees it as a single dialect with few regional differences. Recognized non-standard forms of region-specific dialects are only infrequently found where StdE is intended, and Singapore is no exception to this. Further, international attainment tests show Singaporean children to be at or near the top of the table for StdE proficiency (p. 67-8). StdE, then, ‘belongs’ to Singapore in the same way it belongs to any other English-using country; any linguistic insecurities felt by

Singaporeans, or controversies over usage, Gupta argues, are at root the same as those shared by English users across the globe.

2.2 World Englishes: Overview and classification schema

2.2.1 WE overview

Bolton (2004) demarcates three uses of the term ‘world Englishes’: an ‘umbrella label’ for the study of different varieties of English found in different parts of the world; a ‘narrower sense’ to specifically describe new varieties of English (such as Singaporean English); and the ‘Kachruvian’ approach connected to Braj Kachru, with its emphasis on pluralism in the study of English worldwide (pp. 367-368).

Scholarship in the field of what has become known as ‘world Englishes’ is usually traced to two conferences in 1978 that discussed sociolinguistic issues related to the variety of English around the world (Bolton & Kachru, 2006; IAWE, 2009). Braj Kachru, the organizer of one of these conferences (at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), is associated with leading the study of world Englishes from descriptions of linguistic features to a meta-framework of analysis through his ‘socially-realistic’ approach (1992c), and his ‘three circles’ of English is a standard starting point in discussions on the spread of English. Since Kachru’s pioneering work, book-length works on world Englishes have multiplied (e.g., Jenkins, 2003; B. B. Kachru, Kachru, & Nelson, 2009; Kirkpatrick, 2010; Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008; Schneider, 2007). Initially, studies on world Englishes focused on linguistic descriptions of new varieties in areas like phonology, grammar and vocabulary, but have moved to a more global and comprehensive approach, with influence in recent years from critical perspectives (Bolton, 2005).

Bolton (2004, 2006) sets out a description of the field of world Englishes in six general categories: English studies (McArthur, 2002; Quirk, 1972); sociolinguistic approaches (Fishman, Conrad, & Rubal-Lopez, 1996; B. B. Kachru, 1992b, 1992c); applied linguistics (Jenkins, 2003); lexicography (Barber, 2004; B. Moore, 2011); ‘popularizers’ (Crystal, 2003, 2005); critical linguistics (Pennycook, 1998; Phillipson, 1992); and what Bolton calls ‘linguistic futurology’ (p. 4) (Graddol, 1997). At least four international academic journals are devoted to the field: *Asian Englishes*, *English Today*, *English World-Wide* and *World Englishes* (Bolton, 2006).

Given the degree of dissemination of the WE framework, as will be discussed later, the findings of this study seem to indicate that the breadth of literature in the field and the wider acceptance of the notion of World Englishes in the applied linguistics community in general seem to have impacted English teachers working internationally. According to Holliday’s concept of native-speakerism (2005, 2006) – discussed in the next section – one might expect to find teachers proficient in a ‘standard’ Inner Circle norm-producing language variety intolerant of a less prestigious, traditionally norm-dependent variety. As the data showed, this was not the case. A negative view of CSE was expressed by its speakers, while the ‘standard’ variety speakers tended to hold a more positive view, in keeping with the element of diversity and plurality present in the conception of world Englishes.

As might be expected, critical linguistics offers a critique of the WE paradigm. Pennycook (2003) finds in WE a political unawareness, as evidenced by a tendency to see English as socially and culturally neutral. He argues that WE, although pointing out the recognition of a switch in norm ownership of English, has ‘generally failed to question the NS/NNS dichotomy in any profound fashion’ (p. 520), excluded from study numerous varieties in favour of the ‘codified class dialects of a small elite’ (p. 520), and has therefore neglected to

recognise the struggle that exists within indigenized varieties through issues like class, gender and ethnicity. Kachru's Circles are said to be 'constrictive' (p. 521). All of this, Pennycook argues, makes the WE paradigm 'far too exclusionary to be able to account for many uses of English around the world' (p. 521).

2.2.2 WE classification schema

Several classification schema for WE have been proposed (Kirkpatrick, 2007b). A traditional classification system has been to differentiate between where English is a native language (ENL) for the majority of the population: the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia, etc. English as a second language (ESL) describes countries where English plays an important role, but is not the main language of the country. India and the Philippines are cited as examples of ESL countries. In a country classified as EFL (English as a foreign language), English has very little import in daily life, but is taught in school. China, Korea and Japan are traditionally used to exemplify nations where English functions in an EFL role.

Though the ENL/ESL/EFL categorisations persist in popular usage, this classification system assumes uniformity within a given country that does not stand up to scrutiny. ENL countries have diverse linguistic populations and it cannot be assumed that a standard variety is spoken by all. Within a given country various indigenous or immigrant groups, or other anomalies, can be overlooked in this framework. A country like Singapore, for example, does not neatly fit into the ENL/ESL/EFL categorisation, since there are Singaporeans for whom English is a first language (Gupta, 1994b), and despite school instruction in a 'mother tongue' such as Chinese, Malay or Tamil, some Singaporean pupils feel their only language fluency is in English (Deterding, 2005). Further, the number of Singaporeans using primarily English is

increasing (Wee, 2002). English is also playing an increasingly important role in countries like China and Japan, and so it becomes difficult to draw a clear distinction between ESL and EFL in these contexts (Kirkpatrick, 2007b).

Kachru's influential 'three circles' (1985) proposes another classification of WE. An Inner Circle includes Britain, the USA and their settler colonies; an Outer Circle consists of countries where English, through colonial administration, became the language of law and other official domains (Singapore, India, Nigeria, etc.); and an Expanding Circle incorporates territories where English is regarded as a foreign language (China, Brazil, etc.). Kachru's depiction of the spread of English in concentric circles furthered the understanding of multiple Englishes (plural), each with its own identity. This assertion of pluralism is a central feature of approaches to English worldwide, and in light of this pluralistic outlook, Kachru and other WE scholars have called for an end to the binary division between native and non-native users (1992c). Like the ENL/ESL/EFL categorisation, Kachru's model has been criticised for its inability to fit anomalous cases into the schema. It has also been suggested that Kachru, writing in 1985, misjudged the degree to which English would figure prominently in countries in the Expanding Circle. In China, for example, English plays an enlarging function as a *lingua franca* for trade with other countries, and as a medium of education (Kirkpatrick, 2007b).

Another more multifaceted system of WE categorisation has been proposed by Melchers and Shaw (2003) which expands upon previous schema by categorising multiple aspects: varieties, texts, countries, speakers and even ideological frameworks. Even with the comprehensive nature of their framework, it is still difficult to account for all variations. McArthur (1998) proposes another 'circle model' to classify WE. Gupta categorises English into

‘monolingual ancestry’, ‘monolingual contact’, ‘monolingual scholastic’, ‘multilingual ancestral’, and in the case of Singapore, ‘multilingual contact’ (1997).

Mufwene’s (2001) classification put forward the notion that when a new English developed in a colonial setting, the kind of colony was an important determiner of the type of English that eventually developed. A ‘trade colony’ gave birth to pidgins; when the trade colony shifted to an ‘exploitation colony’, language contact between English and local languages increased, through the colonial administration and schools. The English that took shape in these circumstances would be strongly influenced by local languages, and would therefore naturally be very different than in a ‘settlement colony’ where local languages would have less contact, and therefore less influence, with settler populations. As described previously, the historical circumstances of the development of Singaporean English are best described by the first scenario.

2.2.3 Phillipson’s linguistic imperialism thesis and ‘the critical turn’

Anderson (2003) identifies and classifies four dominant models that ‘problematise’ the worldwide spread of English and the teaching of English. Canagarajah (1999b) is described as post-modern and post-colonial in orientation writing from the perspective of the Periphery; Pennycook (1994) is also said to reflect a post-modern/-colonial view but writing from the Centre. Holliday (1994a) is classified as liberal reformist. The most radical model depicted in Anderson’s description is Phillipson’s linguistic imperialism, classified as neo-Marxist; while the other models propose solutions of critical pedagogy (Canagarajah and Pennycook) or appropriate methodology (Holliday), Phillipson’s solution as summarised by Anderson is a change to the

global political system (p. 84). It is to the controversial model of Phillipson that this literature review now turns.

A direction shift in literature related to WE, which Bolton (2005) labels ‘the critical turn’ was marked by Phillipson’s linguistic imperialism thesis (1992). Though perhaps not the first to raise concerns about the global spread of English, Phillipson’s critique attracted a lot of attention at the time (e.g., in book reviews: Canagarajah, 1995; Davies, 1996; Holborow, 1993; Ricento, 1994; Tollefson et al., 1994), and remains to this day a reference point in discussions of the subject. An updated version of the thesis builds upon his original work (Phillipson, 2009). Phillipson directly challenged the prevailing assumptions of the day regarding the teaching of English: its value-free neutrality as a language of global communication; the native speaker as the ideal teacher; and the presupposition that the relationship between Inner Circle benefactors of English instruction and the recipients in Outer Circle countries was of equal benefit (Anderson, 2003). One suggested reason for the amount and intensity of debate surrounding the linguistic imperialism thesis is the fact that Phillipson strenuously indicts the field of applied linguistics as being blind and even subservient to the political agenda operating within ELT (Kirkpatrick, 2007a).

Linguistic imperialism is said to be a subset of ‘linguicism’, whereby hierarchical social arrangements are framed on the basis of language (Phillipson, 1997). The idea of linguistic imperialism draws upon a neo-Marxist conceptual framework (Karmani, 2005), situating the spread of English within the economics of Western capitalism. As the maintenance of economic growth requires a global language, English is intimately bound with the inequitable economic relations between Anglophone Western countries and developing countries, and functions to preserve those structural inequalities. Such an assertion confronts the idea that English is a

neutral medium of communication. The teaching of English and its accompanying colonial associations, Phillipson argues, has been at the expense of local languages and created social divisions between those who have access to English and those who do not. The role played by English through institutional functions in former colonial contexts has ensured a perpetual dependence by the 'Periphery' on the 'Centre', for teachers and teaching materials, among other things. With ELT said to be largely a state-funded enterprise by 'Centre' countries (the UK and the US in particular), Phillipson argues that the importance of language as a tool of broader hegemonic purposes is a fact not lost on 'Centre' elite.

Hegemony in Phillipson draws upon Gramsci's conception of hegemony's relationship to ideology (Phillipson, 1992, p. 8). Gramsci described a 'common sense' which enabled people to accept ideas that were in direct contradiction to their own interests, reflected and actuated through the structures of society like religion, family, education and the like (Ives, 2004). Phillipson drew a parallel with the imperialist spread of English, asserting that internalised seemingly commonsense notions of the value of English facilitated widespread acceptance of the language however in opposition such acceptance might be to their own best interests.

Tracing the development of ELT methodology, Phillipson identified a number of assumptions which he asserted became entrenched in Centre educational practice; in his updated discussion of linguistic imperialism (2009, p. 12), he describes these as the central tenets of his original work: English should be taught monolingually; it should be taught by a native speaker; the earlier English is taught, and the more it is taught, the better the outcome; and the teaching of other languages would be at the expense of standards of English. As will be shown later, in this particular study, teacher trainers from the 'Centre' did not evidence attitudinal alignment with these entrenched practices. The findings of this study suggest, it will be argued, that critical

applied linguistics may want to pause to celebrate an admittedly small, but hard-earned victory in at least partially de-entrenching such practices.

2.2.3.1 Critiques of linguistic imperialism

A counter-argument that features centrally in critiques of Phillipson's linguistic imperialism is the observable phenomenon that, rather than a forced imposition of English, people in various countries seem to seek out the language for very practical purposes (Davies, 1996; Fishman, et al., 1996; Li, 2002). Davies begins his (1996) review with a joking, but terse, summary of Phillipson's thesis: "'Round up the usual suspects," he cries, outing those who have pretended all these years merely to teach applied linguistics, but who have really been plotting with the British Council to take over the world' (p. 485). Davies points to nations where English was in turn rejected and then reintroduced at the initiative of the state itself (e.g., Nepal, Malaysia, and Sri Lanka). In a multilingual context, English provides a degree of admittance to modernism, and to restrict access to English reinforces the position of an elite who are already proficient in English from overseas education or private tuition; this may be hegemony, but a hegemony imposed from within, rather than the external kind envisioned by linguistic imperialism. He recounts his own experience at consultancy in Nepal, where his advice that English be introduced later was countered by local views on its importance. (A description, incidentally, that bears resemblance to the sort of 'reverse native-speakerism' observable in this present study.) Davies asserts that Phillipson overlooks 'the possibility that oppressed groups' common sense is active enough for them to reject English if they so wish' (1996, p. 490).

This argument is echoed, and enlarged, by Brutt-Griffler (2002), who warns of the tendency to miss the 'postcolonial in the colonial', of overstating the influence of colonialism at

the expense of noting the impact of formerly colonized populations on present realities. Englishes are made by such populations, and Brutt-Griffler asserts that in addition to being a result of initial colonialist policy, this is also a reflection of a struggle against the forces of imperialism (pp. viii-ix). Though the linguistic imperialism thesis describes an imposition of a foreign tongue by a central power, her reading of the spread of English finds ‘a contested terrain in which English was not unilaterally *imposed on* passive subjects, but *wrested from* an unwilling imperial authority as a part of a struggle by them against colonialism’ (p. 31, emphases in original). Indeed, some of the English literature produced in postcolonial contexts demonstrates a penchant for a sort of ‘colonising’ of English, of making the language serve the interests of the writer (Kirkpatrick, 2007a). Referring to India, D’souza describes a situation that might be said of CSE as well: ‘English has been Indianized by being borrowed, transcreated, recreated, stretched, extended, contorted perhaps’ (2001, p. 150).

Rather than an imperial dictate mandating the imposition of English, Brutt-Griffler asserts that vernacular education was British policy. It is argued that the intent of British colonial English language policy was by and large to educate only a local elite, and was actually not to provide English instruction on a wide scale; at least in Malaya, colonial masters feared an English education might lead to disenchantment with physical labour (p. 88). Education in local languages to be accompanied by English for an elite (Lugard’s ‘Dual Mandate’), was a policy designed to ensure a supply of labour for the colonies as opposed to a policy of linguistic hegemony, *per se* (Brutt-Griffler, 2002). The demand for education in English then, as Brutt-Griffler points out, arose in colonial contexts from the bottom up. The spread of English must be seen, she argues, in light of contexts of bilingualism and multilingualism, where English is added, rather than supplanting local languages. While linguistic imperialism posits a gradual

replacement of local languages with English, Brutt-Griffler does not find evidence of that. Rather, in a bilingual context, English is allocated to certain domains, without arrogating the domains of local languages. It is important to note that this phenomena is said to take place where English spreads as a ‘world language’ (as in multilingual Nigeria), as opposed to its historical spread throughout the British Isles, for example; the key factor in determining whether English will replace local languages is said to be the degree of its role in local economic life. (Brutt-Griffler, 2002). The relationship to the English language to economic and cultural activity – what Quirk (1988) described as its ‘econocultural’ characteristic – qualify English as a ‘world language’. Alignment with the economic sphere of human activity by English was not through an act of imperialistic will, but through its relationship to large scale econocultural factors. Brutt-Griffler differentiates between external and internal economic factors in explaining why English seemed/seems not to supplant local languages (2002, p. 117).

The ‘demand’ side of the economic equation, as opposed to the hegemonic imposition of English, is taken up by Li (2002) in discussing the partiality of Hong Kong parents for English-medium education. Li stresses that Hong Kong’s experience with European colonisation and decolonisation is historically atypical. A framework of linguistic imperialism might explain the observable preference of Hong Kong parents for English-medium education by assuming a populace who have subconsciously adopted the coloniser’s hegemony. Li finds evidence of linguistic imperialism in the educational history of Hong Kong, but argues that proponents of the thesis either explain away the desire of Hong Kong residents for acquiring English competency through an appeal to Gramsci’s theoretical construct of hegemony (cf. Gramsci, 1992; Ransome, 1992), or with a focus on the ‘supply’ side while overlooking the ‘demand’. He describes a ‘love-hate’ relationship between the learning of English and many of Hong Kong’s people.

While English has wide acceptance among the populace as a means to opportunity, the challenges of learning a language with little relationship to the daily life of many Hong Kongers is great.

The assumption that English is automatically a threat to local languages does not seem to apply to the linguistic situation in Hong Kong. Despite the demand for English expressed by Hong Kong parents, Cantonese appears vibrant in the domains of the home, in informal social interaction, as a medium of education for many schools, and in the media. If there is a threat to Cantonese, it does not seem to be English, but another Chinese language – Mandarin (Li, 2002, p. 53). Li concludes that the English language is in demand in that it provides an opportunity for social mobility in Hong Kong, and therefore to explain the promotion of English in this context as only a result of hegemonic influence ‘sounds monolithic and reductionist’ (2002, p. 54).

Fishman, Conrad and Rubal-Lopez (1996) considered the status of English in twenty countries in a fifty year period up to 1990. While English maintained and enlarged its roles at upper strata of society, its impact was considerably less at the lower levels. Conrad, considering Phillipson’s statistics about English language use in Kenya, Nigeria and Pakistan notes: ‘If the agenda of these powerful countries is to displace local languages (or to replace them altogether), the policy has failed miserably and is apparently a threat to no one’ (Conrad, 1996, pp. 25-26).

It follows that if linguistic imperialism were to hold up as a theory for the spread of English, it must account for individual cases. Kirkpatrick (2007a) presents an Outer Circle country, China, as evidence of the limitations of the linguistic imperialism thesis. In the view of this researcher, judging from personal experience working alongside educators from China, there are a good many that would bristle at the thought that the spread of English in China can be completely explained by British and American hegemony. First of all, it would be difficult to

account for the sheer demand for English in China by invoking Gramscian ideological hegemony: estimates put the number of English language learners/users in China in a range from 200 million to 350 million (Kirkpatrick & Xu, 2002; Z. Xu, 2010). Second, the emerging WE variety known as Chinese English is characterised by its own distinct lexical, syntactic, discourse and pragmatic features (Z. Xu, 2008, 2010). In addition, English in China is viewed on a personal level as an important factor in upward social mobility, and on a national level as vital for China's increasing prominence on the world stage (Kirkpatrick, 2007a). Taken together, these factors call into question the validity of linguistic imperialism as an explanation for the spread of English in China.

The debate about linguistic imperialism raises a larger question about the means by which critical approaches to linguistics substantiate claims. In Phillipson's attempt to demonstrate a consistent linguistic imperialist policy throughout the British Empire, Brutt-Griffler finds only 'isolated sentiments' without evidence that such views constituted a broader imperial policy, and only minimal historical substantiation is provided to substantiate the theory (2002, pp. 29-30). In discussing Pennycook's (1998) overview of colonial language and educational policies in Hong Kong, Sweeting and Vickers (2005) find only scant evidence for Pennycook's assertions, but a 'standpoint pre-determined by post-structuralist presuppositions'. In a similar vein, Brutt-Griffler (2005) notes that while globalism as usually conceived would predict language endangerment due to the (imperialist) spread of English, in Africa this is not the case; evidence suggests that it is African languages due to urban migration which are threatening other local languages, rather than the global hegemony of English. Yet, when globalisation is discussed from a critical perspective, 'it is never even considered necessary to adduce data, empirically verify or objectively consider such phenomena' (p. 114). Similarly, Bolton finds in

Pennycook a move away from linguistic data in favour of ‘activist pedagogical politics’; ‘a brand of critical linguistics with little linguistics’ (2005, p. 75). Kirkpatrick (2007a) suggests that these underlying tensions reflect a difference in orientation between the theoretical, overarching global approach that characterises linguistic imperialism, and the empirical, data-driven thrust of applied linguistics.

Waters (2007a) finds in critical perspectives on ELT a commonality with the ideology of political correctness (PC). It is said that an approach rooted in PC is prone to assume that usual standards of substantiation for stated claims are not required, because of the overriding goal of achieving social justice (Browne, 2006). This ideological presupposition may lead those espousing critical perspectives to speak about opposing views in a rather polemic fashion, though, as Crystal counters in his response to Phillipson, ‘They fail to see the ideological mote in their own eye’ (Crystal, 2000, p. 422). If a critical approach calls upon other frameworks to make plain the underpinning ideological assumptions, surely the same can be asked of itself. Critical theory, with its similarities to political correctness, is also an ideology of the Anglophone West (Waters, 2007a), a fact not often stated clearly by its advocates.

2.2.4 Singapore English as a Postcolonial English

Multiple explanations have been offered for the processes embarked upon by a variety of English transplanted into a new locale. Kachru (1992a) conceives of three phases in this process: a beginning ‘non-recognition’ phase involves deliberate identification with imported ‘native speaking’ linguistic models; a second stage marks the wider dissemination of a local variety which is still viewed as substandard; and a final ‘recognition’ phase where the non-native variety gains wider acceptance. In this last phase speakers of the local variety demonstrate ‘linguistic

realism' about which norms ought to be targets, and 'attitudinal identification' with the indigenised form (pp. 56-57). As will be discussed later, the self-identified NNS in this present study seemed to toggle between these phases as conceptualised by Kachru, indicating at once a preference for exonormative varieties alongside identification with CSE.

A 'life cycle of non-native Englishes' (Moag, 1992) described five stages. A 'transportation' phase from a previous locale to a new one is followed by the long process of 'indigenisation' where differences emerge as distinct from the transported form. As the variety gains social currency and therefore increases in domain usage, sub-varieties appear, a process delineated by Moag as the 'expansion in use' stage. He notes the informal variety of Singaporean English in this regard (p. 239). In 'institutionalisation', the local variety is taught in school as a model and becomes used for literary purposes. The use of the term 'life cycle' in Moag's conceptualisation is deliberate: a non-native English is to have a beginning and an end, with the possibility of it being supplanted by local languages through language planning or other processes (pp. 246-247).

Another model of the development of English is proposed by Schneider (2003, 2007). Further, this study intersects with a central conception in the field of world Englishes in that Singapore English is cited as an example of a Postcolonial English (Schneider, 2007). Schneider describes five stages in the development of Postcolonial Englishes (PCEs) as linguistic identities are reconfigured in a postcolonial setting: foundation (English is introduced to an area where it was not previously spoken, normally by English-speaking settlers), exonormative stabilization (the English spoken attempts to reproduce that of the settlers), nativization (linguistic identity is further cemented as settler varieties and local languages fasten), endonormative stabilization (the

new variety becomes accepted as a norm), and differentiation (the new language variety serves to expresses culture and identity).

Schneider places Singapore in the endonormative stabilization phase (2007, p. 160), a stage in the colonial contact process where linguistic norms follow a larger trend of growing cultural awareness, identity and confidence in the colony (in Singapore's case, now former colony) The new language form goes through a process of recognition by its users, and is even considered valid for formal domains. Dictionaries are produced during this phase of linguistic evolution (p. 52). This fourth stage contrasts with its predecessor, nativization, where pre-existing language norms conflict more sharply with new ones. The 'complaint tradition' (Milroy & Milroy, 1999) is characteristic of this phase.

Of course, on the basis of this study alone, it is unwise to generalize about the larger process of language nativization and the shift away from exonormative standards in Singapore, but these particular findings seem, at least in the views expressed by Singapore English teachers, to place Singapore English earlier on the developmental scale of a Postcolonial English than Schneider's description suggests. As will be shown later, the attitudinal data provided by Singapore teachers in this study, when discussing language in the classroom, would seem to combine features of the nativization stage with the endonormative stabilization phase. Ten years on, the findings here echo Ooi's (2001) view that 'exonormative standards continue to define the study of English in the classrooms' (p. x). Gupta's description of a culture of 'language mavens' (2010b, p. 76) as fostered by SGEM, seems to have had at least some impact on the attitudes of Singaporean English teachers. Wee's (2005) assertion that sharp disagreements exist among speakers of Singlish regarding its legitimacy as a variety of English serve as further evidence of the nativization stage, or at least the earlier stages of endonormative stabilization. Again, a

comparison to the attitudes of expatriate teachers in the study is revealing in this regard: the teachers from abroad expressed opinions reminiscent of Schneider's fourth stage, and even hinted at the fifth phase, differentiation, where linguistic identity is firmly established within the new country.

English in postcolonial contexts is, by definition, nativized as it is adapted and formulated to suit its locale, in ways of thinking, knowing, reasoning and expressing. What is not often considered is how, in a postcolonial context, the language is appropriated to maintain class differential (Ramanathan, 2005). The employment of StdE in this regard by English teachers will be discussed in subsequent sections of the study.

2.3 Native-speakerism

Power inequity in the field of ELT has long been a concern, whether categorized as 'Centre vs. Periphery' (Phillipson, 1992), colonizers and the colonized (Pennycook, 1998), 'native speaker' and 'non-native speaker' (Jenkins, 2000) or the BANA-TESEP (Britain, Australia and North America-tertiary, secondary or primary) division (Holliday, 1994a). Holliday finds efforts to explain these divisions inadequate, and proposes the notion of 'native-speakerism' to encompass the inequalities present in the ELT enterprise. Holliday's conception of native-speakerism, though a theme found in his other writings, is perhaps set out most definitively in *The Struggle to Teach English as an International Language* (2005).

The ideology of native-speakerism, according to Holliday, is 'an established belief that "native speaker" teachers represent a "Western culture" from which spring the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology' (2005, p. 6). Native-speakerism 'Others' (Said, 1978) learners and teachers from outside the West by essentialist

stereotyping and cultural chauvinism. Non-native speaker cultures are described variously as ‘dependent’, ‘hierarchical’, ‘collectivist’, ‘lacking in self-esteem’, and ‘undemocratic’, to name a few (Holliday, 2006, p. 385-6). Through methodology based on learner behaviour, the native-speakerist ‘sets out on a missionary quest to correct the cultures of a non-Western Other’ (Holliday, 2010, p. 135). Beneath the labels of methodological approaches like learner-centeredness and collaborative classrooms, Holliday sees a more sinister agenda: the colonial ‘moral mission’ to offer advancement in teaching to those ‘perceived not to be able to succeed on their own terms’ (2006, p. 386). He argues that this propensity for correction arises from the ‘behaviourist lockstep’ of the audiolingual method (2005, p. 45-7).

While the educational culture of the English-speaking West gave rise to native-speakerism, Holliday argues that its reach goes much further: ‘it has had a massive influence and exists to a greater or lesser degree in the thinking of *all* ESOL educators’ (2005, p. 7; emphasis in original). However, Holliday makes it clear that not all English-speaking teachers from the West are native-speakerists: ‘many of them struggle against it, often intuitively, where they do not know that it exists’ (2005, p. 7). Even so, Holliday suspects that cultural chauvinism and inequitable power relations are so firmly entrenched within ELT ‘to the extent that TESOL professionalism may be more to do with the perpetuation of a discourse than with the educational principles which native-speakerists claim to cherish’ (2005, p. 10).

Holliday situates native-speakerism’s ideological roots in ‘culturism’, which is drawn from an essentialist view of culture, a colonialist ideology and reification. Essentialism assumes mutual exclusivity in categories such as culture, and can, Holliday argues, all too quickly become cultural chauvinism. An essentialist view can create division between ‘us’ and ‘them’ as a ‘generalized Other’ is created to speak of entire blocks of anyone different from ‘us’ (2005,

pp. 17-19). Also at work is the process of reification (cf. Berger & Luckmann, 1967), a social process where human activity is considered to be something other than human activity. With regard to culture, reification ‘...takes place when it becomes, in people’s minds, something that exists over and above human behaviour’, and ‘...the concept in question becomes relatively fixed and ordinary in people’s minds’ (Holliday, 2005, p. 22).

Instead, Holliday puts forward a ‘non-essentialist’ position which calls into question the ‘positioning of the “non-native speaker” Other within imagined cultural blocks’ (2005, p. 23). A non-essentialist approach considers culture on a micro level: ‘to imagine that they are organized into regional hierarchical blocks is an ideological, political or chauvinistic act’ (2005, p. 24). A non-essentialist position utilises the notion of ‘small cultures’: as opposed to conceptions of large cultures (based on large groupings like nationality and ethnicity) which begin with an assumption of difference and are therefore prone to culturist reduction, conceiving of groups as ‘small cultures’ is said to be less essentialist in that it observes any social processes of cohesion within groupings (Holliday, 1999b). Holliday distinguishes between a ‘large culture paradigm’ and a ‘small culture paradigm’. Whereas the large culture paradigm tends to view a small culture as a subset of a larger grouping (a classroom in a Singapore school is influenced and shaped by a larger, ‘Singapore culture’, for example), a small culture paradigm describes the social processes at work in the small context, and the notion of large culture is seen as a ‘reification’ of small culture (Holliday, 1999b, p. 241).

‘Cultural icons’ play a central role within these ‘small cultures’. Cultural icons are defined as ‘social concepts that are venerated by a particular cultural group and which, in the case of English-speaking Western TESOL, are sustained’ (Holliday, 2005, p. 41). Given that the field of TESOL is in a continual state of expansion from its traditional base in the English-

speaking West to new localities, these cultural icons serve as a ‘conceptual anchor’, and as ‘rallying points for cohesion through cultural identity, expression and exclusivity’ (2005, p. 42). While the TESOL endeavour adapts and modifies in new circumstances, cultural icons serve as a constant.

Holliday describes a ‘modernist dominant discourse’ in English-speaking Western TESOL which functions through the use of cultural icons. The concept of a ‘standard’ or ‘weak version’ of communicative language teaching (cf. Howatt, 1984; Sullivan, 2000), with its emphasis on ‘the learning group ideal’ accomplished through small groups, is the overarching feature of this dominant discourse (2005, p. 44). Under this umbrella are grouped phrases which are said to make up discourse: the ‘four skills’, ‘learner-centredness’, ‘learner autonomy and authenticity’, and ‘genuine language’. Further, the ‘glue’ that unites these concepts are said to be ‘accountable learning’ and a group of emphases related to oral expression (p. 44). Holliday finds the audiolingual method at the roots of Western TESOL, and traces classroom techniques of elicitation and monitoring to audiolingualism. The assumptions of some of these teaching methodologies, Holliday argues, are culturist and native-speakerist in that they prescribe what people from a given culture are able or unable to do, generally in an underestimating fashion (2005, p. 49).

Learner-centredness, despite the intuitive appeal suggested by the label, does not, Holliday asserts, necessarily mean the student is at the centre. He finds in Tudor’s (1996) explanation of the virtues of learner-centredness a focus on ‘language production rather than people’ for the purposes of bureaucratic management and accountability (‘bureaucratization’), and the desire to make educational practice more scientifically acceptable (‘technicalization’) (2005, pp. 66-67). Though purporting to be learner-centred, the end result is a learner being

reduced from a person to a set of skills or a ‘product of measurable educational technology’ (2005, p. 67). Learning is controlled in Western TESOL through high-control classrooms with the ‘learning group ideal’ where oral participation is expected and strongly directed by the teacher (Holliday, 1997), a practice seemingly contradictory to a field where learner-centredness serves as an ‘icon’.

Learner autonomy is said to figure centrally in the learner-centredness of TESOL (Tudor, 1996). Citing Holec’s (1981) early definition of learner autonomy as ‘the ability to take charge of one’s own learning’, Benson (2009) goes on to suggest that autonomy also includes learner control over ‘learning management, cognitive processing and the content of learning’ (2009, pp. 17-18; see also 2011). Identified by Holliday as another cultural icon of Western TESOL, so-called autonomy is described as a guise for culturist, teacher-constructed ideas of what is good for the learner. Holliday’s concern is with the notion depicted in some conceptions of autonomy that presumes learners to be ‘deficient’ and need to be ‘trained towards’ autonomous learning (Smith, 2003, 2008). Such an approach, he argues, is native-speakerist in orientation in that it ‘encourages teachers to be crusaders in their quest to *change* their students into “better” thinkers and “learners”’ (Holliday, 2005, p. 80, emphasis in original). Holliday sees this as yet another example in TESOL discourse of an unproblematic self cast alongside a problematized Other ‘non-native speaker’ from ‘other cultures’ (2005, p. 80).

Another cultural icon in TESOL discourse is that of ‘genuine’ (textual) language, or authenticity as it is often called. Holliday sees in the discourse of authenticity the dichotomous ‘us’-‘them’ relationship characteristic of native-speakerism, an ‘a priori notion that authentic texts are “unsimplified” examples of language from the “native speaker” heartland’ (2005, p. 104). In opposition to native-speakerism, in the new relationships described by Holliday,

authenticity in language is created by the learners themselves – ‘realized in the act of interpretation’ (2005, p. 105) – as the genuine social worlds of students interact with the teacher and the text. In grappling with an authentic text as Holliday understands the term, autonomy is realised by students through the social world and real social engagement with the ideology of the text, a far cry from definitions of textual authenticity said to be characteristic of native-speakerism, whereby approaches eliciting critical engagement are a distant second to a text’s representativeness (Holliday, 1999a).

Native-speakerism not only Others students, but non-native speaker colleagues. Holliday identifies two areas prone to cast such colleagues as ‘problematic Others’: curriculum projects and the appropriateness or inappropriateness of methodology. Perhaps not surprisingly, he finds embedded in discussions of these areas the same underlying divisions characteristic of native-speakerist thinking.

Curriculum development projects, Holliday asserts, though intended to be sensitive to local needs, are especially prone to hijacking from the ‘control-construction’ that operates in the discourse of learner-centredness. Holliday calls this equivalent phenomenon in curriculum project design ‘stakeholder-centredness’ (2005, p. 111). The technicalization of such projects tends, he argues, to result in a culturist outcome whereby the stakeholders are ‘Othered’ with the discourse of being ‘included’, ‘integrated’ or ‘written in’ to the project (pp. 113-116).

Management approaches to some TESOL projects are said to be dominated by what Holliday calls ‘matrix thinking’ – a technicalized management approach which aims to efficiently manage and make measurable commodities of project resources, including human behaviour (2005, p. 113). The deception of matrix thinking is that while it appears to empower and give ownership to

stakeholders, its subtle native-speakerist orientation still operates to construct a 'them' assumed to be in need of empowering.

Holliday situates his work in the appropriate methodology movement, which attempts, through ethnographic considerations of cultural and institutional factors, to match curriculum type with a concern for situational needs (Holliday, 1994a, 2005). Appropriate methodology, though it can be grouped with conceptions of the worldwide spread of English as problematic, is distinct from Phillipson's linguistic imperialism thesis in that it advocates the adaptation of TESOL to differing cultural situations (Anderson, 2003). Drawing upon notions of language as communication, appropriate methodology seeks to work out how curriculum might operate contextually. Holliday distinguishes between the 'learning group ideal' which he understands to be a Western construct, and the larger umbrella principles which drive appropriate methodology. This distinction becomes important as Holliday answers a critique of appropriate methodology: that because it springs from the soil of communicative language teaching, it carries assumptions about language that may not be relevant outside a Western context, along with accompanying ideological baggage (Canagarajah, 2002). While Holliday questions whether the critique has understood this difference, he does accept that strains of native-speakerist thinking are found within some elements of appropriate methodology. A 'means analysis' is central to an appropriate methodology approach (Holliday, 1994a), but as he reflects on his earlier work, Holliday finds in it a culturist perspective which problematises the local environment using generalized Other descriptors. In effect, the environment was portrayed as something that needed to be adapted to suit the curriculum, rather than the other way round, which would be the ideal of appropriate methodology approach (2005, pp. 147-148).

Conceiving new relationships is the key to resisting native-speakerism: a new orientation away from the 'Othered', a new notion of ownership of English, an elevation of the status of the ESOL educator from outside the West, and a rethinking of language norms for the educator from within the English-speaking West, together which form a non-essentialist 'Position 2' (as opposed to a 'Position 1' native-speakerist model) (Holliday, 2005, p. 12). Relationships displaying 'cultural continuity' as opposed to the 'cultural correction' of native-speakerism will, Holliday concludes, enable educators to set aside prejudices and defend against discrimination (2005, p. 157). He suggests areas where the field of TESOL could address native-speakerism (p. 159ff). Altering the image of the non-native speaker is central to the establishment of cultural continuity; this is a change Holliday suggests will be brought about by educators themselves. Changes in curriculum might also bring the discussion of the binary division of non-/native speaking teachers into the classroom, thus raising student consciousness of the issue. Nevertheless, Holliday appears pessimistic that such changes to TESOL can be wrought by the elimination of division in professional practice alone, given that the roots of native-speakerism are said to be part of a 'long-standing post-colonialist dominant discourse which is established around the principles of cultural division' (2005, p. 162). Resistance to this discourse, he suggests, can take place through a 'counterculture' that although enacting resistance, simultaneously 'tries to make sense of the dominant culture in different ways in order to survive and make itself known' (p. 171). Borrowing a phrase from qualitative research methodology, Holliday suggests that 'thick description' of perceived cultural differences may assist in the pursuance of cultural continuity (2005, pp. 174-175; see also Holliday, 2002).

2.3.1 Critiques of Holliday's native-speakerism

The native-speakerist position as depicted by Holliday has certainly been personally observed by this researcher in manifold ways over the years in his professional involvement with the TESOL endeavour. The researcher can recall definitive examples of so-called collaborative meetings where the voices of local colleagues were largely ignored; of curriculum development projects that considered local input almost as an afterthought; of culturist overgeneralizations from Western colleagues about local cultures that reinforced 'us-and-them' divisions; of sociolinguistically uninformed presentations by expatriate trainers about the ownership of English and of what constituted StdE; of busy local teachers dutifully sitting through long training sessions on exported teaching methodology that had, at best, limited applicability to local classrooms; of the appointment of unqualified and inexperienced teachers solely on the basis of being a 'native speaker'; of overzealous activist trainers who fell into what Holliday describes as a 'liberation trap' (2005, p. 133) whereby an idealized 'Other' is spoken for; of 'stakeholder-centredness' (Holliday, 2005) where ceremonial signings of agreements between expatriates and local officials gave an appearance of project ownership that had only slight trickle-down effect to where the work would actually be carried out. What Holliday describes as native-speakerism is observable, and it is this researcher's presumption that many acquainted with the field of TESOL could provide concrete examples of native-speakerist thinking and behaviour. The question then, is not whether native-speakerism exists, but how to resist its effects.

Alan Waters (2007a, 2007b) offers a critique, arguing that the key elements of Holliday's native-speakerism are built on a faulty epistemology. In recent times the dominant conceptual framework to approaching issues in ELT, and in particular the inequitable power relations

between NS and NSS, has been Critical Theory (CT). The danger Waters argues, is that the (Western) ideology of CT, in seeking to counter the effects of hegemony, may in fact simply replace it with hegemony in another ideological form.

Holliday seems to recognise the possibility of replacing hegemony with hegemony and so warns against falling into what he calls the ‘liberation trap’: the constructions of Western academics about what the Outer Circle users want may have limited relevance to the people they are intending to ‘help’. Holliday quotes one of the participants that informed the writing of *The Struggle to Teach English As An International Language*, who describes discussing the issue of the ‘ownership’ of English with local teachers who ‘don’t seem too interested’. Rather, ‘this is an issue that is seen as more important by native speakers than by non-native speakers’. She goes on to conclude that the use of English is a ‘pragmatic decision’, not an ideological one, and that, ‘I just don’t think that “ownership” is a concept that is very relevant to local teachers’ (2005, p. 165). This echoes another of Holliday’s interview informants who asserts: ‘It’s been clear that I’m a language learner from the periphery – and listen to this – I prefer to speak for myself!’ (2005, p. 9; see also Kuo, 2006). Holliday asks whether this interviewee, in response to Jenkins (2000), is reacting against ‘yet another “Centre-led” definition of what English should be’ (p. 9). Ironically, in seeking to ensure the voice of the NNS is not drowned out by NS hegemony, CT approaches may unintentionally put words in his/her mouth.

Waters takes aim at Holliday’s (2005, pp. 25-26) description of a TESOL conference presentation, which interprets the presentation events in very negative terms. While Holliday interprets the events as Othering and stereotyping, followed by reification of the stereotype, Waters points out that these conclusions were drawn without empirical verification. Holliday’s interpretation alone was the only ‘evidence’ provided. Instead, an a priori assumption, based on

tenets of Critical Theory (CT), was used to describe the proceedings. To illustrate the point, Waters provides an alternative explanation of the incident that, he asserts, without empirical evidence to support one view or the other, is equally valid (2007b, p. 284).

Waters further finds deficient the construct of stereotyping as put forth by Holliday, arguing that native-speakerism interprets the concept in only its most constrictive sense. Drawing from early theorists such as Allport (1954) and Lippman (1922), then later discussions of stereotyping by Oakes et. al (1994), Pinker (1997) and Mead (2005), Waters makes the case that stereotyping is part of the human experience and therefore impossible to eliminate entirely. He then argues that a more appropriate goal is to accept the role of stereotyping in human perception as at least a starting point in determining reality. Waters argues that a more reasonable response to encountering cultural differences as an outsider is to form what Mead (2005) called ‘creative generalizations’ which are subsequently revised as evidence is continuously presented (cited in Waters, 2007b, p. 288). Waters suggests that, quite ironically, the negative features of stereotyping eschewed by native-speakerism were in fact evidenced by Holliday’s own essentialist description of the presenters at the TESOL conference (2007a, p. 358).

In the view of this researcher, this issue is problematic in identifying (and then in turn, countering) native-speakerist thinking and behaviour. Without some external means of recognising native-speakerism, even the best-intentioned ESOL educator can fall prey to ‘stereotyping about stereotypes’. Holliday seems to acknowledge this difficulty when he turns to the ethnographer (e.g., 2005, pp. 174-176) as an illustration of managing the tension between the ideological conditioning of native-speakerism said to be affecting all of TESOL on the one hand, and the interpersonal struggle for cultural continuity on the other. The solution to this tension of

participant-observer? ‘Trying hard to put away one’s prior professional conditioning seems to me to be the only way to undo “us-them” fixations and achieve anything like cultural continuity . . .’ (2005, p. 175). But is ‘trying hard’ enough? Drawing upon the work of Fairclough (Fairclough, 1995), Holliday reminds us that ‘prejudices can easily be hidden in apparently neutral everyday talk, and in institutional, professional and political thinking’ (2010, p. 136). A seeming quandary is created by this balancing act. Holliday seems to suggest a guilty until proven innocent approach to Western TESOL. Discussing the movement with which he is identified, Holliday states: ‘I am starting from the position that the appropriate methodology movement *is* an English-speaking Western TESOL initiative and therefore needs to prove its credentials before achieving Position 2’ (2005, p. 141, emphasis in original). Native-speakerism is said, after all, to have impacted the thinking of *all* ESOL educators; one wonders then, whether ‘sociological imagination’ (Holliday, 2005, p. 176; cf. Mills, 1970) is enough to free we educators from a disease said to have infected all.

Waters (2007a) finds similarities between the discourses of ELT and that of political correctness (PC), as described by Browne (2006). Browne argues that PC, drawing heavily upon Marxist roots, interprets social structures and events in political terms; PC, through a sort of reverse discrimination, resists the oppression of the weaker in society by the powerful. Waters posits that the main critiques of ELT drawn from CT (e.g., Canagarajah, 1999b; Holliday, 1994a, 2005; Jenkins, 2000; Phillipson, 1992) have strong similarities to PC in that the starting assumption is that there are inequitable power relationships that exist in ELT which ought to be redressed. He goes on to suggest that as well as the outright critiques, elements of PC can be found underlying other ELT trends such as learner-centred methodologies, an anti-textbook position, teacher-led inquiry and the discourse of NS/NNS (Waters, 2007a, p. 355). Being

essentially an ideology of the Anglophone West, PC runs the risk, Waters argues, of ‘imposing a powerful hegemony of its own’ (2007a, p. 355) on the wider ELT world. He identifies this as occurring through a negative bias against classroom structure, a tendency to make assertions without empirical proof, and a ‘reductionist’ position in describing NS/NNS. Waters points out that the PC-oriented ideological underpinnings of both ELT’s theoretical critiques and its prevailing trends, while widely ‘propagandized’, still ‘have had only sparse grass-roots take up’ (2007a, p. 359; p. 353). This description of the disparity between critiques of ELT by academics in applied linguistics and those held by grass-roots language teachers, seemed to confirm the findings of this present study in regard to attitudes of NNS educators.

What is Waters’ answer to the question of how native-speakerism to be resisted? Waters asserts that it must be through empirical inquiry, rather than the a priori assumption he finds at work in Holliday: ‘Instead of ideological pre-judgment, what is needed is appropriate empirical evidence of whether phenomena can be truly regarded as native-speakerist or not’; this approach stands in opposition to what he calls ‘a pre-conceived ideological template from which the presence of native-speakerist attitudes are simply “read off” by the expert social critic’ (2007b, p. 289; cf. Widdowson, 1998). Waters goes on to outline four studies which he sees as ‘appropriate empirical evidence’.

Bygate (2001) measured performance on repetition of oral tasks to observe whether prior experience with the task correlated with greater speech fluency, accuracy and utterance complexity. It was found that recurrence of a task done even as distant as 10 weeks previous had significant effects of measures of fluency and complexity in oral performance. Waters argues that these findings run contrary to a broadly unfavourable opinion of repetitive tasks in ELT (2007b, p. 289).

An investigation of learner autonomy among Hong Kong tertiary students suggested increased motivation may lead to participation in autonomous learning activities (Spratt, et al., 2002). Waters (p. 289) sees the relationship between increased motivation and increased autonomy described in the study as running contrary to the assertions of native-speakerism and the corresponding negative view of learner autonomy put forward by Benson (1997).

McDonough (2002), as a NS teacher of English and a NNS learner of Greek, compared the two experiences, and extended her inquiry to colleagues in similar situations. Divergence between professional preference as a teacher and inclinations as a language learner were evident. Contrary to some of the assumptions of the native-speakerist position, so-called teacher-centred activities that have fallen out of favour in ELT professional circles were viewed by learners in this study as effective methods.

Three studies outlined by House (2003) together call into question the notion that English is routinely a threat to national languages. Comparisons of English and German translation text corpora did not show significant alteration of textual ‘orientation’ (House, 2003, p. 564) of German texts, despite pervasive borrowing from English during the time period studied. A second study made use of transcriptions of international student conversations that made use of what House hypothesizes are ‘culture-conditioned ways of interacting’ while using English (p. 569). Further, an examination of the role of English as a medium of instruction in German universities did not, as might be expected, illustrate a competition between the two languages, but rather a treatment of English as being ‘a class of its own’ as a ‘supranational’ and ‘auxiliary means of communication’ (p. 571). Waters concludes that the findings of the studies presented by House dispute the assertion by critical theorists that English ‘is automatically in an hegemonic relationship with learners’ L1s’ (Waters, 2007b, p. 290).

Waters concurs with Holliday that the voice of the NS is overbalanced in the professional discourse of ELT, and that this imbalance needs to be rectified. However, Waters find the approach of CT in this regard wanting. When attempting to resist native-speakerism, Waters calls instead for empirical evidence gathered through research:

firstly, because it meets the necessary criteria for objectivity and evidence, and secondly, because it is capable of showing that aspects of ELT practice which are assumed to be anti-nativespeakerist from the CT point of view are not necessarily so (2007b, p. 291).

In response, Holliday places Waters' critique under the rubric of what he calls the 'practicality argument' approach to cultural stereotypes: a view that stereotypes, while admittedly over-generalizations, are a good jumping off point (Holliday, 2010, p. 134). Holliday concedes that 'Waters' warning against a knee-jerk demonizing of all stereotyping needs to be taken seriously' but sees in the practicality argument a naivety about how 'easily the best intentioned people can be taken in' by the power of stereotypes (2010, p. 136). Holliday turns again to Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1995) as a reminder of how stereotypes are embedded in seemingly impartial discourse at various levels of society. Yet, Holliday admits to 'learning something from Waters in appreciating how easy it is to stereotype arguments about stereotypes' and suggests he may have oversimplified a complex question (2010, p. 138).

Kabel (2009) is not so charitable in his response to Waters. He situates Waters as part of 'traditional' applied linguistics (as opposed to critical approaches to applied linguistics) which he characterizes as having '... deep-seated misconceptions (if not outright dismissal of) the complex political and ethical implications of language practices, a clinging to positivistic ideals of neutrality and prioritization of efficiency and applicability' (Kabel, 2009, p. 14). Kabel rejects Waters' explanations of stereotyping, describing what Waters termed errors as just another

discursive construct; likening stereotyping to an error or initial judgment subject to revision too easily dismisses the processes by which discourse functions to maintain inequitable power relations. Kabel stresses that native-speakerism is not just a function of its colonial past, but currently fabricates a 'discursive dialectic' (2009, p. 16).

Kabel seems to misunderstand Waters' alternate interpretation of Holliday's take on the previously mentioned TESOL conference presentation, both by labelling it an equally 'ad hominem' conclusion (p. 18), and by critiquing what Waters called 'mainstream' research methods (Waters, 2007b, p. 282). While Waters had used Holliday's account of the conference presentation to stress the need for empirical evidence as a means to resist native-speakerism, Kabel seems to demand the same empirical evidence, but then in the same breath questions the 'simplistic epistemological assumptions' (p. 18) upon which Waters' call for evidence is based. Kabel appears to come close to throwing the baby out with the bathwater in dismissing social research as being based on faulty epistemology: 'Because most of what we know about the social world is beyond conscious awareness, the categories of vision of native-speakerism cannot be easily recognized. . .' (p. 18). The objectivity required by critical discourse analysis in describing social realities 'beyond conscious awareness' appears to be assumed; Kabel seems unwilling to acknowledge the historical and political discursive constructs which critical discourse analysis surely also carries.

This tendency to place the expert critical linguist seemingly beyond the reach of scrutiny, guarded by a certainty that all other approaches are necessarily ideologically laden, is a central misgiving of this researcher to critical approaches. Kirkpatrick (2007a) observes this propensity in Pennycook's (selective) critical analysis of colonialism, which begins from a decidedly uncritical starting point: 'I see no reason to go looking for the good in colonialism. Thus I cannot

see any good moral or political reasons to attempt some balanced overview of colonialism' (Pennycook, 1998, p. 25). Kirkpatrick notes the inconsistency between terming an approach critical when it begins an investigation with such a presupposition (pp. 345-346). Li notes that Pennycook's assumption that a 'balanced' view of colonialism does not warrant a look led him to a selective examination of the historical evidence, and therefore an incomplete picture of the history of English in Hong Kong (Li, 2002, pp. 32-33).

The irony is that such approaches, in decrying hegemony, may impose hegemony of their own. Holliday describes his own struggle: though seeking to resist native-speakerism, he encounters colleagues from outside Western TESOL expressing partiality for seemingly native-speakerist attitudes. 'They' may think differently about English: this tension reflects, Holliday admits, an element of TESOL discourse which may unwittingly place ideological constructions on the very people it is attempting to free, ironically creating an Us-Them division in the name of continuity (2005, pp. 164-167).

2.4 The native speaker paradigm

A large majority of the world's teachers of English are not 'native speakers' of the language (Canagarajah, 1999b). They have acquired English within a milieu of bilingualism and multilingualism, yet are often considered second-class citizens in the profession (Rajagopalan, 2005). A standard practice within ELT has been to group speakers of a language into a binary division of native or non-native, a manner of construction which has come to be called the nativeness paradigm (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 2001). The nativeness paradigm still exerts a strong influence in the profession, and disadvantages the careers and self-esteem of those on the wrong side of the binary classification (Clark & Paran, 2007; Rajagopalan, 2005). The 'native

speaker fallacy', where being a native speaker is presumed to be the ideal characteristic for language teaching, is said to be one of the fundamental principles upon which ELT functions (Phillipson, 1992).

The researcher affirms the widely-held understanding by linguists that the nativeness paradigm is a social construct, not a linguistic one (e.g., Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 2001; Butcher, 2005; Davies, 1991, 2003; Paikeday, 2003). Several assumptions underpin this social construct, and work for its perpetuation. First is the inaccurate notion that the language belongs to, and is the property of, its native speakers. This idea is tied to beliefs about standardised language, the credibility of which are challenged by the ever-changing quality of language, and by the fact that standardised language as a variety must be taught in school even to those 'born' into the language (Widdowson, 1994). Another underlying presupposition which works to support the social construct of nativeness is identification of native speakers by ethnicity and race. Incongruities abound in this regard; Liu, for example, describes a situation typical of a phenomenon widely observable by those working in ELT: a Caucasian teacher identified by students as a NS who came to the USA later than her Asian colleague, who students considered to be a NNS (J. Liu, 1999). Nationality, or perceived nationality, is also a key assumption underlying the nativeness paradigm. Nativeness in the English language is inaccurately assumed to be the exclusive property of a few, select nations. A TESOL educator from the Czech Republic, for example, may be identified by students, and even by other TESOL educators as NNS, regardless of her degree of proficiency in English. Inherent in the notion that English is tied to nationality is a presupposition about a 'natural environment': in some way, those who acquired English in these countries have done so in a 'natural' way, which of course then implies that others will have learnt the language in an 'unnatural' way. This delineates a standard which

will always be inaccessible to those outside the Inner Circle of English-using countries. As Brutt-Griffler and Samimy (2001) warn us, the idea that nativeness is used with the term ‘natural’, and associated with ethnicity and nationality should be a reminder that such ‘hegemonic discourses’ serve as agents of marginalisation (Fairclough, 1989; B. B. Kachru, 1996).

Davies (2003) speaks of a ‘native speaker boundary’, erected not only by NS, but equally by NNS. Self-ascription is possible, because in Davies’ view, being a native or non-native speaker is a question of identity. He discusses the case of Singapore as an example of a New English, and asks whether native speaker membership is possible in such situations. On the one hand, many (or most?) Singaporeans would seem to meet the criteria Davies sets for native speaker status from a linguistic point of view: early (bilingual) and wide exposure to Singaporean English in the ‘restricted codes’ (Bernstein, 2003c) such as the domains of family, and then in the early childhood contexts of playground and nursery. From the sociolinguistic point of view however, though speakers of Singaporean English can claim membership in the community of standard English users, ‘it is debateable if this is what Singaporean English speakers would wish to claim for themselves’ (Davies, 2003, p. 69). This returns to the issue of identity, and Davies’ assertion that those who understand themselves to be native speakers of a language ‘... have responsibilities in terms of confidence and identity. They must be confident as native speakers and identify with other native speakers and be accepted by them’ (p. 8). Davies reminds us that confidence and identity figure in all distinctions, not just distinctions of language, made in the context of majority and minority group relationships (p. 213).

As noted previously, in this study, the researcher followed Davies’ notion of self-ascription as central to one’s conception as a NS/NNS. As the findings of the document analysis

conducted in this study will show, the ‘confidence and identity’ required for native speaker membership does not seem to be characteristic of official government policy.

The conception of English as an International Language or EIL (McKay, 2002), further undoes the native speaker paradigm, as proficiency to facilitate communication becomes an identifier, rather than other extrinsic measures such as nationality (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 2001). Scholars conceptualising English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) (e.g., Archibald, Cogo, & Jenkins, 2011; Jenkins, 2000; Mauranen, 2003; Seidlhofer, 2005; Seidlhofer, 2011) use the term to denote communication between speakers from different language groups, where the form of English used in such situations is a type of ‘contact language’ (Firth, 1996, p. 240). An ELF perspective acknowledges the reality that to a large extent around the world, linguistic interactions in English occur without any participation from native speakers. Advocates suggest that pedagogical approaches consider as key teaching points those features important for international intelligibility, rather than attempting to duplicate native models which are not necessary for being understood in these ‘contact’ contexts.

Given the fact of its social rather than linguistic construction, its potential to marginalize, and the growing importance of ELF/EIL, some have called for the abandonment of the term native speaker (e.g., Kamhi-Stein, 2005; Leung, et al., 1997; Rampton, 1990). Davies disagrees; while asserting that the concept on the one hand is a ‘myth’, ‘we need it as a model, a goal, almost an inspiration (2003, p. 197). It is a reality, and to jettison the term altogether simply on the grounds that it is a social construction may overlook the actuality of self-ascription in linguistic identity and group membership.

2.5 Non-standard varieties in educational policy and practice

Corson's (1995, 2001) sketches of the roles and functions of school language variety assigns a central role to three influential theorists, arguing that their theoretical constructs remain starting points in the discussion. Corson's identification is followed here, as these three theoretical understandings interconnect with this present study, and serve as conceptual frameworks in much subsequent research. Pierre Bourdieu's conception of cultural and linguistic capital provides a framework for the roles of both StdE and CSE identified among Singapore teachers in this study. Basil Bernstein's notion of language and 'code' underpins the discussion of a non-standard variety like CSE in the classroom, and his dichotomous integrationist and collectionist descriptors inform Holliday's understanding of pedagogical transfer practices which feature native-speakerist characteristics. The work of William Labov with vernacular forms of English in the United States is a standard beginning point for discussions of classroom non-standard variety; the body of pedagogical investigation underlined by Labov's studies will be drawn upon for a consideration of approaches to classroom CSE.

2.5.1 Bourdieu and linguistic capital

While capital is usually used in the economic sense, referring to material wealth in some way, Bourdieu employed the term to describe a much wider range of human activity. While economic capital and its focus on material exchange is one of the forms of capital, Bourdieu (2006) enlarged the description to symbolic capital: cultural capital (which could be converted to economic capital and could be institutionalized as educational qualifications) and the 'connections' of social capital (also convertible to economic capital, and institutionalized as titles of nobility). A central difference between economic capital and its symbolic counterpart is that in

an economic transaction, the self-interested nature of the exchange is clear. In an exchange involving symbolic capital, while self-interest is also involved, attempts are made in various ways to deny it, through an appeal to the capital's intrinsic worth. For example, scholars in a scientific field gain symbolic capital through their work, but disavow this by appealing to the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake (Grenfell, 2008). Cultural capital takes three forms according to Bourdieu. When cultural capital exists in an embodied state, it exists in the person; the acquisition of knowledge and skills gained by individuals through a cost to them. In contrast, objectified capital is attributed to an object. Bourdieu uses works of art as an example of objectified capital: it can provide the owner cultural capital if 'appropriated' symbolically, but can be converted to economic capital by selling ownership. Institutional capital extends, as it were, the 'life' of embodied capital through such means as academic qualifications. This form of capital, too, can be turned into economic capital if the qualifications are mutually recognized. Since these function in an institutionalized form, independent from the holder of the qualifications, they are 'guaranteed' and as such distinct from the 'simple cultural capital' possessed by individuals, a capital 'constantly required to prove itself' (Bourdieu, 2006, pp. 109-110). Group membership (whether in a family, tribe, or school, for example) is a defining feature of Bourdieu's conception of social capital. The extent of social capital is dependent on the scope of the network of social connections. These social connections are continually maintained through a process of exchanges and institutionalization to gain profit, whether symbolic or material.

Linguistic capital is an important form of cultural capital, and one that figures prominently in educational contexts, given that education requires a specific language variety (Bourdieu, 1991). Since school is available to all, and since success is said to be based on

standardised merit, it follows that failure in school is due to the student herself/himself. Bourdieu noted that what was overlooked was the close approximation between school linguistic expectations as mediated by standard language and the home life of middle and upper social classes. Thus, students entering school unfamiliar with such norms began without access to the linguistic capital deemed a key element to achievement (Grenfell, 2008). A child whose accrue of linguistic capital from home is more aligned with that of the school's will be viewed as 'brighter' (Hardy, 2010).

Of import to Bourdieu was the notion of 'legitimate language', a linguistic form that is able to exhibit control socially by privileging certain groups while not others. Language standards are defined by acceptability; while the ideal is rarely realised, a piece of language's approximation from the ideal is governed by its range of acceptability, and linguistic capital is assigned accordingly (Grenfell, 2010). Language has symbolic power in that it is able to 'institutionalize systems of dominance in line with established social structures' (Grenfell, 2010, p. 55).

In the context of Singapore, Silver (2005) traces the evolution of language policy, as expressed through official speeches and policy documents, in light of Bourdieu's framework of social and linguistic capital. As a language posited for economic opportunities, English was assigned only limited social capital in the earlier phases of Singapore's development. It was the mother tongues of Singapore that were espoused for their link to ethnic and cultural identities. Multilingualism was essentially considered problematic, and would be addressed through a particular type of bilingualism: 'English plus one other language' (p. 54). The intent of public discourse was to place English in a merely functional role: to access economic development and to communicate inter-ethnically. Over time, a directional shift began to be evident, with policy

speeches beginning to reflect the importance of one particular ‘mother tongue’ (Mandarin) in economic opportunity. At the same time, the increasing role of English began to move toward an increased cultural capital. Policy statements about bilingualism notwithstanding, Silver expects ‘a high level of proficiency in English plus one mother tongue will be for the elites (as English, historically, was for the elites)’ and wonders whether multilingualism can be maintained in light of this (2005, p. 62).

Bourdieu’s theoretical construct of symbolic and linguistic capital provides descriptors for a language standardisation, where all other linguistic practices are viewed through the lens of a socially constructed ‘standard form’. This standard form, though socially and arbitrarily constructed, begins to be so entrenched that it is to be considered ‘common sense’ by the larger society, even those disadvantaged by it. When two different forms of a particular linguistic item exist, it is understood to be common sense that one is right. These ‘rules’ for ‘correct’ ways of speaking are seen to be external from the speakers themselves; these rules are believed to exist independently from speakers in what Milroy (2001) calls a ‘canonical’ form. Though these ideas about right and wrong forms of language use are of an ideological nature, they are not seen that way, and so seem to be unrelated to matters of class or ethnicity. If someone speaks the ‘wrong’ way, it is their fault, as the facility to learn ‘correct’ language is thought to be accessible to all. So when a native speaker of a language confesses uncertainty about a particular usage, she or he is in effect admitting that ownership of the language does not belong to him or her, but to unnamed arbiters who write the ‘rules’ of grammar (Milroy, 2001). It follows that such an ideological belief would be even more acutely felt in an environment like Singapore, where a ‘new English’ functions with a certain degree of linguistic insecurity is felt, thus leading to a dependence on exonormative linguistic norms.

An 'ideology of correctness' (Corson, 2001) is said to function within such settings, and as Bourdieu pointed out, the state is a key actor in the process. By assigning prestige to the standard, the legitimacy of this standard variety is ensured through official state functions, especially education and educational assessment. Teachers and other educational officials make decisions about one language variety over another, and feel justified in doing so. Corson believes those who make such decisions do understand that these are discriminatory, but feel discrimination in favour of a standard language form is less unfair than in categories like race, since it is possible to alter the way one speaks (2001, p. 70). As the provision of 'paper qualifications' is one of the functions of schooling, a standard language variety with 'canonised' forms (Milroy, 2001) enables simplified measurement and assessment of pupil performance. Schooling, then, serves to institutionalise language norms; as school is the arbiter of these norms, they soon take on the air of common sense. Corson points out that norm deviations from the standard can be ascribed a judgement almost moral in character, said to be indicative of the language user's 'ignorance, laziness, lack of education, or even perversity'; as these notions are disseminated the ideology of correctness is maintained (p. 72).

Heller studied the complex school-based interaction between standard and non-standard varieties in the context of French Canada (1995, 1999). While language identity as a French Canadian includes a vernacular form, in a school setting pupils are required to demonstrate proficiency in a de-contextualised standard form. The school policy of French monolingualism coupled with an ideological standardisation, though designed to protect the interests of francophone children from working class backgrounds, ends up working to the disadvantage of such students. It is instead, paradoxically, a bilingual elite who benefit from policies of monolingualism and standardisation. This group colludes with the school by a tactic of non-

resistance. A contradictory situation then arises when bilingual elite francophones decry Anglicization (a strategy, Heller suggests, that assists in maintaining positional legitimacy): the impending threat of external language hegemony is voiced alongside a form of intra-language hegemony. This description of class struggle in the context of non-standard linguistic forms, it will be argued later, is a plausible explanation for at least some of the attitudinal variance toward classroom CSE found in this present study.

In conceptualising linguistic interactions in economic terms, Bourdieu's descriptions of the 'linguistic market' seems especially apropos given the market orientation said to be characteristic of Singapore as 'the firm' (Chew, 2007b). As will be seen later, Bourdieu's framework of linguistic exchange will be applied in this study as a possible explanation of the role of CSE among Singaporean EL teachers, and specifically as an alternative to the explanation offered by native-speakerism. To Bourdieu (1991), language is much more than mere communication, but also a sort of economic transaction, with a producer (the speaker), and a consumer or market (the listener or listeners). The producer is able to gain or lose symbolic profit through utterances. A particular speaker's ability to use language ('linguistic competencies') is not the only factor allowing him/her to make a symbolic profit; the (imposed) order of the social world in which the utterance takes place intersects with linguistic competency to set the 'price' and 'value' of a particular exchange. The linguistic market is fraught with power relations: someone entering the market with relatively low linguistic competency will be unable to gain his or her 'asking price' for a given exchange. The more formal the situation, the more the language required will correspond to the 'legitimate' language form, and therefore the more advantage will be given to the dominant groups who possess greater linguistic competencies. Bourdieu stresses that the linguistic value of a given utterance is not arrived at

through conscious calculation, but through a sense of what is acceptable and what will gain symbolic capital; this awareness ‘determines corrections and all forms of self-censorship – the concessions one makes to a social world by accepting to make oneself acceptable in it’ (1991, p. 77). The lower middle class of French society (*petite bourgeois*) are described by Bourdieu as especially prone to these corrections and self-censorship. They possess what the lower classes have in less abundance: an awareness and recognition of the norms and their symbolic value. In language, Bourdieu observed in the French lower middle class a propensity for over-correction in regard to language. Sensitivity to the linguistic market, coupled with a desire for upward mobility, leads them to an inappropriate emphasis on language correction, especially to matters of pronunciation. Bourdieu finds this phenomenon further exacerbated among women of the lower middle class: limited by the opportunities afforded women through the division of labour, they are even keener to utilise symbolic capital (language, cosmetics and physical appearance are mentioned in this regard by Bourdieu, p. 83) in the pursuit of social mobility. The lower middle class, as Corson points out, want to appropriate something that is perceived as ‘better’. Mastery of the language of the school provides evidence of such appropriation. It follows then, that teachers would be unwilling to assign value to a non-standard language variety which, in their view, they have risen ‘above’ through the strategies of correction and self-censorship Bourdieu describes. Corson suggests that since teachers characteristically come from the lower middle classes, they ‘tend to see it as anachronistic when they are asked to value the very thing they have often jettisoned from themselves’ (2001, p. 83). Rather, enacting a strategy of ‘hyper-correction’ (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 83) seems a natural consequence under the circumstances.

As will be discussed in a subsequent section, this description of the pursuit of upward mobility through symbolic exchanges for profit in a linguistic market may have direct pertinence

to the findings of this present study. In tracing the background to the study, the researcher noted in teacher training contexts an observable anxiety over seemingly small matters of grammar or pronunciation, which evoked intense discussion among Malaysian and Singaporean trainees (see section 1.1). Inevitably, the expatriate trainer would be asked to render an ‘expert’ judgement to settle the issue; it was noted previously that this role of arbiter for correct language was one the trainers seemed very hesitant to function in. The behaviour by both trainees and trainer was unexpected by the researcher, and, as discussed previously, was a key factor in shaping the researcher’s initial interest in what would later develop into this present investigation. In instances such as these, where an expert trainer from the Inner Circle is expected to act as bearer of a standard language form for Outer Circle trainees, one would expect to find evidence of native-speakerism. But as the inquiry progressed, native-speakerism seemed inadequate in accounting for the power relations inherent in such situations. ‘Correct’ English and its relationship to upward mobility emerged as a more apt conceptualisation of the phenomena at hand. The ‘anticipation of profits’ (Bourdieu, 1991) with ‘standard’ English functioning as profitable linguistic capital, helped to locate CSE within a larger context of social class demarcation. CSE (and its Malaysian counterpart) while valuable for expressions of group affinity in one marketplace, seemed to lack – and even hinder – profitability in another. The analytical framework provided by the notion of symbolic exchanges in a linguistic marketplace, as will be discussed later, is informative as an explanation for attitudinal variation to Singlish in the school classroom.

2.5.2 Bernstein's 'code'

Delving into Bernstein's theoretical system is a daunting task, made especially so by its complexity and at times, as has been said, its unreadability (Cause, 2010). It is included (briefly) in this study as elements of Bernstein's conceptual framework, specifically the dichotomous relationship between collectionist and integrationist cultures, are drawn upon in Holliday's (1994a) search for appropriate methodology.

The notion of 'code' is central to Bernstein's understanding of social control, though a clear definition is elusive. A 'regulative principle, tacitly acquired, which selects and integrates relevant meanings, forms or realizations, and evoking contexts' (Bernstein, 2003a, in Corson, 2001, p. 73), codes act as 'principles of structuration' to help determine 'which cultural elements it is appropriate to select in any given circumstance' (Harker & May, 1993). Bernstein asserted that because society's distribution of educational knowledge is a reflection of social control, the transmission of that educational knowledge warranted special attention from researchers. Educational knowledge, he said, was 'realized' via three 'message systems', namely, curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation (Bernstein, 2003b, p. 77). These three elements worked together to make school the primary classifier in society. Like Bourdieu, Bernstein attempted to explain different levels of societal stratification and the processes involved, with education playing a central role in replicating those distinctions.

It is specifically the message system of curriculum in Bernstein's schema which has import to this present study, as Holliday draws upon Bernstein's (1971) descriptions of collectionist and integrationist curricula in elaborating on the pedagogical conflict that characterises the global spread of English. The sociology of education has long noted the importance of school subjects and subject specialisations in shaping the identity of teachers and

the professional cultures to which they belong; those professional cultures are strongly influenced by university academics and researchers who define the content boundaries of the subject and provide a language and terminology for the subject's instruction. Holliday sees an inherent conflict in the ELT enterprise in this regard: curriculum and methodological approaches largely originate in BANA countries (Britain, Australasia and North America) countries, but are received in TESEP (tertiary, secondary and primary) contexts in other parts of the world. The origin of curriculum and methodology in BANA settings is largely 'instrumentally-oriented', taking place in commercial or adult education, and therefore ideas about what defines 'teacher' or 'classroom' are very different than TESEP situations around the world, which are described as more 'institutionally-influenced' (Holliday, 1994b). The 'technology transfer' that takes place from BANA settings to TESEP ones is then inherently problematic. He turns to Bernstein's typology of collectionist and integrationist curriculum models to understand the pedagogical conflict within the context of ELT.

Bernstein utilised the terms 'frame' and 'classification' to analyse his notion of educational code. Frame relates to 'the degree of control teacher and pupil possess over the selection, organization and pacing of the knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogical relationship' (1971, p. 50). In Singapore for example, where an examination-driven pedagogy characterises classroom practice, strong framing is evident: the teachers and students have less control over the transmission of knowledge. A system where there is more teacher freedom over pedagogy would be said to have weak framing. Classification is 'the degree of boundary maintenance between contents' (1971, p. 49). If the subject areas of Mathematics and English are kept quite separate in terms of content, teacher interaction, instructional locale, assessment and so on, these subjects would be described as having strong classification. Bernstein depicts

European education as strong classification/very strong framing; British education as very strong classification/weak framing; and American education as weak classification/weak framing (1971, pp. 52-53).

Classification and frame defined in the above ways are used to conceptualise a continuum of collectionist and integrationist descriptions of curriculum. In collectionist curricula, subject areas are distinct, with clear demarcation between them, with teachers exhibiting a high degree of subject specialisation. In contrast, a curriculum characterised by integration (Bernstein said this was quite rare in Western education, found mostly at primary level) is more interdisciplinary in nature, with less clear boundaries between subject areas. In an integrationist paradigm, teacher expertise is linked more with classroom pedagogical expertise than subject specialisation (Holliday, 1994a, p. 72).

Holliday understands TESEP English teaching to be collectionist in orientation, with ‘a strong allegiance within this group to the disciplines of literature or linguistics’; with regards to teacher training, ELT methodology ‘often becomes a discipline in its own right, and is taught as a highly formalised content subject’ (1994a, p. 73). On the other hand, BANA ELT is described as integrationist; Holliday suggests that its relatively low status and its stage of evolution as a paradigm may account for this penchant for an integrationist outlook. In BANA Holliday finds a ‘professional-academic schizophrenia’: academia in BANA countries articulates a collaborative learning ideal characteristic of the integrationist paradigm, while traditional collectionist forms of specialisation permeate discourse (1994a, pp. 79-80).

As ‘technology transfer’ takes place from BANA contexts to TESEP ones, the limited applicability of integrationist approaches can lead to minimal teacher ownership. Holliday does not believe the communicative approach to language teaching, *in and of itself*, is inapplicable to

wider application outside of BANA contexts, but rather that a 'narrower version' of it is applicable (1994b, p. 5).

2.5.3 Labov and language varieties

Labov's (1972a, 1972b) studies of African-American varieties of English were influential in establishing the notion that such varieties were not simply deviations from the standard form in need of correction, but language systems in and of themselves, containing their own norms and grammatical rules. Similarly, though Singlish is portrayed in both official and popular discourse as simply a bastardisation of a standard variety to be avoided or even 'unlearnt' (Melcher, 2003), it displays its own distinct features, including complex rules of grammatical usage (e.g., Fong, 2004; Wee & Ansaldo, 2004).

Labov took aim at Bereiter's (1966) analysis of a child's utterances in African American Vernacular English (AAVE). Where Bereiter found language deficits that lack the ability to convey logical connections, Labov located in the same utterance knowledge of the deep structure of language: 'clear concepts of tense marker, verb phrase, rule ordering, sentence embedding, pronoun and many other grammatical categories' (Labov, 1972a, p. 223). Labov's work solidified the understanding of the legitimacy of non-standard varieties, and served to call into question stereotypes drawn upon the basis of language. Further, Labov argued that non-standard linguistic practices were strengthened as a result of continual collision with standard varieties and served as a means of resistance and group affinity in the face of mainstream standards (A. D. Edwards, 1997). His call for the consideration of non-standard varieties in school has had a considerable degree of impact on subsequent official educational policies (Corson, 2001).

Disallowing the use of dialect or non-standard forms in the classroom seems to possess a certain intuitive, commonsense logic. Siegel (1999a) summarises three central arguments often put forward in favour of disallowing the use of dialect in school classrooms. The researcher has personally heard these three arguments articulated, directed toward Singlish, at various levels and in various ways within Singapore schools: by Ministry officials, school principals, EL teachers and even students themselves. The first argument is built around the precious resource of time: in an education system with finite instructional time available, logic dictates that an allocation of time for non-standard speech would restrict the time available for a central feature of schooling: learning the standard. Another position appeals to economic opportunities associated with mastery of the standard form: this ‘ghettoisation’ perspective asserts that time taken spent on dialects unnecessarily disadvantages students. This argument holds considerable weight in Singapore where (exonormative varieties of) English are equated with economic advantages. Language choice in this case is a matter of economic considerations above cultural and nationalistic ones (Chew, 2007b). Finally, it is put forward that negative transference from the non-standard variety will hinder the learning of the standard. This assumption has been behind the many well-intentioned ‘ban on Singlish’ campaigns that one can observe in schools around the Republic.

An important starting point for the discussion that bears repeating is the unambiguous assertion of the WE paradigm that CSE is recognised by linguists as a nativized variety of English, a contact language, and not somehow a ‘corruption’ of a standard form. As English spreads around the globe it naturally takes root in bilingual and multilingual contact contexts, interacting with existing languages and shaping English for localised uses (Brutt-Griffler, 2002). A gap of course does exist between the declarations of sociolinguistics and a populace seeking

social mobility through mastery of a standard form. But as will be discussed in Chapter 4, data from the NS participants in this study seemed to suggest a broadening acceptance of English in multiple varieties.

The first rationale as noted by Siegel for banning non-standard varieties in the classroom concerns the allotment of time resources, and is sometimes referred to as the ‘time-on-task’ argument. It presumes that time spent on learning the target standard form is the ‘major variable underlying language learning’ (Cummins, 1992, p. 92). Cummins’ review of research in bilingual education concludes that ‘there is no direct relationship between the instructional time spent through the medium of a majority language and academic achievement in that language’ (p. 98).

A central concern of opponents of non-standard varieties in the classroom is that of language transfer (see Ellis, 1997), or as it is negatively cast, language interference. Siegel (1999b) surveyed the research on non-standard dialects in the classroom and concluded that claims about increased interference from non-standard forms were largely unfounded. In contrast, his survey of the research literature found ‘greater participation rates, higher scores on tests measuring reading and writing skills in standard English, and increases in overall academic achievement’ (p. 710). An updated overview of research confirmed the findings of his earlier survey (Siegel, 2007). In the context of this present study, data sheds some light on this question in two ways. As will be seen in section 4.2 of the study, one NS participant did speak at some length during the semi-structured interviews about CSE interference in spoken forms, but noted that students demonstrated domain awareness, and found little evidence of CSE in student writing. A NNS study participant did not corroborate this view, and gave examples of CSE forms that did transfer to student writing.

Strategies of contrastive analysis, as opposed to continual correction, have shown some positive outcomes. Such an approach recognises the legitimacy of the non-standard form as a language variety in its own right, and aims at developing the ability to code-switch between varieties, rather than an outright ban of the non-standard. A study of New York African-American primary school students who used Black English Vernacular (BEV) forms in their writing, compared contrastive analysis instructional strategies with traditional approaches in regard to written language. Pre- and post-tests were utilised to gauge student improvement in the use of standard forms in their writing. After selecting six features for instruction, the researchers measured differences in three types of treatment: exposure to standard English features through stories; exposure to the targeted standard forms through stories plus an explanation of the 'rules'; and the previous two along with guided practice in sentence transformation from BEV into standard English forms. The researchers observed significant improvement with the third treatment type, indicating that exposure to dialectal forms and explanation of grammatical rules alone, elements of a traditional approach to learning StdE, were not enough (Fogel & Ehri, 2000).

A large Singapore study examined whether Singlish spoken forms were transferred into written work, and thus a barrier to the mastery of StdE (Rubdy, 2007). Researchers identified CSE features in student spoken language and written tasks, and then calculated these as a proportion of the total. In general, while transference of CSE features from spoken to written forms was observed, the 'range was much narrower'. CSE spoken features such as clauses without subjects, subject deletion, copula deletion, and the omission of the verb 'do' were found in the written work of students, but with a considerable difference in proportional percentage. Copula deletion, for example, made up 44% of the spoken task transcripts, but reoccurred as only

a 2.5% proportion of the written compositions. On the other hand, CSE spoken features like an omission of past tense marking and of the *-s* marker in the third-person singular were evident in the written task, with spoken and written occurrences roughly equivalent. The study suggests student understanding of domain awareness, even at early levels of education. Rubdy goes on to put forward several areas where Singlish could be applied as a resource in Singapore classrooms: as a curriculum bridge, for contrastive analysis, to broaden awareness of genre, to manage classroom talk, and to strengthen classroom interpersonal relationships (2007, pp. 319-323).

Code-switching is a term used in widely varying fields, but in the contexts relevant to this present discussion it describes classroom practices involving differing language varieties (Nilep, 2006). A 'contextualization cue' (Ferguson, 2003), code-switching indicates a change of 'footing' (Goffman, 1974) whether verbal or non-verbal.

Ferguson's (2003) overview of code-switching practices is especially relevant to this study in that it considers classroom code-switching in post-colonial settings, where the teaching and learning of a standard (European) language variety takes place in a bilingual or multilingual context. In regard to language policy and planning approaches to code-switching, he identifies three broad groupings. The first is reflected by the 'ban on Singlish' approach: a strict separation between languages with mixed-code instruction officially discouraged. A second policy approach allows for code-switching, but in a controlled way. In another type, more akin to what Rubdy suggests above, code-switching is seen as a resource, and a focus is directed to teacher awareness of language and dialect difference. After reasserting that research literature from a wide range of educational settings contradicts the belief that code-switching is a hindrance in learning the standard variety, Ferguson suggests that the persuasive work of applied linguists in this regard be aimed at a micro level, rather than toward macro issues at a policy level. Issues

surrounding language of instruction for education and the like are matters of power distribution and are therefore likely to be hotly contested. To link this suggestion to a Singapore context, classroom code-switching is a reality. The official acknowledgement of its potential for a pedagogical resource is not. This discrepancy between micro and macro, between official policy and classroom practice in regard to code-switching has been observed in other situations (e.g., D. Liu, Ahn, Baek, & Han, 2004).

As will be elaborated on in more fully in section 5.4, especially for students of neighbourhood schools, pedagogical strategies such as contrastive analysis that employ CSE may give a wider range of learners access to StdE. Bruthiaux argues that ‘language policy in Singapore needs to follow practice and recognize that there is room in Singapore for standard English, Singlish and shades of Singapore English in between’ (2010, pp. 95-96). While one can remain hopeful that Bruthiaux’s recommendation is followed, and although the 2010 EL Syllabus allows for informal domains of language use, in the view of this researcher, recognition in official documents of a positive role for CSE is a long way off.

2.6 Summary

This literature review chapter situated the phenomena under investigation in this present study in a considerable body of literature related to the spread of English worldwide; to English in Singapore specifically; to the concept of native-speakerism in ELT; to influential theorists on the role of standard and non-standard language varieties in education; and to pedagogical approaches to non-standard language. Figures 8 and 9 on pages 46-50 illustrated the relationships and interactions between these frameworks.

The literature review began with an overview of Singapore English, with attention to the schema describing its variation, origins, and features. The literature showed that despite official dictates and the efforts of the SGEM, CSE has wide use in classrooms. Data gathered from Singaporean teachers will suggest that the effectiveness of SGEM may account for attitudinal

variation toward CSE found in this study. The 2010 EL Syllabus showed some movement toward acknowledging the role of informal speech domains, but continuity in preference for exonormative language standards.

The overview of world Englishes situated the study in extant literature on theoretical processes pertaining to the global spread of English and local language contact. The ‘critical turn’ marked by Phillipson’s linguistic imperialism thesis was discussed in light of recent critiques, which lent support to the notion that global forces of linguistic hegemony might be less responsible for linguicism than local language hegemony – a conception pertinent to this present study. Models describing the dynamics of the spread of English globally were surveyed, with reference to the placement of Singaporean English in light of data gathered in this study.

The review also examined Holliday’s conception of native-speakerism with attention to areas of pedagogical theory and practice, and considered debate surrounding native-speakerism by Holliday, Waters and Kabel. While concerns about cultural stereotyping are well-founded, the researcher agreed with Waters’ assertion that native-speakerism ought to be resisted through empirical evidence. The review also considered the native speaker paradigm; though found to be a social construct rather than a linguistic one, the paradigm bears relevance to the study in that it has been shown to figure in teacher recruitment in Singapore, and self-ascription of NS/NNS status was seen to be indicative in a social dimension of direct import to the study.

The literature review also surveyed the work of influential theorists and research regarding the roles and functions of classroom non-standard language varieties. Bourdieu’s conception of symbolic profit and loss through linguistic exchange was shown to be a viable framework for considering the attitudinal variation toward CSE found in this study. Bernstein’s collectionist and integrationist continuum of curriculum was presented by Holliday as an explanation for the inappropriate transfer of pedagogy associated with the global spread of English. The foundational work of Labov set the stage for a consideration of research literature on classroom non-standard language varieties in the pedagogy of teaching a standard form. The

next chapter explains the methodology used to conduct the investigation into attitudes of NS/NNS English language teachers in Singapore toward CSE.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter explains and details the methods utilised in carrying out the study, and highlights the analysis of the gathered data. It is important to note that the methodology, to a certain extent evolved during the study's progression, as the researcher adapted both to findings and changing circumstances. After a brief discussion of the study's general research perspective, this chapter describes the research context and participants. A brief historical overview of the development of education in Singapore is sketched, along with a summary of the present day educational context. An explanation of the Ministry of Education's Teacher Consultant initiative is provided. The instruments used in collection of data – the attitudinal survey, the semi-structured interviews and the document analyses – are then explained in terms of development, procedures for carrying out their use, their relationship to one another, issues regarding their limitations, their relationships to the research questions, and methods of analysis. The methodological progression of the study is described while situating it within the context of a larger body of literature regarding social research methodology. Ethical issues are considered, with specific attention to the negative potential of labelling participants NNS or NS. The chapter concludes with a brief summation.

3.1 General perspective

This study utilized a mixed methods approach to research, a method where both qualitative and quantitative data are gathered and analysed in a single study (Tashakkori & Cresswell, 2007). Mixed methods research has gained currency in social research over the years, with its relative merits and potential pitfalls widely discussed (L. Newman & Benz, 1998; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003, 2009). The aims of such an approach are to both counterbalance

weaknesses inherent in a single methodological approach and to increase the span of the research (Driscoll, Appiah-Yeboah, Salib, & Rupert, 2007). It is argued that such an approach results in a ‘methodological pluralism’ preferable to a single method (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 14). This study employed what has been termed the convergence model of a mixed methods triangulation design, in that qualitative and quantitative data were collected, then analysed in a search for areas of corroboration (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2007).

The research questions took shape through the process of gathering the data. Initially conceived through the (in this researcher’s case, decidedly nonlinear) process of formulating a set of research purposes and objectives to form the research questions, a ‘reiterative’ process (I. Newman, Ridenour, Newman, & Demarco, 2003, p. 169) occurred as the study progressed.

3.2 Research contexts and participants

3.2.1 Education in Singapore

Modern Singapore is an island city-state located at the southern tip peninsular Asia, just north of the equator. Named from Sanskrit ‘lion city’, the island was under the control of Javanese empires, the Thai kingdom, the sultans of Melaka in present-day Malaysia, and then in the 1800s another Malaysian sultanate from nearby Johor (Turnbull, 1996). With the arrival of Sir Stamford Raffles in 1819 and a resultant treaty with the Johor sultanate, Singapore became a British settlement, and by 1867 a Crown Colony. Providing education in English was not a priority for the colonial administration at first, and working with the existing situation where Malay served as a lingua franca presented a more viable option.

Singapore fell to Japanese forces in 1942 and was occupied until 1945. Following the retaking of the island, movements for independence were underway, and in 1962 Singapore attempted a merger with the Federation of Malaya, an initiative that would prove to be unworkable. The end of that brief union on 9 August, 1965 is now celebrated as Singapore's birth as an independent nation (Turnbull, 1996).

Education became a priority of the new nation. The achievement of Singapore in developing an embryonic education system from independence in 1965, when there was no compulsory education and few students completed high school, to a level analogous to OECD countries today is remarkable. Singapore's accomplishments in international assessments of student achievement are often cited both within and without Singapore as evidence of this rapid development. For example, considering that less than half of Singaporeans indicate English is the main language spoken at home, the performance of Singapore students in the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) assessment is noteworthy: over 90% of students achieved above the international median in this test, which is conducted in English (Darling-Hammond, 2010, p. 181; MoE, 2004). Gupta (2010a, p. 68) notes that the performance of Singaporean children in the O-level English language examination is higher than that of UK children in the equivalent GSCE. Indeed, assessment results from the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) show Singaporean students performing favourably when compared to countries where English is the sole language spoken at home (Dixon, 2005b). These attainments in English take place in Singapore amidst a backdrop of bilingual educational achievement as well. The city-state's accomplishments are perhaps even more significant in that it has seemingly managed to surmount the inheritance of its colonial inequities, where schooling traditionally upheld racial and economic divisions (Darling-Hammond, 2010, p. 184).

In 2011, 478,413 students were enrolled in 343 primary and secondary schools (adapted from MoE, 2012, p. 19). Since before independence, Singapore has maintained a 6-4-2 system: 6 years of primary education, 4 of secondary, and then, depending on O-level examination results, students may proceed to junior colleges, polytechnics, or vocational education for 1-3 year programmes. Primary school consists of six years of education, and concludes with a Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE) which is used to assess learning and facilitate secondary school placement. Secondary school instruction offers three courses: an Express course leading to the Singapore-Cambridge General Certificate of Education (GCE) O-level Examination; a Normal (Academic) course which leads to the GCE N-level Examination (students who are successful in the N-level Examination can qualify to sit for the O-level Examination after an additional year of instruction); and a Normal (Technical) course leading to the GCE N-level Examination (MoE, 2012).

School instruction is through the medium of English, with students obligated to study a 'mother tongue' as well. There are six types of schools in Singapore, all under the MoE umbrella, but historically reflecting to some degree the patchwork of education from the colonial era where there were mission and ethnic-based schools. The six types are: independent, autonomous, government, government-aided, specialised independent schools and specialised schools. While government schools are fully funded by the state, government-aided schools receive only partial government funding. Autonomous schools are granted more freedom to provide programme options to parents and students, are equipped with better facilities, and receive additional per-pupil funding (MoE, 2005). Specialised independent schools receive additional government funding per-pupil to conduct their specialised programming in, for example, sports, performing arts or science.

In tracing the development of the Singapore education system, Gopinathan (2012) identifies three phases, paralleling the island's development in general: survival, efficiency and ability-driven. The first phase, beginning before independence and continuing through the 1960s, began identifying and constructing in the public service – including education – what would become at once ideological and pragmatic building blocks for the new state: meritocracy, order, effort and quality. During this phase of development, bilingualism (in English and a 'mother tongue') became a central feature of Singapore's education: both to move the nation beyond the potentially explosive ethnic divisions of the colonial period, and to align education directly with its view of English as critical to economic development.

The efficiency-driven phase of educational development (1978-1997) was brought about as Singapore began to lose its advantage to other Southeast Asian nations who were willing to provide labour to multinational corporations at cheaper rates (Goh & Gopinathan, 2006, p. 25). The government refocused with the New Education System (NES) in 1979, which provided multiple streams in order to allow students to progress in a fashion more suited to their abilities. The revamped curriculum attempted to eliminate the wastage of student attrition rate in a demanding curriculum, with the labour market as the driving force.

The ability-driven phase, as before, tracked with shifting economic trends. Singapore's leadership identified that globalization and its accompanying emphasis on a knowledge-based economy demanded further changes to the education system. In 1997 then Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong launched the 'Thinking Schools, Learning Nation' (TSLN) initiative, with the broad aims of maximizing abilities of each person, and harnessing those abilities (Goh & Gopinathan, 2006, pp. 43-44). Schools expanded their programmes to cater to individual skills, interests and aptitudes, extending the curriculum far beyond the lock-step and rote learning approach of the

earliest days of development. The ‘Teach Less, Learn More’ (TLLM) initiative announced by Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong in 2004 further clarified this ability-driven phase, calling for a focus on understanding critical thinking and problem solving (MoE, 2012, p. vii). The ‘coming of age’ of Singapore’s education system has been noted internationally (Gopinathan, 2012, p. 67).

3.2.2 Teacher Consultant initiative

This study took place in the context of a Ministry of Education project with CfBT Education Singapore from 2008-2010. For purposes of confidentiality, school and teacher/Teacher Consultant (TC) names have been referred to by pseudonyms.

CfBT Education Singapore is part of CfBT Education Trust, a UK-based education consultancy organization with 2,500 staff worldwide, that ‘exists solely to provide education for public benefit’ (CfBT, 2012). Originally known as The Centre for British Teachers, the charity’s name was formally changed to CfBT Education Trust in 2006 (“CfBT: 40 years of supporting education worldwide,” 2012, p. 9). After a bidding process with the Ministry of Education in 2007, CfBT Education Singapore developed and provided oversight for an initiative called ‘Enhancing School English Language Programmes’. The stated aims were to:

- Develop the skills and expertise of local teachers at the schools in the programme
- Assist in developing and enriching the curriculum
- Contribute to raising standards in English Language among students (CfBT, 2010)

The programme description brochure on CfBT Education Singapore’s website does not explicitly say that NS were recruited for TC positions. However, the brochure does specify that one of the requirements of the MoE was that ‘all TCs must be recruited from UK, Ireland, New Zealand, Australia, USA and Canada’ (CfBT, 2010, p. 3). It is not clear why these particular countries were singled out specifically as areas for recruitment and why others were excluded. One wonders whether the NS paradigm was a factor in the terms of expatriate recruitment, as

had been observed previously (Ching, 2006), but this was not openly stated. TCs were required to hold a degree in English language or English literature, while the brochure stated clearly that ‘degrees in English as an additional language are not acceptable’ (CfBT, 2010, p. 3). Again, the rationale for this distinction is not elaborated on.

The role of TCs was envisioned in three ‘strands’: teaching (a recommended two classes per week), consulting (described as mentoring Singaporean teachers, modelling effective teaching, resource creation, ‘developing pedagogical approaches’ and enhancement of school co-curricular activities) and as a third strand, the provision of a ‘bank’ of materials (CfBT, 2010, p. 5). The brochure also stipulates how TCs ought not to be utilized: in activities not directly related to the English Language subject, as ‘civic tutors or form tutors’, as temporary teachers to relieve absent staff, and as purely teachers without roles in consultancy (p. 6).

After approval to conduct the research was given, the researcher addressed TCs at one of the monthly meetings, explaining the purpose and aim of the research project and inviting participation. TCs were invited to participate if they considered themselves to be a ‘native speaker of English’. As noted previously, no attempt was made to define NS. All TCs agreed to participate and completed consent forms. TCs were also asked to invite participation from at least one Singaporean teacher at their school who identified themselves as a ‘non-native speaker’ of English. Again, no attempt was made to define NNS for participants.

3.2.3 Research participants

As noted previously, research participants were teachers and TCs drawn from schools participating in the TC initiative. 20 were female and 12 were male. 7 participants were between 20-30 years old, 12 between 30-40, 8 between 40-50, 4 between 50-60, and 1 participant indicated an age of 60+. Half of the participants had teaching experience of more than 10 years; the other respondents ranged from 4-9 years of experience (8 participants) to 3 years or less (8). 13 of the 32 self-identified as 'native speakers of English'. 21 listed their highest qualification as a post-graduate diploma, 4 as an undergraduate degree, while 7 participants held master's degrees. 18 of the study participants received formative education (primary and secondary) in Singapore, while 12 indicated the UK, Australia, New Zealand or Canada. Tables in section 4.1.2 will show the interaction of these variables with responses to the questionnaire items.

3.3 Research design

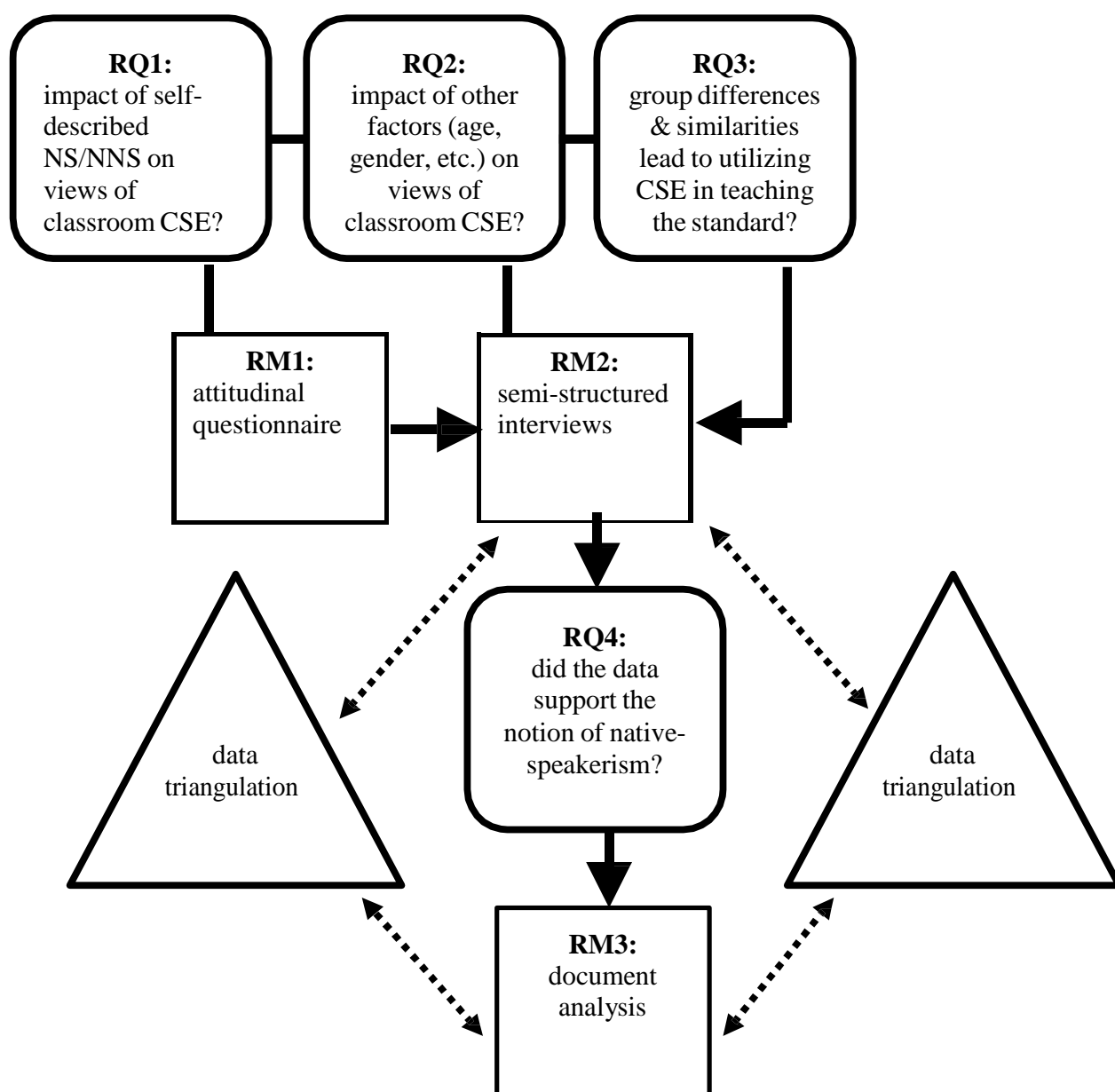
The pragmatic nature of mixed methods research is said to make a direct link between research questions and research methods even more critical (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2006). As noted previously, in this particular study, the research questions emerged, re-emerged and evolved during the process of the collection and analysis of data, a dynamic course of action consistent with a mixed methods approach (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2006). The first two research methods chosen (questionnaire and semi-structured interview) were driven by research questions 1, 2 and 3. The data collected from the questionnaire and semi-structured interviews led to the development of a fourth research question in order to pursue a further line of inquiry. The development of this process, and the relationships between methods and research questions is illustrated in Figure 11.

3.3.1 Research design – attitudinal survey

Questionnaires have extensive use in educational research, as they facilitate broad data collection at usually lower costs of both time and money, and can probe inner opinions and values (Gall, et al., 2007). Validity has been defined as the degree to which a test measures what it intends to measure (Wellington & Szczerbinski, 2007); in this regard, several limitations should be noted about the limitations of questionnaire validity. First, questionnaires operate on the assumption that participant responses are truthful. Further, as a self-reporting instrument, a questionnaire has the possibility for inaccuracies in reporting or in generating responses that are only what the respondent perceives to be socially acceptable information. In general, less strict standards for validity are applied to questionnaires and interviews that might be for tests, in that typical question items in these instruments are less likely to be untruthfully reported (Gall, et al.,

2007). In the context of this study, the researcher attempted to mitigate untruthful reporting through continual assurances, through both written and spoken communication, of participant anonymity.

Figure 11: Relationship between Research Questions (RQ) and Research Methodology (RM)



[Note: dotted lines indicate 'back and forth' interaction in methodological progression.]

The catalyst for the beginnings of this investigation in general, and the questionnaire in particular, was the observation described in the first chapter: the researcher had a growing awareness over the years that a considerable difference existed between the expressed desires of teacher trainees for ‘proper’ or ‘standard’ English instruction at training events, and the reticence of expatriate trainers to provide it. The researcher’s investigation, therefore, began with a review of the history of research on comparisons between NS and NNS (Braine, 2005, 1999), which led to an examination of survey work that explored differences between self-identified NS and NNS teachers of English (Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Benke & Medgyes, 2005; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Reves & Medgyes, 1994; Samimy & Brutt-Griffler, 1999). Survey instruments used to measure attitudes toward Singlish specifically were also drawn upon in formulating the questionnaire (Farrell & Tan, 2007; Rubdy, 2007; P. K. W. Tan & Tan, 2008; Teh, 2000).

The sample involved all TCs participating in the CfBT/MoE TC programme during 2010. A quasi-experimental research design was employed in that pre-existing groups (TCs and NNS teachers whose schools were participants in the MoE TC programme) were used (Wiersma & Jurs, 2005). Non-probability sampling (i.e., there was no random selection procedure; Hox, deLeeuw, & Dillman, 2008) was utilised, with participants including all 25 TCs, and 25 Singaporean English teachers drawn from schools participating in the TC programme who indicated at the outset that they considered themselves ‘non-native speakers’ of English. Permission was sought from the appropriate levels of administration, and from the survey participants themselves (a consent form can be found in Appendix 1).

The survey questions are included in the Appendix. Section A asked for background information on variables this researcher hypothesized might differentiate the responses (level of education, years of teaching, age, etc.), a standard practice in social research (Gorard, 2001).

Some open-ended questions were included in Section A both because the question required it (in Question 8a, for example, there were multiple languages that could have been mentioned by the respondent), and because the researcher wanted to allow for the gathering of unanticipated information (e.g., Questions 10-11; see Gillham, 2000; Wiersma & Jurs, 2005). Section B asked research participants to indicate on a five-point Likert scale their opinions on 24 questions relating to the use of Singlish in the classroom; a five-point scale was chosen because of its intuitive appeal (McKelvie, 1978; P. K. W. Tan & Tan, 2008). The survey instrument was designed to be anonymous, so a numerical school code was assigned to each participant to maintain anonymity. The school names and codes have been removed from the sample questionnaire in the Appendix.

Questionnaire design and construction were carried out in the first quarter of 2009, drawing on previous attitudinal studies of Singlish and surveys of NS/NNS in other contexts (see above). During the second quarter of 2009, the questionnaire was submitted to research colleagues for feedback, part of the process of establishing validity by seeking expert opinion (Radhakrishna, 2007; Rattray & Jones, 2007). Revisions were made as a result of the input, and a final version of the questionnaire was completed. Permission to conduct the survey was sought from the relevant authorities during the latter parts of the year, and an ethics clearance application was submitted. The HREC Fast Track Committee at the University of Southern Queensland granted approval in February of 2010, and the questionnaires were both distributed and collected in March.

With the assistance of a colleague, questionnaire responses were analysed through SPSS software, first using chi-square methodology to identify significant differences between group responses. In consideration of respondent numbers, a decision was made during chi-square

analysis to collapse the five Likert categories into two: agree and disagree, from strongly agree/agree and strongly disagree/disagree.

3.3.2 Research design – semi-structured interviews

As a social research method, interviewing is said to ‘reach the parts which other methods cannot reach’, probing thoughts, opinions and beliefs in a way that observation cannot (Wellington & Szczerbinski, 2007, p. 81). A semi-structured interview involves structured, prewritten questions, but allows latitude for open questions to probe more deeply. The strength of a semi-structured interview is said to be its provision of a measure of standard data across a group of respondents, but with more depth than is offered by a more structured form of interview (Gall, et al., 2007).

The semi-structured interviews utilized a subgroup sampling design in comparing the views of respondent subgroups (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2006, pp. 482-483). Following the collection and initial analysis of the attitudinal survey data, five participants were contacted to enlist their voluntary participation in a semi-structured interview to further explore some of the themes from the questionnaire. The researcher’s initial intention was to specifically select participants from questionnaire responses, but this proved problematic, both in terms of connecting key attitudinal themes directly with individual subjects, and practical considerations of availability and scheduling at various schools also came into play. In the end, three NNS teachers, on their own initiative, expressed interest to their TC in participating in the semi-structured interview. Though it was not anticipated in advance, the researcher took the interest

in participation as, potentially, an especially valuable asset to the study, since this awareness might indicate a deeper level of prior reflection on the subject of Singlish in the classroom.

Further, the researcher was keen to elicit data specifically from ‘neighbourhood’ schools as opposed to elite ones, since it seemed intuitively likely that classroom Singlish would be more prevalent, and therefore deemed by teachers as more problematic, in these kinds of schools. The researcher actively sought the participation of a TC and her Singapore counterpart with this in mind, to ensure the sample included participants from a neighbourhood school.

The semi-structured interview questions were constructed following Wengraf’s (2001) model of a central research question, theory questions and interview questions (see Appendix). The composed questions were then evaluated against Patton’s (1990) checklist to ensure breadth in the data obtained.

Five interviews were conducted: three female NNS, one female NS, and one male NS. The interviewees were assigned pseudonyms following the interview, and great care was taken to ensure that neither participant nor school names were mentioned on the recording. The purpose of the interview was explained at the beginning, and the consent forms were reviewed and checked. Interviews were conducted at the respective schools during March, 2010, and were recorded on MP3 files. Participants were paid SGD\$50 for their time. The semi-structured interviews ranged in length from 20 minutes to 33 minutes, with an average length of just over 25 minutes. Given the relatively small sample size overall, gender and NS/NNS are the only identifying demographic information given to interview participants in order to maintain anonymity.

As noted in the discussion of the study’s delimitations (see section 1.6), the researcher had to consider the possibility suggested by Braine (2005), that politically correct answers in interview research might be an outcome, due to the nature of NS/NNS power relations; this would raise questions of research reliability and validity. He imagines a situation where a NNS

interviewer is given only positive views by a fellow NNS informant; similarly, a NS might be wary of giving negative opinions about NNS to a NNS interviewer. It was therefore a possibility that negative depictions of CSE by NNS teachers could reflect opinions perceived by teachers as those they are supposed to hold in the presence of this NS expatriate researcher, rather than their actual beliefs.

As noted earlier, the fact that in this study a NS researcher interviewed a NNS might work to the advantage of gaining actual, rather than ‘socially acceptable’ opinions. It is quite possible that a Singaporean teacher might feel freer to express her opinions to someone ‘outside the System’. In the case of the NS interviewees, it is the researcher’s view unlikely that merely ‘political’ opinions would be given to a NS interviewer on CSE or Singapore education, since, again, the researcher is ‘outside the System’. The researcher’s independence in both cases was believed to be an advantage of this study’s validity. In any case, research participants were given spoken and written explanations, both before and after the interviews, regarding confidentiality. The researcher explained the procedures which would ensure anonymity for participants, and then reconfirmed their consent. During the interviews themselves, the researcher noted where possible potential instances of ‘political’ answers, for the purpose of further exploration as the interview progressed, and for consideration during coding of the transcribed versions.

Following the semi-structured interviews, transcription was undertaken using the recordings. A thematic analysis was then conducted, using NVivo software for coding. Thematic analysis has been described as a method for identification and analysis of themes found in data, though disagreement prevails regarding how, specifically, thematic analysis is to be carried out (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The argument has been put forward that researchers tend to underreport the process by which key themes were arrived at (Attride-Stirling, 2001), a tendency the

researcher intentionally attempted to avoid here by tracing the specifics of the thematic development of the coding.

The coding and subsequent thematic analysis took shape in a two-stage process. Initial coding concerned highlighting whatever differences and similarities existed between NS and NNS, whether considered relevant to the study or not. Codes have been described as the most basic piece of data that can be analysed and are gathered in advance of the thematic analysis stage (Boyatzis, 1998). The following topics and sub-topics were identified and referenced in this first stage of coding: academic work and Singlish; bans on Singlish in school; classroom instructions and Singlish; classroom Singlish; Singlish as a common language; definitions of Singlish; differences between StdE and Singlish, differentiation by students between StdE and CSE, discipline cases and Singlish; English teachers using Singlish; foreign teachers and Singlish; Singlish as a handicap; identity and Singlish; informal language and Singlish; the legitimacy of Singlish; Singlish as a limitation; Singlish as a mother tongue; Singlish outside the school environment; relationships and Singlish; Singlish as a resource; Singlish in school (outside the classroom); StdE as British English; teacher correction of Singlish; and the impact of Singlish on writing – 24 themes in all. Care was taken to retain and examine utterances immediately surrounding a particular coded item, to ensure the item's context was maintained and not treated in isolation (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Bryman, 2001). Some extracts were therefore coded multiple times under different topics and subtopics.

In this first stage, the researcher attempted to utilize an inductive approach to codification, where the themes were linked directly to the data; as far as was possible, no attempt was made to pre-fit the interview into a pre-existing theoretical framework (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Patton, 1990). Of course, no researcher operates without an historical and ideological

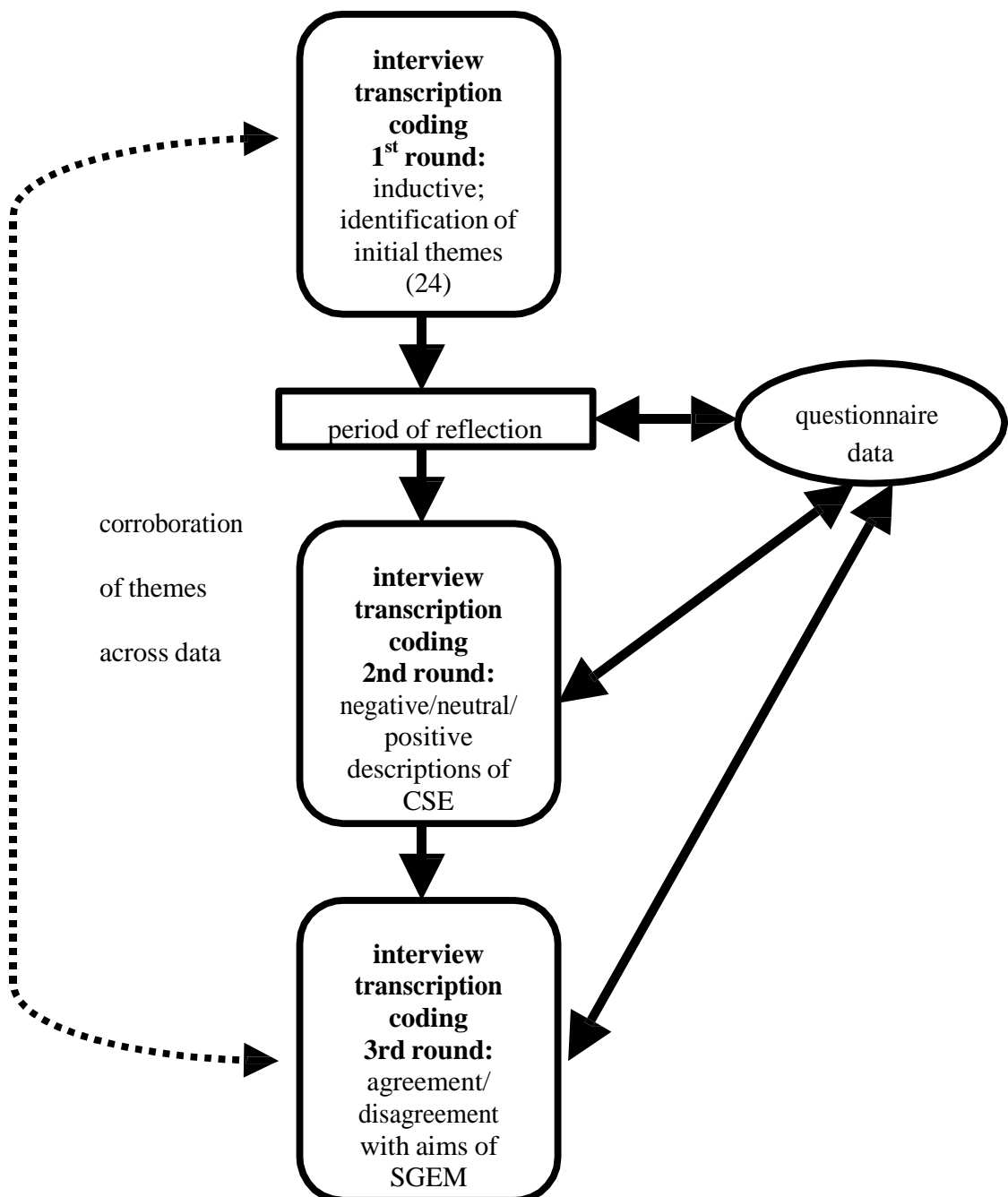
context to the research, and so this researcher naturally carried pre-existing questions and beliefs into the process, but a conscious effort was made to avoid overly pre-fitting interview responses in this stage. In this way, and in contrast to a deductive, top down approach (Boyatzis, 1998), the specific investigative questions evolved as a result of the data.

A period of reflection followed this first stage, to search for and review themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). What ‘big picture’ themes had the first stage of coding revealed? The researcher had been made aware of the need to ‘genuinely integrate’ the quantitative and qualitative research data, and to not, as is (too) often done, allow them to operate independently of one another (Bryman, 2007, p. 8). The questionnaire data was revisited during the reflection period, attempting to see if it could further elucidate the interview themes. Survey responses B2, B12, B16, B17, B20, B22, B23 and B24 all showed notable dissimilarities between respondent categories. Of these questions, B17 (Singlish can be a resource for teaching Standard English), B18 (Singlish should not be allowed in schools at all), and B24 (One of Singapore’s political leaders said, ‘Singlish is a handicap we must not wish on Singaporeans’. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?) all illustrated an important difference between the respondents: whether one received his or her education outside of Singapore. The researcher began to wonder whether there was a relationship between the respondents who had been exposed to the Singapore government’s language campaigns – specifically SGEM – and a negative view of CSE.

With that question in mind, a second round of coding was initiated, this time grouping statements into references with negative descriptions of Singlish, neutral descriptions of Singlish, and positive descriptions of Singlish. The interviews were coded further in a subsequent round, identifying statements that indicated agreement with the aims of SGEM, and those statements

that denoted disagreement. Care was taken to corroborate themes across the body of collected interview data, in an effort to avoid anecdotalism (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The process of interviewing and coding for this study is illustrated in Figure 12.

Figure 12: Process summary: coding of the semi-structured interview transcripts



3.3.3 Research design – document analysis

Document analysis describes the procedure by which documents, whether printed or electronic, are used to collect empirical data from which meaning can be gleaned and interpreted (Bowen, 2009). Data gathered in a document analysis is then categorized and organized through content analysis (Labuschagne, 2003). Among other advantages, documents can give context to the research, can supplement existing data and corroborate findings (Bowen, 2009). Omissions and textual gaps can also serve to provide meaning (Rapley, 2007). The use of document analysis as a method of triangulation – where data is compiled across methods for verification – is one of its key values (Bowen, 2009).

As with many research studies, the methodologies employed took more definitive shape only as the study progressed and new data yielded insight (Patton, 1990). The inclusion of document analysis as a research methodology began only after it occurred to the researcher, following revisits of the data on multiple occasions, discussions with colleagues and research advisors, along with a period of reflection that data from the attitudinal survey and the semi-structured interviews seemed to be in contrast to some of the claims of native-speakerism. The researcher wondered whether expressed opinions running counter to where one might expect to find native-speakerism would also be characteristic of relevant official documents.

Though the Speak Good English Movement (SGEM) and its role in attempting to direct the language choice of Singaporeans has been discussed elsewhere (e.g., Bokhorst-Heng, 2005; Bokhorst-Heng, et al., 2010; Bruthiaux, 2010; Chew, 2007b; Gupta, 2010a; Rubdy, 2001; Wee, 2010a), the choice of SGEM for document analysis in this study has several advantages. First, it is the Singapore government's officially sanctioned organ for the practical implementation of language policy. It is to be regarded as the authorized voice of governmental leadership on the

English language and its role in Singapore. As such, it functions as one of the requirements for a document analysis source: credible, accurate and representative (Bowen, 2009). Second, SGEM's stated audience – 'Singaporeans from all walks of life' (SGEM, 2012b) – makes it conducive to investigate, from a rhetorical standpoint, its means of persuasion (Rapley, 2007). An SGEM document has an additional advantage for data triangulation: the researcher hypothesized previously that since one received his or her education outside of Singapore was a significant indicator of a negative view toward Singlish, it could be reasoned that the SGEM's campaigns had an influence on this finding. Does analysis of an SGEM document provide corroboration with the view of CSE expressed by NNS teachers?

Bowen (2009) outlines three phases to document analysis: skimming, followed by a more careful reading, and then interpretation. The first phase is used to discover relevant sections of the document; the subsequent thematic analysis phase involves coding of data according to germane categories. Previously defined codes and categories from other research methodologies may be applied to document analysis for data integration (Bowen, 2009), a procedure the researcher followed.

The researcher began the first phase with a cursory reading of the current 2012 SGEM website, attempting to consider the intended audience (Bowen, 2009), and to do an initial separation of relevant pages on the site from ones irrelevant to the purposes of the study (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). The researcher made a conscious effort in this phase, as far as was possible given the literature review already undertaken on the SGEM, to let the texts speak for themselves without imposing a hermeneutical template on them.

As the documentation on the website is considerable, the researcher considered a number of criteria in selecting materials for the next phase of analysis. First, no documents on the

SGEM site dated earlier than 2010 were considered. The literature review had revealed that published articles focusing on SGEM were based on earlier descriptions of the Movement, the latest being 2007 (e.g., Bruthiaux, 2010; Chng, 2003; Rubdy, 2001). As content change in documentation over time in and of itself can be informative (Rapley, 2007), the researcher opted to examine more current documents than had previously been examined in other studies, but then, when relevant, referring to pre-2010 materials for comparison. An additional reason for choosing the beginning of 2010 as a starting point was that it coincided with the gathering of other research data; the issues being discussed by SGEM at the time would therefore have theoretically had an opportunity to intersect with survey and interview participants.

A second selection consideration was that of ‘representativeness’ (Bowen, 2009, p. 33). The documents on the SGEM site varied in the degree of representativeness: some were letters to the editor concerned about falling standards of English; in a similar vein were opinion pieces on Singapore English by newspaper columnists. The researcher initially considered these as possible documents for analysis in that they might be reflective of views held by the public in general. However, the reality is of course that it is an editorial decision that results in a particular document’s inclusion on – or exclusion from – the SGEM site. For that reason, documents that one assumed to be the view of the average Singaporean ‘on the street’ are in actuality more likely to reflect what the SGEM editors would *like* his or her opinion to be. The SGEM is clear in its mission: ‘to encourage Singaporeans to speak grammatically correct English that is universally understood’ (SGEM, 2012b), and that focus no doubt informs editorial decisions on article inclusion or exclusion. The researcher wondered in this first phase whether there was a way to, so to speak, ‘go over the head’ of the editors.

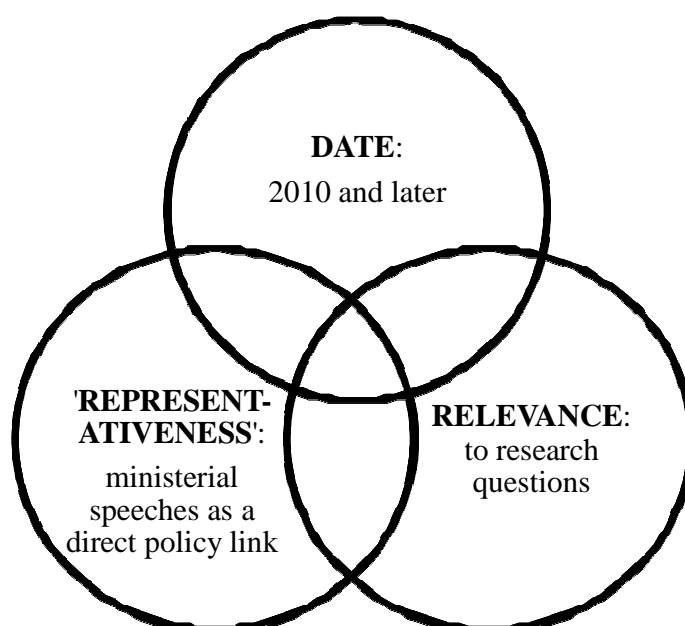
Speeches given at the ministerial level are an important indicator of policy direction in Singapore. Speeches from ministers are routinely used to announce key decisions and guide policy implementation. This is in line with the top down approach to policy implementation that is characteristic of the Republic in general (Hairon, 2006; K. P. Tan, 2008; Worthington, 2003). Tan (2008) describes a leadership culture where self-described elites manage public policy, working through highly-skilled technocrats, in an often paternalistic fashion, for ordinary citizens who are presumed to be unaware of their 'true' interests (p. 12). In this sense, speeches from ministers can be seen to be very close to the actual formation of policy. Cabinet members, as members of an English-speaking elite usually educated abroad (K. P. Tan, 2008), certainly cannot be seen as being representative of the 'average' Singaporean. But they are part of an 'upper echelon' (K. P. Tan, 2008) that shapes, directs and, it must be said, imposes policy on the citizenry. Initiatives that this group blesses will be blessed; conversely, simple indifference by a minister can cause a particular initiative to wilt. A speech given by a minister launching the SGEM is an indicator not only of approval, but a hand in shaping the language policy behind the programme initiative may be assumed. So while perhaps not representative of the view of ordinary Singaporeans, the 'representativeness' (Bowen, 2009) of transcribed speech documents share a direct link with language planning and policy.

Bruthiaux's (2010) assessment of the 2007 SGEM website identified this link. Noting the 'prominence' assigned to two speeches on the site, Bruthiaux argues that 'it is fair to assume that they jointly represent SGEM philosophy' (p. 92). (Bruthiaux did not elaborate on what constituted 'prominence'.) Rubdy (2001) and Chng (2003) both referred to the speech of a (Prime) Minister in their attempt to understand the implications behind SGEM.

A third criterion of selection is closely related to the previous one. Bowen (2009) asserts that the documents must have direct relevance to the central topic of the research and fit within its conceptual framework. The purpose of document analysis in this present study is to search for triangulation with the initial data gleaned from the survey and semi-structured interviews. A negative view of Singlish and indeed some elements of native-speakerism were found in attitudes among Singaporean English Language teachers. Are similar attitudes evidenced by those who shape language policy in Singapore? Do the attitudes of teachers reflect a language policy direction, or a diversion from one?

These three criteria (the date of the document, the representativeness of the document as an expression of language planning and policy, and the relevancy of the document to the study's focus on native-speakerism), taken together, were considered in the document selection process (see Figure 13). The result was that three speeches from SGEM were selected for further coding analysis: a speech by Lawrence Wong, Minister of State, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Education at the launch of the 2011 edition of the SGEM (SGEM, 2012a); a speech by Dr Vivian Balakrishnan, Minister for Community Development, Youth and Sports at the 2010 launch (SGEM, 2011); and the speech of SGEM Chairman Goh Eck Kheng at the same event (SGEM, 2011).

Figure 13: Document analysis selection criteria



The second stage of analysis involved coding and categorization. Bowen suggests utilizing previously defined codes from other methodologies in cases where the document analysis is supplementary to other methods (2009, p. 32). Of the 24 themes identified in the coding of the semi-structured interviews (see section 3.3.2), 13 were initially identified by the researcher as pertinent to the document content of the SGEM speeches: Singlish as a common language; differences between StdE and Singlish, Singlish as a handicap; identity and Singlish; informal language and Singlish; the legitimacy of Singlish; Singlish as a limitation; Singlish as a mother tongue; Singlish outside the school environment; Singlish as a resource; Singlish in school (outside the classroom); StdE as British English; and the impact of Singlish on writing. These categories were applied to the documents, again using NVivo qualitative research software.

Key themes began to emerge in the interpretation phase of the document analysis, which will be elaborated on in the next chapter.

Figure 14 reviews the research questions and summarises the research methodologies used to pursue answers to them.

Figure 14: Summary – Research questions and methods

RESEARCH QUESTION (RQ)	RESEARCH METHOD (RM)		
	questionnaire (RM1)	semi-structured interview (RM2)	document analysis (RM3)
RQ 1	√	√	X
RQ2	√	X	X
RQ3	X	√	X
RQ4	√	√	√

3.4 Ethical considerations

Throughout the data gathering phase of the study, care was taken to ensure that data was collected only from participants who had provided written informed consent. Participants received explanation, first in writing and then confirmed verbally to verify comprehension, that participation was voluntary and could be withdrawn at any time without providing a reason. The researcher also stressed both in written and spoken communication that great care would be taken to ensure participant confidentiality. Ethical considerations were outlined to the research subjects by way of a 'Notes to the participants' form (see Appendix 1).

Approval to carry out the research via the data collection instruments was received from the University of Southern Queensland HREC Fast Track Committee prior to initiating the gathering process. All data was, and is, stored in password-protected computers outside Singapore, with the password known only to the researcher, and will be managed in accordance with the University of Southern Queensland policy. Any future public reporting of study results will be guided by participant confidentiality as a central and critical consideration.

An ethical consideration particularly relevant to this study is the danger of undervaluing the role of NNS EL teachers. It has been put forward that NNS English teachers are 'typically treated as second-class citizens in the world of language teaching' (Rajagopalan, 2005, p. 283). Despite making up the vast majority of English language teachers in the world (Canagarajah, 1999b), the distinction between NS and NNS in both professional status and employment opportunities (Clark & Paran, 2007) can lead to a decreased sense of self-value, and resultant work stress (Rajagopalan, 2005). The distinction between NS and NNS is linguistically unsound (Davies, 2003), and some have argued that the terms ought to be disused (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 2001; Higgins, 2003; Kamhi-Stein, 2005; Leung, et al., 1997; Rampton, 1990). The usefulness of the expressions are further called into question by the understanding of English in

its function as an international language (Jenkins, 2000; McKay, 2002). The notion of the NS is also laden with ideological baggage from its colonial and even racist past (Holliday, 2005, 2006; Kabel, 2009; Pennycook, 1998; Phillipson, 1992). A negative sense of identity as an NNS can result in a narrowed professionalism in teaching, leading to the possibility of decreased affinity with students (Canagarajah, 1999a).

Further, the terms NS and NNS are increasingly blurred in the Republic of Singapore, where English is indeed the first language of many (Gupta, 1994b), and more and more Singaporeans use primarily English (Wee, 2002). The Singapore education system emphasises a ‘mother’ language, but some students still feel that they are fluent only in English; as Deterding (2005) points out, it is inaccurate in such cases to deem these students non-native.

In light of the above, the researcher had to consider at the outset of the investigation whether the terms NS and NNS should be used at all. Would the use of the term in the study perpetuate professional invalidation of NNS teachers, or assist in maintaining the inequitable power relations inherent in the term? In considering the cost-benefit ratio (Cohen, et al., 2007), the researcher had to consider whether the risks outweighed any potential benefits.

While it is erroneous to describe as NNS a Singaporean who is more fluent in English than his or her ‘mother tongue’, the fact is that EL instruction in Singapore schools as defined in the Syllabus does share a key similarity with instruction in NNS contexts – the inclusion of listening (Deterding, 2005). While this may reflect the pattern of undue preference for exonormative language models (Ooi, 2001; Rubdy, 2010), it may also be seen as a tacit admission of issues of international intelligibility among learners. Given the role of English in Singapore’s economic aspirations (Chew, 2007b), the study seemed beneficial in determining whether the inclusion of Inner Circle expatriate NS language models were aiding those aims.

Though rarely explicitly stated, the paradigm of NS does factor in decisions on expatriate teacher recruitment in the Republic (Ching, 2006). At an early stage of the study, the researcher reasoned that since this is the case, a key benefit of the study would be to determine if this recruitment model delivered effectiveness in terms of the aims of the EL Syllabus.

The researcher, after weighing the risks, judged that retaining the use of the terms native/non-native speaker for the limited purposes of the study would be unable to be used to exclude Singaporeans from 'native speaker membership' (Bokhorst-Heng, et al., 2010, p. 134). The researcher affirms the assertion of Gupta (2010b) that linking the notion of NS to 'race, ethnicity or citizenship is invidious and unjustifiable' (p. 84), and has attempted to make this point through various ways through the researcher's own professional capacity while working in Singapore. The categories were retained in that they are in wide use by participants in the study, and were deemed by the researcher to have utility for considering the effects of SGEM and the field of World Englishes.

3.5 Summary of the methodology

Chapter 3 has explained the methodology employed in this mixed methods study of the views of NS and NNS EL teachers on CSE. The chapter began with a discussion of the study's general research perspective, followed by a description of the research context, specifically the development of education in Singapore until the present day, and the MoE Teacher Consultant initiative. This chapter explained the development of the three instruments used in data collection during this study: the questionnaire, the semi-structured interviews and the document analysis, locating their procedures for use and the progression of their development within literature on social research methodology. The chapter attempted to make plain the specific processes by

which data was collected, and explained the rationale for particular choices made as the research study progressed; in particular, the specifics of the approach taken for thematic coding of the semi-structured interview transcripts, and the selection criteria for document analysis. Ethical concerns of the research were discussed in the final section of the chapter, with a specific focus on the measures designed to ensure confidentiality, and on the ethical questions surrounding the use of the terms native speaker and non-native speaker in the context of the study.

As this chapter has described the methodologies employed for data collection, the next chapter will explain the results acquired through these methods.

Chapter 4: Results

Chapter 1 of this study posed four research questions which directed the research, and this present chapter is organised around these research questions. For the purposes of clarity in this regard, Figures 5 and 14 have been reproduced from previous sections (see below)². This present chapter will begin by reporting attitudinal similarities and differences between NS and NNS English teachers in Singapore revealed in the data (Research question 1 - RQ1), with a consideration of the impact of other relevant variables (RQ 2), and with specific attention to what the data suggest about classroom practice (RQ 3). Next, the chapter presents the study's findings in regard to native-speakerism (RQ 4). A brief summary closes the chapter.

Figure 5: Summary of research questions (reproduced from section 1.3)

Initial phase	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What are the views of Singaporean NNS English teachers and expatriate teachers on the use of Singlish in the classroom? In what way, if any, does a teacher's self-described 'nativeness' or 'non-nativeness' as an English speaker impact his/her view of CSE in the classroom? [RQ1] 2. What other variables result in significant attitudinal differences between teachers in the study? [RQ2] 3. Do these attitudinal differences or similarities between teachers yield any insights that might illustrate best classroom practices in regard to Singlish in Singapore classrooms? [RQ3]
2nd phase (pursued after analysis of initial data)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. To what extent are the attitudes expressed by self-described NS/NNS teachers a confirmation of/contradiction to the fundamental assertions of native-speakerism? [RQ4]

² An overview of the relationship between the research questions and methodology is also provided in Figure 11 (see section 3.3).

Figure 14: Summary – Research questions and methods (reproduced from section 3.3.3)

RESEARCH QUESTION (RQ)	RESEARCH METHOD (RM)		
	questionnaire (RM1)	semi-structured interview (RM2)	document analysis (RM3)
RQ 1	√	√	X
RQ2	√	X	X
RQ3	X	√	X
RQ4	√	√	√

4.1 Attitudinal survey (RM1)

4.1.1 Overview: Attitudinal differences between NS and NNS teachers – RQ1/RQ2

T-tests for independent samples were conducted of NS and NNS teachers to determine if significant attitudinal differences existed between their views. A number of questions from Section B exhibited noteworthy dissimilarities between categories of respondents, which are summarised below.

Question B2: Singlish is acceptable in classroom situations. While most teachers agreed that Singlish is never acceptable in classroom situations, those with more international experience (as opposed to teaching experience in Singapore only) were far more likely to believe Singlish is at least sometimes suitable in the classroom.

Question B12: Singlish should be eradicated. Despite the persuasive efforts of their governmental leaders, the vast majority of English teachers, irrespective of educational training area, language background or nationality, disagreed with the idea that Singlish should be eradicated. However, when it comes to the question of whether Singlish should be banned in school settings (**Question B18: Singlish should not be allowed in schools at all**), a significant attitudinal difference appears: none of those surveyed who received their elementary or secondary education (or both) outside of Singapore agreed that Singlish should be eradicated from schools, while almost half of those educated in Singapore did.

Question B16: Teachers should immediately correct students when they speak Singlish during lessons. Teachers who identified themselves as NS of English were 40% less likely to believe Singlish must be immediately corrected in the classroom than were teachers who identified themselves as NNS.

Question B17: Singlish can be a resource for teaching Standard English. Two effects are particularly noteworthy in regard to whether Singlish can be a resource for instruction in Standard English.

First, those who received their primary and secondary education in another country were far more likely to see Singlish as a potential resource for the teaching and learning of StdE than those who received their formative education in Singapore.

Second, those who identified themselves as English or Education majors were much more prone to view Singlish as a resource for instruction in Standard English than those who held degrees from other subject disciplines.

Question B20: Singlish is an important part of Singaporean identity. Teachers with more teaching experience, with international teaching experience, who received their formative education outside of Singapore, who had not previously taught in Singapore, and those who were TCs or department heads at their schools, were all more likely to see Singlish as an important part of the Singaporean identity than were their counterparts.

Question B22: Singlish is appropriate for students to use with peers during recess or outside of school hours. Younger teachers of EL (under 40), those who said they were NS, and those who were educated outside of Singapore were all far more likely to agree that Singlish is appropriate for students to use with peers outside of class hours than their non-native speaking, locally-educated, over-40 colleagues.

Question B23: One of Singapore's political leaders said, 'Singlish is a handicap we must not wish on Singaporeans'. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement? Respondents who received their pre-tertiary education outside Singapore were far more likely to disagree with the idea that Singlish is a handicap for Singaporeans than their locally-educated colleagues.

As noted above, questionnaire items B2, B12, B16, B17, B20, B22, B23 and B24 demonstrated noteworthy dissimilarities between groups of respondents. Returning again to the data after the initial statistical analysis was completed, the researcher identified an important respondent category that accounted for differences in three questions: B17 (**Singlish can be a resource for teaching Standard English**), B18 (**Singlish should not be allowed in schools at**

all), and B24 (**One of Singapore’s political leaders said, ‘Singlish is a handicap we must not wish on Singaporeans’. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?**).

These three questions were impacted by whether the respondent had received his or her education outside of Singapore. The effect of this variable on these three responses caused the researcher to consider a relationship between a negative view of Singlish, and those respondents who had been exposed to the annual campaigns of SGEM. Conversely, those who had received education outside of Singapore (and therefore without the same degree of exposure to SGEM) saw Singlish as a potential aid in teaching StdE, disagreed with school-wide bans on CSE, and did not view it as a ‘handicap’.

These findings of the attitudinal survey seem to suggest that with Singaporean teachers who consider themselves NNS, SGEM has been effective. These respondents expressed a negative view of CSE in favour of an exonormative language standard – one of the aims of SGEM.

4.1.2 Tables: Variables impacting differences in responses – RQ1/RQ2

The following tables (Tables 1-15) show the impact of category respondents upon the results. An initial overview (see Figure 15) illustrates in summary form the category respondents in relationship to the group effects and relevant questionnaire items.

Figure 15: Questionnaire overview – categories of respondents, group effects and questionnaire item

Section #	Table #	Group effects	Questionnaire item(s)
4.1.2.1	1	Gender	B12: Singlish should be eradicated.
4.1.2.2	2	Age	B22: Singlish is appropriate for students to use with peers during recess or outside of school hours. B23: It is appropriate for a teacher to use Singlish when dealing with student discipline problems.
4.1.2.3	3	Teaching experience (0-3 years vs. 4+ years)	B20: Singlish is an important part of Singaporean identity.
4.1.2.4	4	Experience teaching secondary (0-3 years vs. 4+ years)	B17: Singlish can be a resource for teaching Standard English B20: Singlish is an important part of Singaporean identity. B22: Singlish is appropriate for students to use with peers during recess or outside of school hours. B23: It is appropriate for a teacher to use Singlish when dealing with student discipline problems.
4.1.2.5	5	Experience teaching English Language learners (0-3 years vs. 4+ years)	B19: In Singapore, Standard English means 'British English' B22: Singlish is appropriate for students to use with peers during recess or outside of school hours.
4.1.2.6	6	Number of countries worked in as an English teacher, including home country (1 vs. 2+ countries)	B2: Singlish is acceptable in classroom situations. B18: Singlish should not be allowed in schools at all. B20: Singlish is an important part of Singaporean identity.
4.1.2.7	7	Teacher had/had not taught in Singapore before their current assignment	B20: Singlish is an important part of Singaporean identity.
4.1.2.8	8	Teachers who grew up with 1 language at home vs. more than 1 language at home	B17: Singlish can be a resource for teaching Standard English.

Section #	Table #	Group effects	Questionnaire item
4.1.2.9	9	NNS vs. NS	B16: Teachers should immediately correct students when they speak Singlish during lessons. B22: Singlish is appropriate for students to use with peers during recess or outside of school hours.
4.1.2.10	10a	Where the teacher received his/her education (Singapore vs. elsewhere)	B17: Singlish can be a resource for teaching Standard English. B18: Singlish should not be allowed in schools at all. B20: Singlish is an important part of Singaporean identity. B22: Singlish is appropriate for students to use with peers during recess or outside of school hours. B24: One of Singapore's political leaders said, 'Singlish is a handicap we must not wish on Singaporeans'. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?
4.1.2.10	10b	Where the teacher received secondary education (Singapore vs. elsewhere)	B17: Singlish can be a resource for teaching Standard English. B18: Singlish should not be allowed in schools at all. B20: Singlish is an important part of Singaporean identity. B22: Singlish is appropriate for students to use with peers during recess or outside of school hours. B24: One of Singapore's political leaders said, 'Singlish is a handicap we must not wish on Singaporeans'. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?
4.1.2.11	11	Teacher's level of education (Master's degree vs. no Master's degree)	B21: Speaking Singlish is trendy and fashionable.
4.1.2.12	12	Teacher subject/major (English/ESL/Education majors vs. others)	B17: Singlish can be a resource for teaching Standard English. B23: It is appropriate for a teacher

			to use Singlish when dealing with student discipline problems.
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Section #	Table #	Group effects	Questionnaire item
4.1.2.13	13	Number of years of study since completion of secondary education.	B2: Singlish is acceptable in classroom situations. B20: Singlish is an important part of Singaporean identity. B21: Speaking Singlish is trendy and fashionable. B22: Singlish is appropriate for students to use with peers during recess or outside of school hours.
4.1.2.14	14	Teaching Secondary 1-2 vs. Secondary 3-5	B16: Teachers should immediately correct students when they speak Singlish during lessons. B22: Singlish is appropriate for students to use with peers during recess or outside of school hours.
4.1.2.15	15	Teacher vs. Teacher Consultant/Department Head	B20: Singlish is an important part of Singaporean identity.

4.1.2.1 Gender

Table 1 – Group Effects: Gender		
Question B12: Singlish should be eradicated.		
	Agree	Disagree
Male	5 (31%)	11 (69%)
Female	0 (0%)	10 (100%)
N=25 DF=1 $R^2=.087$ Likelihood Ratio $X^2 = 5.58, p = .02$ Pearson $X^2 = 3.87, p = .05$		

Summary note on Table 1: While most men disagreed with the idea that Singlish should be eradicated, 31% agreed with the statement, compared with 0% of female respondents.

4.1.2.2 Age

<i>Table 2 – Group Effects: Age</i>		
Question B22: Singlish is appropriate for students to use with peers during recess or . . .		
	Agree	Disagree
20-39	12 (92%)	1 (8%)
40+	6 (55%)	5 (45%)
$N=24$ $DF=1$ $R^2=.177$ Likelihood Ratio $X^2 = 4.783, p = .03$ Pearson $X^2 = 4.53, p = .03$		
Question B23: It is appropriate . . . to use Singlish when dealing with ... discipline problems.		
	Agree	Disagree
20-39	6 (50%)	6 (50%)
40+	0 (0%)	10 (100%)
$N=23$ $DF=1$ $R^2=.370$ Likelihood Ratio $X^2 = 9.767, p = .00$ Pearson $X^2 = 7.441, p = .01$		

Summary note on Table 2: Respondents under 40 almost unanimously agreed that Singlish is acceptable for peer-to-peer communication, but were divided when it came to the use of Singlish for the purpose of disciplining students. Those over 40, meanwhile, were divided on whether or not Singlish is appropriate for communication amongst peers and completely unanimous in expressing disagreement on the unacceptability of using Singlish for disciplining students.

4.1.2.3 Teaching Experience

<i>Table 3 – Group Effects: Teaching experience (0-3 years vs. 4+ years)</i>		
Question B20: Singlish is an important part of Singaporean identity.		
	Agree	Disagree
0-3 years teaching experience	2 (40%)	3 (60%)
4+ years teaching experience	18 (82%)	4 (18%)
$N=27$ $DF=1$ $R^2=.107$ Likelihood Ratio $X^2 = 3.311, p = .07$ (α greater than .05) Pearson $X^2 = 3.710, p = .05$		
Question B23: It is appropriate . . . to use Singlish when dealing with ... discipline problems.		
	Agree	Disagree
0-3 years teaching experience	3 (60%)	2 (40%)
4+ years teaching experience	3 (17%)	15 (83%)
$N=23$ $DF=1$ $R^2=.1307$ Likelihood Ratio $X^2 = 3.452, p = .06$ (α greater than .05) Pearson $X^2 = 3.811, p = .05$		

4.1.2.4 Teaching Experience - Secondary

<i>Table 4 – Group Effects: Experience teaching secondary (0-3 years vs. 4+ years)</i>		
Question B17: Singlish can be a resource for teaching Standard English.		
	Agree	Disagree
0-3 years secondary teaching experience	3 (43 %)	4 (57%)

<i>Table 4 – Group Effects: Experience teaching secondary (0-3 years vs. 4+ years)</i>		
4+ years secondary teaching experience	15 (83%)	3 (17%)
N=25 DF=1 $R^2=.130$ Likelihood Ratio $X^2 = 3.867, p = .05$ Pearson $X^2 = 4.096, p = .04$		
Question B20: Singlish is an important part of Singaporean identity.		
	Agree	Disagree
0-3 years secondary teaching experience	3 (43 %)	4 (57%)
4+ years secondary teaching experience	17 (85%)	3 (15%)
N=27 DF=1 $R^2=.144$ Likelihood Ratio $X^2 = 4.434, p = .04$ Pearson $X^2 = 4.795, p = .03$		
Question B22: Singlish is appropriate for students to use with peers during recess or . . .		
	Agree	Disagree
0-3 years secondary teaching experience	6 (100 %)	0 (0%)
4+ years secondary teaching experience	12 (67%)	6 (33%)
N=24 DF=1 $R^2=.151$ Likelihood Ratio $X^2 = 4.078, p = .04$ Pearson $X^2 = 2.667, p = .10$ (α greater than .05)		
Question B23: It is appropriate . . . to use Singlish when dealing with ... discipline problems.		
	Agree	Disagree
0-3 years secondary teaching experience	4 (57 %)	3 (43%)
4+ years secondary teaching experience	2 (12%)	14 (88%)

Table 4 – Group Effects: Experience teaching secondary (0-3 years vs. 4+ years)

N=23 DF=1 $R^2=.181$
 Likelihood Ratio $\chi^2 = 4.785, p = .03$
 Pearson $\chi^2 = 5.033, p = .02$

Summary note on Tables 3-4: Respondents with at least 4 years of teaching experience were more likely to see Singlish as: i) a resource for teaching standard English, and ii) an important part of Singaporean identity. They were less likely to agree, however, that Singlish is appropriate for communicating outside of the classroom or for use when dealing with discipline problems.

There was no group effect for teaching experience at primary schools (Question A5).

4.1.2.5 Teaching Experience – English Language Learners

Table 5 – Group Effects: Experience teaching English Language learners (0-3 vs. 4+ years)

Question B19: In Singapore, Standard English means ‘British English’.		
	Agree	Disagree
0-3 years secondary teaching experience	17 (74%)	6 (26%)
4+ years secondary teaching experience	1 (14%)	6 (86%)
N=30 DF=1 $R^2=.204$ Likelihood Ratio $\chi^2 = 8.237, p = .00$ Pearson $\chi^2 = 7.950, p = .00$		
Question B22: Singlish is appropriate for students to use with peers during recess or . . .		

<i>Table 5 – Group Effects: Experience teaching English Language learners (0-3 vs. 4+ years)</i>		
	Agree	Disagree
0-3 years secondary teaching experience	17 (89%)	2 (11%)
4+ years secondary teaching experience	1 (20%)	4 (80%)
N=24 DF=1 $R^2=.341$ Likelihood Ratio $X^2 = 9.201, p = .00$ Pearson $X^2 = 10.189, p = .00$		

Summary note on Table 5: Those with at least four years of experience teaching English Language Learners were far less likely to see British English alone as Standard English and far less likely to agree that Singlish is appropriate for student communication outside of the classroom.

4.1.2.6 Number of countries worked in

<i>Table 6 – Group Effects: Number of countries worked in as an English teacher, including home country (1 vs. 2+ countries)</i>		
Question B2: Singlish is acceptable in classroom situations.		
	Agree	Disagree
Only taught in Singapore (1)	0 (0%)	15 (100%)
Taught in two or more countries (2+)	4 (31%)	9 (69%)
N=28 DF=1 $R^2=.301$ Likelihood Ratio $X^2 = 6.918, p = .01$ Pearson $X^2 = 5.385, p = .02$		
Question B18: Singlish should not be allowed in schools at all.		
	Agree	Disagree
Only taught in Singapore (1)	5 (50%)	5 (50%)
Taught in two or more countries (2+)	0 (0%)	14 (100%)
N=24 DF=1 $R^2=.436$ Likelihood Ratio $X^2 = 10.701, p = .00$ Pearson $X^2 = 8.842, p = .00$		
Question B20: Singlish is an important part of Singaporean identity.		
	Agree	Disagree
Only taught in Singapore (1)	6 (50%)	6 (50%)
Taught in two or more countries (2+)	14 (93%)	1 (7%)
N=27 DF=1 $R^2=.224$ Likelihood Ratio $X^2 = 6.920, p = .01$ Pearson $X^2 = 6.519, p = .01$		

Summary note on Table 6: Respondents with experience teaching in at least one other country other than Singapore were more likely to see Singlish as acceptable in at least some classroom situations, completely unanimous in their disagreement with the idea Singlish should be banned from schools, and almost unanimous in their view of Singlish as important to Singaporean identity. Those who had only taught in Singapore, however, were unanimous in their disagreement with the idea Singlish should ever be used in the classroom, and were evenly divided on whether Singlish should be banned from school and if Singlish was an important part of Singaporean identity.

4.1.2.7 Worked in Singapore?

<i>Table 7 – Group Effects: Teachers had/had not taught in Singapore before their current assignment</i>		
Question B20. Singlish is an important part of Singaporean identity.		
	Agree	Disagree
Had not taught English in Singapore before.	18 (86%)	3 (14%)
Had taught English in Singapore before.	2 (40%)	3 (60%)
N=26 DF=1 $R^2=.147$ Likelihood Ratio $X^2 = 4.136, p = .04$ Pearson $X^2 = 4.754, p = .03$		

Summary note on Table 7: Teachers who had never taught in Singapore before their current posts were much more likely to describe Singlish as an important part of Singaporean identity.

4.1.2.8 Number of home languages

<i>Table 8 – Group Effects: Teachers who grew up with 1 language at home vs. more than 1 language at home</i>		
Question B17: Singlish can be a resource for teaching Standard English.		
	Agree	Disagree
1 Language at home	11 (92%)	1 (8%)
2+ Languages at home	7 (54%)	6 (46%)
N=25 DF=1 $R^2=.163$ Likelihood Ratio $X^2 = 4.819, p = .03$ Pearson $X^2 = 4.427, p = .04$		

Summary note on Table 8: Respondents who grew up with only one language at home were almost unanimous in agreeing that Singlish can be a resource for teaching Standard English, while those who grew up in multilingual homes were divided on the issue.

4.1.2.9 NNS teacher of English or NS teacher of English

<i>Table 9 – Group Effects: NNS vs. NS</i>		
Question B16: Teachers should immediately correct students when they speak Singlish . . .		
	Agree	Disagree
NNS	17 (94%)	1 (6%)
NS	6 (55%)	5 (45%)
N=29 DF=1 $R^2=.226$ Likelihood Ratio $X^2 = 6.687, p = .01$ Pearson $X^2 = 6.624, p = .01$		
Question B22: Singlish is appropriate for students to use with peers during recess or . . .		

<i>Table 9 – Group Effects: NNS vs. NS</i>		
	Agree	Disagree
NNS	7 (58%)	5 (42%)
NS	11 (92%)	1 (8%)
N=24 DF=1 $R^2=.141$ Likelihood Ratio $\chi^2 = 3.807, p = .05$ Pearson $\chi^2 = 3.556, p = .06$ (α greater than .05)		

Summary note on Table 9: Compared with NNS, teachers who describe themselves as native speakers of English were far less likely to report immediately correcting Singlish when they heard it and were far more likely to see Singlish as appropriate for student-student communication outside of the classroom.

4.1.2.10 Place of education

<i>Table 10a – Group Effects: Where the teacher received his/her education (Singapore vs. elsewhere)</i>		
Question B17: Singlish can be a resource for teaching Standard English.		
	Agree	Disagree
Singapore	8 (57%)	6 (43%)
Elsewhere (Australia, UK, New Zealand, etc.)	10 (91%)	1 (9%)
N=25 DF=1 $R^2=.129$ Likelihood Ratio $\chi^2 = 3.824, p = .05$ Pearson $\chi^2 = 3.484, p = .06$ (α greater than .05)		
Question B18: Singlish should not be allowed in schools at all.		
	Agree	Disagree
Singapore	5 (45%)	6 (55%)

<i>Table 10a – Group Effects: Where the teacher received his/her education (Singapore vs. elsewhere)</i>		
Elsewhere (Australia, UK, New Zealand, etc.)	0 (0%)	13 (100%)
N=24 DF=1 $R^2=.383$ Likelihood Ratio $\chi^2 = 9.405, p = .00$ Pearson $\chi^2 = 3.556, p = .01$		
Question B20: Singlish is an important part of Singaporean identity.		
	Agree	Disagree
Singapore	6 (46%)	7 (54%)
Elsewhere (Canada, UK, New Zealand, etc.)	14 (100%)	0 (0%)
N=27 DF=1 $R^2=.419$ Likelihood Ratio $\chi^2 = 12.958, p = .00$ Pearson $\chi^2 = 10.177, p = .00$		
Question B22: Singlish is appropriate for students to use with peers during recess or . . .		
	Agree	Disagree
Singapore	7 (58%)	5 (42%)
Elsewhere (Canada, UK, New Zealand, etc.)	11 (92%)	1 (8%)
N=24 DF=1 $R^2=.141$ Likelihood Ratio $\chi^2 = 3.807, p = .05$ Pearson $\chi^2 = 3.556, p = .06$ (α greater than .05)		
Question B24: ‘Singlish is a handicap . . .’ To what extent do you agree or disagree . . .?		
	Agree	Disagree
Singapore	8 (67%)	4 (33%)
Elsewhere (Canada, UK, New Zealand, etc.)	2 (20%)	8 (80)

Table 10a – Group Effects: Where the teacher received his/her education (Singapore vs. elsewhere)

N=22 DF=1 $R^2=.166$
 Likelihood Ratio $\chi^2 = 5.032, p = .02$
 Pearson $\chi^2 = 4.791, p = .03$

Table 10b – Group Effects: Where the teacher received his/her secondary education (Singapore vs. elsewhere)

Question B17: Singlish can be a resource for teaching Standard English.

	Agree	Disagree
Singapore	8 (57%)	6 (43%)
Elsewhere (Canada, UK, New Zealand, etc.)	10 (91%)	1 (9%)

N=25 DF=1 $R^2=.129$
 Likelihood Ratio $\chi^2 = 3.824, p = .05$
 Pearson $\chi^2 = 3.484, p = .06$ (α greater than .05)

Question B18: Singlish should not be allowed in schools at all.

	Agree	Disagree
Singapore	5 (45%)	6 (55%)
NS	0 (0%)	13 (100%)

N=24 DF=1 $R^2=.383$
 Likelihood Ratio $\chi^2 = 9.405, p = .00$
 Pearson $\chi^2 = 7.464, p = .01$

Question B20: Singlish is an important part of Singaporean identity.

	Agree	Disagree
Singapore	6 (46%)	7 (54%)
Elsewhere (Canada, UK, New Zealand, etc.)	14 (100%)	0 (0%)

<i>Table 10b – Group Effects: Where the teacher received his/her secondary education (Singapore vs. elsewhere)</i>		
N=27 DF=1 $R^2=.419$ Likelihood Ratio $X^2 = 12.958, p = .00$ Pearson $X^2 = 10.177, p = .00$		
Question B22: Singlish is appropriate for students to use with peers during recess or . . .		
	Agree	Disagree
Singapore	7 (58%)	5 (42%)
Elsewhere (Canada, UK, New Zealand, etc.)	11 (92%)	1 (8%)
N=24 DF=1 $R^2=.141$ Likelihood Ratio $X^2 = 3.807, p = .05$ Pearson $X^2 = 3.556, p = .06$ (α greater than .05)		
Question B24: ‘Singlish is a handicap . . .’ To what extent do you agree or disagree . . .?		
	Agree	Disagree
Singapore	8 (67%)	4 (33%)
Elsewhere (Canada, UK, New Zealand, etc.)	2 (20%)	8 (80%)
N=22 DF=1 $R^2=.166$ Likelihood Ratio $X^2 = 5.032, p = .02$ Pearson $X^2 = 4.791, p = .03$		

Summary note on Tables 10a and 10b: Teachers who received their primary, secondary education, or both outside of Singapore were far more likely to see Singlish as a resource for teaching Standard English, as appropriate for students to use outside of class to communicate with peers, and far less likely to see Singlish as a handicap for Singaporeans than were those educated in Singapore.

4.1.2.11 Levels of education

<i>Table 11 – Group Effects: Teacher’s level of education (Master’s degree vs. no Master’s)</i>		
Question B21: Speaking Singlish is trendy and fashionable.		
	Agree	Disagree
No Masters	2 (10%)	18 (90%)
Masters	3 (60%)	2 (40%)
N=25 DF=1 $R^2=.211$ Likelihood Ratio $X^2 = 5.287, p = .02$ Pearson $X^2 = 6.250, p = .01$		

Summary note on Table 11: The majority of respondents disagreed with the notion that speaking Singlish is trendy and fashionable. Of the five respondents who held Master’s degrees, three agreed with the statement that speaking Singlish is trendy and fashionable.

4.1.2.12 Education: subject/major

<i>Table 12 – Group Effects: Teacher subject/major (English/ESL/Education majors vs. others)</i>		
Question B17: Singlish can be a resource for teaching Standard English.		
	Agree	Disagree
English/ESL/Education Majors	6 (100%)	0 (0%)
Other Majors	5 (45%)	6 (55%)
N=17 DF=1 $R^2=.313$ Likelihood Ratio $X^2 = 6.916, p = .01$ Pearson $X^2 = 5.058, p = .02$		
Question B23: It is appropriate . . . to use Singlish when dealing with ... discipline problems.		

Table 12 – Group Effects: Teacher subject/major (English/ESL/Education majors vs. others)

	Agree	Disagree
English/ESL/Education Majors	4 (40%)	5 (60%)
Other Majors	0 (0%)	7 (100%)
N=16 DF=1 $R^2=.313$ Likelihood Ratio $X^2 = 5.629, p = .02$ Pearson $X^2 = 4.148, p = .04$		

Summary note on Table 12: Those trained in the fields of English, ESL, or Education were far more likely to see Singlish as a resource for teaching Standard English and more likely to agree that Singlish is appropriate when dealing with student discipline problems.

4.1.2.13 Education: years of study

Table 13 – Group Effects: Number of years of study since completion of secondary education

Question B2. Singlish is acceptable in classroom situations.		
	Agree	Disagree
0-3 years	0 (0%)	12 (100%)
4+	4 (25%)	12 (75%)
N=28 DF=1 $R^2=.217$ Likelihood Ratio $X^2 = 4.972, p = .03$ Pearson $X^2 = 3.500, p = .06$ (α greater than .05)		
Question B20: Singlish is an important part of Singaporean identity.		
	Agree	Disagree
0-3 years	6 (55%)	5 (45%)

<i>Table 13 – Group Effects: Number of years of study since completion of secondary education</i>		
4+	14 (88%)	2 (12%)
N=27 DF=1 $R^2=.120$ Likelihood Ratio $\chi^2 = 3.688, p = .05$ Pearson $\chi^2 = 3.686, p = .05$		
Question B21: Singlish is trendy and fashionable.		
	Agree	Disagree
0-3 years	0 (0%)	12 (100%)
4+	5 (38%)	8 (62%)
N=25 DF=1 $R^2=.308$ Likelihood Ratio $\chi^2 = 7.697, p = .01$ Pearson $\chi^2 = 5.769, p = .02$		
Question B22: Singlish is appropriate for students to use with peers during recess or . . .		
	Agree	Disagree
0-3 years	4 (50%)	4 (50%)
4+	14 (88%)	2 (12%)
N=24 DF=1 $R^2=.143$ Likelihood Ratio $\chi^2 = 3.845, p = .05$ Pearson $\chi^2 = 4.000, p = .05$		

Summary note on Table 13: While the vast majority of both experienced and less experienced teachers felt that Singlish did not belong in the classroom, this position was unanimous among less experienced instructors, while 25% of more experienced participants reported Singlish as acceptable during instructional time. When it came to views on Singlish as part of Singaporean identity, less experienced teachers were evenly split, but 88% of experienced teachers expressed preferences for Singlish as an identity marker. On the question of whether

Singlish was trendy, all of the participants with three or less years teaching experience disagreed that it was. More experienced Singaporean teachers were divided: 38% agreed that Singlish was trendy and fashionable, while 62% disagreed. As to whether Singlish is appropriate for students to use outside of the classroom, less experienced teachers were equally divided for and against this statement. On the other hand, 88% of more experienced teachers felt Singlish was acceptable in these contexts.

4.1.2.14 Teaching upper or lower secondary

<i>Table 14 – Group Effects: Teach Secondary 1-2 vs. Secondary 3-5</i>		
Question B16: Teachers should immediately correct students when they speak Singlish . . .		
	Agree	Disagree
Teach Secondary 1-2	14 (70%)	6 (30%)
Teach Secondary 3-5	9 (100%)	0 (0%)
N=29 DF=1 $R^2=.174$ Likelihood Ratio $X^2 = 5.135, p = .02$ Pearson $X^2 = 3.404, p = .07$ (α greater than .05)		
Question B22: Singlish is appropriate for students to use with peers during recess or . . .		
	Agree	Disagree
Teach Secondary 1-2	14 (88%)	2 (12%)
Teach Secondary 3-5	4 (50%)	4 (50%)
N=24 DF=1 $R^2=.143$ Likelihood Ratio $X^2 = 3.845, p = .05$ Pearson $X^2 = 4.000, p = .05$		

Summary note on Table 14: Teachers who taught Secondary years 3, 4 or 5 were more likely to agree that Singlish should be immediately corrected, and more likely to disagree that it is appropriate for students to communicate in Singlish outside of class.

4.1.2.15 Teaching position

<i>Table 15 – Group Effects: Teacher vs. Teacher Consultant/Department Head</i>		
Question B20: Singlish is an important part of Singaporean identity.		
	Agree	Disagree
Teachers	6 (46%)	7 (54%)
Teacher Consultants/ Department Heads	14 (100%)	0 (0%)
N=27 DF=1 $R^2=.419$ Likelihood Ratio $X^2 = 12.958, p = .00$ Pearson $X^2 = 10.177, p = .00$		

Summary note on Table 15: Those in the role of teacher consultant or department head were unanimous in seeing Singlish as an important part of Singaporean identity, while teachers were almost evenly divided on the topic.

4.2 Semi-structured interviews

4.2.1 Attitudinal differences between NS and NNS teachers – RQ1

As explained in Chapter 3, five semi-structured interviews were conducted to further pursue the initial findings of the questionnaire analysis. After transcription, the interviews were

coded for thematic analysis using 24 descriptions derived from the data itself. A second round of coding categorized statements into references with negative, positive and neutral depictions of CSE. Special attention was paid to data that pointed to agreement or disagreement with the aims of SGEM. Key differences and similarities between NNS and NS interviewees are summarised below.

Differences between NNS and NS interviewees

Negative descriptions of Singlish. Though overreliance on quantitative word frequency analyses in document analysis is not recommended (Bowen, 2009), an initial word count query using NVivo qualitative data software did illustrate a key difference between respondents. NNS participants in the semi-structured interviews had a notably larger proportion of coded references that the researcher identified as negative descriptions of CSE. Of all transcribed interview data, 20.26%, 12.29% and 11.52% were NNS' unfavourable depictions of Singlish, compared to 3.05% and 1.16% by their NS counterparts. Several examples:

NNS Mei:

[Singlish has] 'incomplete sentences'

[the persistent use of Singlish would] 'affect how you perceive . . . what is right and what is wrong sometimes'

'they will not treat you seriously if you use Singlish'

NNS Joy:

'It's like a bastardised language basically of English'

'I'm actually guilty of using Singlish'

Certain words which could be considered value-laden further highlighted the contrast between the views of the two respondent categories. The choices of the words 'bastardised' and 'guilty', cited above by one NNS, illustrate strikingly a strong aversion to this variety of English. The word 'proper' for example (in reference to StdE, therefore implying that Singlish would be improper) was used 16 times by the NNS interviewees, but not at all by their NS colleagues.

Agreement with the aims of SGEM. This researcher coded references from the interviews that pointed towards agreement with the mission of the government's campaigns to promote StdE. The percentages of total NNS transcriptions referencing agreement with the aims of SGEM were 5.50%, 9.24%, and 8.89%.

Bernice put forth a standard SGEM argument regarding potentially lost economic opportunities in a globalized world, and seemed to validate one author's suspicion that the real priority of SGEM is actually 'not intelligibility but respectability' (Bruthiaux, 2010, p. 96): Bernice noted that if a Singlish-only speaker talks 'in that manner . . . probably your impression must have gone down and you probably lose a deal because people think you're not so good. Impression counts a lot'. Being more specific, she went on to add that 'if the future Singaporeans cannot speak properly then probably people will take their business somewhere else. To Hong Kong, or Shanghai, or somewhere they can speak better English.'

Caren, an NS teacher, by contrast, made only a passing reference in this regard, noting that an inability to use StdE 'could become a marker for less educated people . . . an economic, educational kind of divider'.

Disagreement with the aims of SGEM. The two NS teachers of English were decidedly more outspoken in expressing opinions that would seem to be in conflict with the purposes of SGEM: nearly 17% of their interviews. Caren, noting the difficulties in bringing social cohesiveness among different ethnic and religious groupings, remarked that 'Singlish, without anybody making any rules and regulations has done the job in many ways'. Rubdy (2001) notes the irony in statements such as this, since the government promotes StdE as a tool for the very cohesion CSE seems to help facilitate.

NS Tim made reference to what he called an ‘official’ pretension by school leadership about the use of Singlish in his school: ‘I think it’s very silly to pretend that Singlish isn’t there.’ When asked whether he agreed that Singlish could be a handicap, Tim’s divergence with the aims of SGEM was unequivocal: ‘If Singaporeans didn’t have Singlish, they’ll be the only English-speaking countries [sic] that don’t have their own variety of colloquial language. I don’t see how you can stop that from happening.’

The effects of Singlish. Interestingly, NNS interviewees were much more likely than their NS counterparts to express concern over the impact of Singlish on a student’s command of StdE. Bernice and Mei (both NNS) felt that Singlish forms carried over into student writing; Bernice noted that the less proficient classes ‘write as they speak’. This view contrasted with Tim (NS) who expressed confidence that ‘most of them are aware that it’s [Singlish is] a situational thing’ – an observation of student language variety domain awareness asserted by Rubdy (2007).

Caren (NS) observed this domain awareness while speaking about Singlish becoming ‘legitimate’ as a language variety: ‘they [teachers] can choose to use it or not depending on who the audience is’.

Caren observed this same domain awareness in even her neighbourhood school context. ‘They [the students] very rarely, they never, use Singlish with me’. Since Caren was in a neighbourhood school, the researcher was surprised by the comment and pressed further, wondering whether there had been a misunderstanding whereby she thought she was being asked about written work:

Interviewer: But in spoken English, to you, in class?

Caren: No, I have never heard a *lah* said to me or anything like that.

Similarities between NNS and NS interviewees

Besides the differences between the two categories of respondents, similarities were also evident.

Singlish for group affinity. Both NS and NNS recognized the importance of Singlish in establishing belonging and identity. Some examples;

‘it actually pulls people together’ (Mei, NNS)

‘it’s more friendly and it actually gels people together within a group’ (Mei, NNS)

‘I think they feel like they feel a sense of belonging’ (Bernice, NNS)

‘It has a great function of bringing people together’ (Caren, NS)

Singlish as a legitimate variety of English. Both NS and NNS diverged from SGEM’s stand regarding Singlish as purely bad English. Tim (NS) grouped CSE together with New Zealand and Australian English as ‘their [Singaporean’s] own variety of colloquial English’. Caren (NS) saw Singlish as in the ‘intermediate stages’ of developing a similar level of English language legitimacy to her own country – included in what Kachru (1992c) called the Inner Circle countries. Mei (NNS), when asked if Singlish was legitimate in this way, answered: ‘I find that it can be, because it has its own rules and sentence structure’.

In summary, the views expressed by respondents in the semi-structured interviews seemed to suggest convergence by the NNS with the aims of the SGEM. By contrast, NS diverged sharply from the Movement’s goals, instead articulating positions on CSE more akin to that of the conception of World Englishes. Both groups recognized the role of Singlish in group affinity. These similarities and differences are illustrated in Figure 16.

4.2.2 Attitudinal differences/similarities between NS and NNS teachers – RQ3

Do these attitudinal differences or similarities among teachers yield any insights that might illustrate best classroom practices in regard to Singlish in Singapore classrooms? In regard to this research question, the two categories of teachers expressed both similarities and differences.

Figure 16: Summary – Research Question 1 (Semi-structured interviews)

RQ1 Semi-structured interviews	(self-identified) NS	(self-identified) NNS
group differences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • offered less unfavourable descriptions of CSE • indicated less agreement with the aims of SGEM • expressed less concern over CSE's influence on proficiency in StdE 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • offered more unfavourable descriptions of CSE • indicated more agreement with the aims of SGEM • expressed more concern over CSE's influence on proficiency in StdE
group similarities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • identified CSE as important in establishing affinity and belonging • ascribed 'legitimacy' to CSE as a variety of English 	

Both self-identified NNS and NS said they provided feedback to students when CSE forms were used in the classroom.

Tim (NS) describes his strategy with students when encountering the CSE use of the word *never* (used in CSE as a general form of negation; see Ho & Platt, 1993):

Tim: I usually try and sort of be reasonably [inaudible] and say, say never bring never ever ever in your life ever ever at all? I have, of course I have. But you said you never. So I mean I just try to make a joke of it. Try not to let it go past without reminding them.

In the researcher's own notes on this section of the interview with Tim, an observation was made about humour. This teacher employs humour as a device to draw attention to a CSE form. In a case where a student is asked to produce a textbook or homework assignment which s/he has forgotten on that particular day, the CSE form of negation *I never bring* is a common student response. Tim then asks the student: *You never bring, never ever, ever in your life, ever at all?* When the student replies that of course, in sometime in the past s/he has brought the forgotten item, Tim points out *But you said never*.

Joy (NNS) also made use of humour to draw attention to non-standard forms while teaching the standard.

Joy: ... it's one of my rules in class when I step – um – the very first time I meet them, I tell them that one of the ground rules is that you have to speak to me in proper English, standard English. Otherwise I wouldn't respond to you. Yeah, that's one of the ways.

Interviewer: Are there sometimes you don't respond, they speak Singlish, and then...?

Joy: Yeah, of course. I deliberately ignore them. Yeah, they think it's funny. Yeah, and they will try to correct themselves.

Though they did not use the term, participants in the semi-structured interviews described classroom practice where StdE was taught through the use of the non-standard in what has been described elsewhere as contrastive analysis (Fogel & Ehri, 2006; Godley, Sweetland, Wheeler, Minnici, & Carpenter, 2006; Wheeler, 2005). Bernice describes the use of a Singapore website in the classroom, talkingcock.com, to highlight the differences between non-standard and standard varieties. Tim elaborates on a school project he observed:

Tim (NS): Um ... yeah, we had a [inaudible] last year where the students had to actually go around and photograph examples of both bad English and Singlish used in advertisements and notices and I had to comment on what was trying to be said and explaining why people were using that language. And it was a way of partly then looking at should have been in Standard English. So I think it can be used from time quite effectively. Um, and I know some other teachers have used um, some pieces, um, I mean I used some extracts from a novel with the kids to show how saying to an outsider how this can be quite confusing. What would that be if it's in Standard English?

Interviewer: It was a Singlish extract?

Tim: It was a novel – Heartland – I showed a couple of pages where the dialogue was filled with [inaudible] and um I was using it partly to say, making a point that Singlish is a factor of understanding when you were with non-Singaporeans they need to be aware of it. So I think sometimes you can use Singlish in your teaching for various ways.

NNS and NS teachers parted company when it came to the use of CSE forms in the written work of students.

Interviewer: Do you see it [CSE] in essays and formal, submitted work?

Caren (NS): No not really, no. No I can't really think of. I see grammar mistakes and so on but I don't see the same Singlish at all. They do seem to be able to even the weaker students they do seem to be able to limit it to their own informal language . . .

Interviewer: Now do you think Singlish, those who use Singlish does it interfere with their school work: their written work, their oral presentations?

Tim (NS): In written work I don't think it does. I think most students, most of them are aware that it's a situational thing. Writing, written work very little. I still remember correcting this mistake [unclear] you should use [unclear]. Until the third time it appeared and I thought ...

But *blur* is the only Singlish I've come across in much written work. Um . . . occasionally in dialogue they use Singlish but that's fine ... um ... when it's appropriate. But I find the written work, the presentations, again I find by and large it's pretty much - it's Standard English. Unless they get confused. And then I think they [inaudible]. But it's not, it's not something I noticed very much.

On the other hand, self-identified NNS teachers Joy and Mei referred to the presence of CSE in student assignments.

Interviewer: Can you – this is maybe harder – can you think of a sign, an example, of a Singlish spoken form that gets into their essays or something?

Joy (NNS): Um ... yes, it's a bit difficult to think of one now. Um ... the sentence structure. When you read it, it's a direct translation of Chinese, so I don't know if that's Singlish or Chinglish, so ... uh ... yeah, that's one.

Mei (NNS): But apparently ... um, I've seen some students' written work, it really affects how they write because they use short forms, they use actually incomplete sentences, so it actually affects them if they were to use it [spoken CSE] very regularly.

The two respondent categories also expressed differing views when it came to the specifics of CSE forms in written work. Tim (NS) noted that 'occasionally in dialogue they use Singlish, but that's fine, um, when it's appropriate'. In contrast, Joy (NNS) felt Singlish expressions were inappropriate in written assignments, even in story narratives.

Joy (NNS): Um ... they use things like *lah* and *loh* in dialogues. Even though dialogues I mean are informal right, they are trying to convey the informal sense of the word but as in you can't use *lah*, *lohs* even in dialogues in compositions you know and ...

Interviewer: You mean like in a story, and there's narrative?

Joy (NNS): In narrative and they're talking to each other and they end the sentence with *lah* or *loh*, yeah. You know I don't think they are supposed to do that. You can convey the sense of informality through other ways, you don't have to use Singlish to do that, yeah.

Another difference was that the two NS participants in the study noted the limitations of the physical environment related to the teaching and learning of spoken English, a topic not discussed by the NNS. Referring to the teaching and learning of speaking skills in StdE as called for by the 2010 EL Syllabus, Caren commented:

Caren (NS): And what worries me too about the new syllabus, I think it's great. I mean I've got a lot – it's got a lot of good features for it. This is probably off the topic but the way that these classrooms are set up, very noisy, huge numbers of kids, you simply can't hear the things you're supposed to be hearing anyway, so it's not terribly realistic. Unless they are planning on spending a whole lot of money to sound proof rooms putting a sound baffling and reduce class size to something we can naturally hear someone speak from one side to the other they can hear each other. So they are not getting good models.

Caren noted these classroom limitations again later in the interview:

Caren (NS): But to hear this bullet-like pronunciation and very loud, it's loud because people have got to shout – I've got to shout – or distorted because they are using a microphone and so the models are the poorest possible you can have. You've got an ambient noise level in these classrooms, that is if the sound engineer would have come in to these schools they'd say close it down, get it fixed, it's impossible. Hard surfaces, concrete boards, concrete walls, fans whirring, noise echoing from the way the buildings are built with all the corridors and empty spaces and all of that, just echoing, bouncing from one place to another. So that's before you even open your mouth. [laughter] And then you've got the scraping on the chairs on the cement floors, and all the talk and there are so many and they think you don't see them if they talking. So you got these constant buzz and hum...um, so it's not the ideal situation to teach spoken English at all.

As noted previously, Tim (NS) expressed the view that CSE did not impact students' written work. However, he spoke at length about the potential of CSE pronunciation in being a limiting factor in international intelligibility (especially the accuracy of consonant pronunciation), and remarked on the subsequent challenges of the teaching and learning of pronunciation given the physical limitations of the prevailing classroom environment.

Interviewer: And with your express students, do you feel that those pronunciation areas, do they, do they interfere with your students' oral English?

Tim (NS): I think they do, yeah.

Interviewer: Would they interfere with someone understanding them - an outsider?

Tim: Not, not if they speak slow. But Singapore students do speak quite quickly. And I think there are times what that consonants not there, and it can blur the meaning. Oh, not totally but every so often you have to say now say that again what was that. And I think, I think it's necessary to do a little bit of work on pronunciation, on those consonants because to me it's one of the biggest factors in communication.

Interviewer: Do the other English teachers – the Singaporean English teachers – do you think they recognize that need for work on pronunciation?

Tim: Well I think so. We, we've got this big push this year on oral communication and whatever and we have to do little slots of stuff, and the HOD was very keen to do work on pronunciation, because she feels it's something that is a factor. And so she's aware of it. And I think some of other teachers are too. That it's, it's something that if they are to speak and communicate with non-Singaporeans then it's something they should put a bit of effort into.

Interviewer: There's a lot of constraints to working on, say pronunciation, with a class of 40, and ...

Tim: Class size is, is the biggest problem. I mean, talking about it with students yesterday, I was saying they will spend a lot of time in their writing, reading comprehension, summaries, they'll cover acres of paper at the time, but they spend only a fraction on speaking which is daft really, cause when they're qualified, most of the communication will be spoken. But then they're neglecting – if you're 40 in a class there's not much you can do. I see all Sec Ones 20 at a time, for conference speaking and even that, even an hour, you think well, they've only spoken about twice. Um, so all you can do is try and suggest things they can work on.

Interviewer: So I want to be sure I'm correct I'm not putting words in your mouth that I'm correct with this that – where Singlish, if we can use the word intrudes or interferes, I think you said intrudes – where Singlish intrudes for your students, is on some pronunciation areas. It doesn't intrude on the written, academic, uh . . .

Tim: No, no it doesn't. In terms of affecting communication, yeah, it's, it's pronunciation is more important. And the students, students very rarely use Singlish to me around class. But, quite often I'm having to say could you say it again, or slower. And [unclear] consonants. And we sort of make a joke about it. Every so often we do one ... they, they put a paper up. We say all the words with p in it. And see then the paper doesn't move. So just say to them: you know, the paper must move, if you're going to say 'p' properly. And again, same students when you say stop, when you say it – when you finish saying it – is your mouth open or closed? And they'll say oh, closed, closed. And I'll go, you know, where's the 'p'? So we – I try and spend some time on it, cause I think, that's, probably, to me that's an important one. If you really want to – if Singapore has to, is going to keep up its success as an English-speaking nation, then pronunciation to me is, is one of the biggest [unclear]. I don't think people checking for me using Singlish vocabulary is a problem at all.

As these extracts illustrate, Tim and Caren (both NS) alluded to the restraints present in the environment of Singapore classrooms in relationship to the teaching of spoken English, something not touched on by the NNS participants in the semi-structured interviews.

In summary, both categories of respondents provided classroom feedback to students who used CSE, and both noted contrastive analysis approaches to teaching StdE. The groups expressed different views when asked about the evidence of Singlish in written forms: NNS found evidence of CSE forms in students' written assignments, both in sentence structure and in narrative dialogue (deeming the latter inappropriate), while NS teachers did not express the influence of sentence structure, and labelled CSE forms in story dialogues 'appropriate'. The correspondences and variations in research question 3 are illustrated in Figure 17.

Figure 17: Summary – Research Question 3 (Semi-structured interviews)

RQ3 Semi-structured interviews	(self-identified) NS	(self-identified) NNS
group differences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • did not identify CSE as a source of errors found in students' written work • expressed opinion that the use of Singlish forms in written work was appropriate in some instances • noted the limitations of class size and physical environment in the teaching/learning of spoken English 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • identified CSE as a source of errors found in students' written work • expressed opinion that the use of Singlish forms in written work, even in story dialogue, was inappropriate • did not discuss the limitations of class size and physical environment in the teaching/learning of spoken English
group similarities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • utilized humour as a strategy to highlight StdE forms • employed contrastive analysis in the teaching of the standard variety 	

4.2.3 Attitudinal differences/similarities between NS and NNS teachers – RQ4

To what extent are the attitudes expressed by self-described NS/NNS English teachers in the study consistent with – or contradictory to – the central tenets of native-speakerism?

As noted previously, the researcher considered the TC project to be a place for observing the phenomena of native-speakerism first-hand. Overseas experts hired, presumably, for their representation of a standard language variety, operating in a situation where a localized, non-standard variety persists: the propensity for ‘cultural correction’ Holliday described would be expected to operate in a situation such as this.

The self-identified NS participating in the semi-structured interviews did not express a corrective view of CSE. Both expressed its role in group affinity and identity, and its ‘legitimacy’ as a language variety. Two examples:

Interviewer: Is it [Singlish] a legitimate – in quotes, legitimate – variety of English, like New Zealand English, American English?

Tim (NS): I was about to say it’s – we have New Zealand English and it’s, it’s, it’s – it is. I mean New Zealand English is a mixture of Maori and slang and borrowed words used in informal conversation and Singlish seems to me is just very much the same. It’s grown over the years, and acquired different words, and reflected changing times. It’s very much a living, legitimate form of language.

Caren (NS): It [Singlish] has a great function of, uh, bringing people together. Being part of the group, part of a community. And that’s what I see as the whole strength of Singlish. You’ve got this very mixed community of very different ethnic groups, very different religious groups, or people with no religion at all. Many. Yet, they can all come together with Singlish. [laughter] It’s quite incredible. Instead of dividing people up, as dialects and accents do, here, it’s used as a bonding method, as a bonding method.

As discussed previously, though self-identified NNS teachers noted the legitimacy of CSE in relation to other varieties of English, their descriptions of Singlish tended to employ pejorative language.

NNS Mei:

[Singlish has] ‘incomplete sentences’

[the persistent use of Singlish would] ‘affect how you perceive . . . what is right and what is wrong sometimes’

‘they will not treat you seriously if you use Singlish’

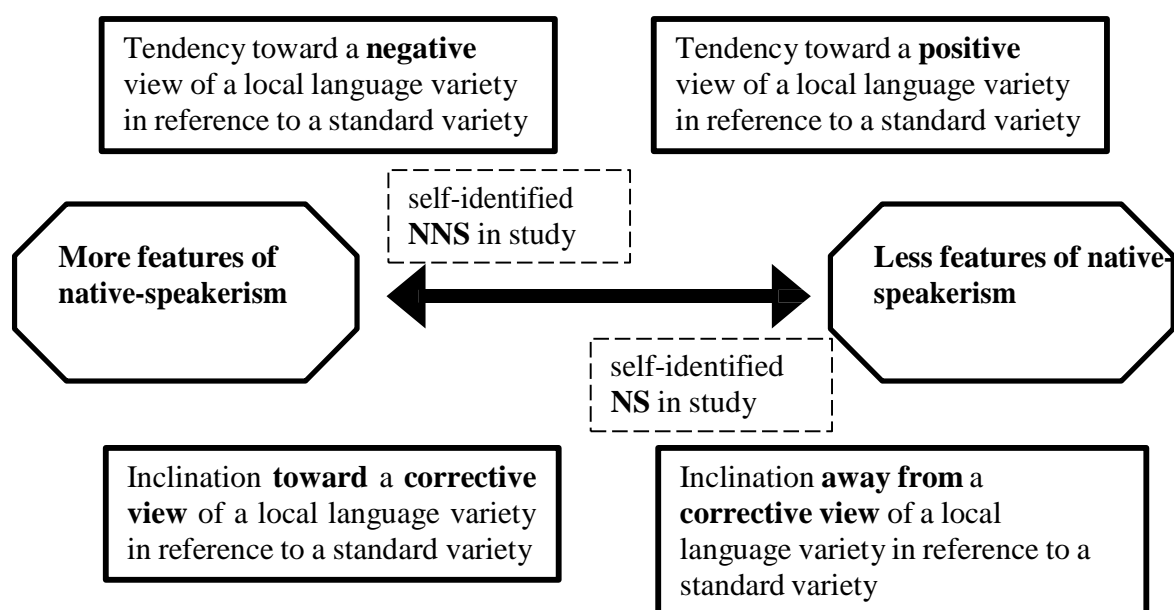
NNS Joy:

‘It’s like a bastardised language basically of English’

‘I’m actually guilty of using Singlish’

Holliday asserts that overcoming native-speakerism will require, among other things, revised conceptions of the ownership of English and a rethink of language norms by educators from the English-speaking West. Such shifts are evident in the data gathered from self-identified NS in this study, yet NNS expressed opinions more in line with characterizations depicted by Holliday’s native-speakerism. The differences are summarised in Figure 18.

Figure 18: Summary – Research Question 4 (Semi-structured interviews)



4.3 Document analysis

4.3.1 Native-speakerism as official policy – RQ4

As described previously (see Chapter 3.3.3), document selection from the SGEM website was based on three key criteria, taken together: the date of the document, its degree of representativeness, and its relevance to this present research topic. The documents were analysed with a view to triangulation of the previously gathered data. To what extent are the attitudes toward CSE by the Singapore study participants reflective of those in positions to shape language policy? To what extent do they differ? Do the opinions of EL teachers mirror an official policy, or represent a shift away from one? Three speeches were selected on these bases, and the findings of the analyses of each are summarised below.

4.3.1.1 **Speech by Dr Vivian Balakrishnan, Minister for Community Development, Youth and Sports – SGEM Launch, 2010** (SGEM, 2011)

Dr Balakrishnan centred his SGEM speech around three questions (paragraph 3): ‘First, why do we use English? Second, why do we insist on ‘Good English’? Third, what do we mean by ‘Good English’?

In answer to the first question, Balakrishnan begins with the assertion that ‘It [English] is certainly not our mother tongue’ (paragraph 4). He does not define ‘mother tongue’ and would perhaps not be expected to do so given the context of the speech. Yet, by setting Singaporeans outside the reach of native speaker ownership of English, he reasserts exonormative standards. Such an assertion is linguistically unjustifiable given that English is indeed the ‘mother tongue’

for many Singaporeans (Gupta, 1994b; Wee, 2002). Dr Balakrishnan's declaration continues to hold a line taken by the Singapore government in ideological debates about the instrumentality of English, where the language is portrayed as only functional (Bokhorst-Heng, et al., 2010). Indeed, the Minister continues his speech by emphasizing that English is a 'portal to knowledge', a 'neutral language' in a 'multi-lingual, multi-racial society', and a language that 'allows us to trade with all corners of the globe' (paragraph 4). But in denying Singaporeans NS ownership of the language, an ideological pathway is paved to perpetuate tenets of native-speakerism, yet from a different angle: a self-exclusion rather than a forced one.

Balakrishnan's reply to the third question (What do we mean by 'Good English') is revealing. Defining 'Good English' as 'simple, grammatical, intelligible English that other people can understand', he goes on to explain that:

I am not a talented speaker who is capable of speaking differently on different occasions to different people. There are many far more people capable of doing that. However, I suspect that most Singaporeans are like me. We are only capable of speaking one way. And if we can only speak one way, we should ensure that the one way is what we call 'Good English' (paragraph 8).

The Minister is not addressing a group of linguists, and therefore should not be held too strictly to linguistic understandings like code-switching. Nevertheless, these statements hint at a patronising attitude characteristic of the paternalism in Singapore's leadership, where policy is enforced by a government that knows best upon a populace who are assumed to be unaware of what they really need (K. P. Tan, 2008). Dr Balakrishnan assumes Singaporeans cannot recognise the domains in which CSE is appropriate and the domains in which it is not, though evidence of this awareness has been observed even among primary school students (Rubdy, 2007). Bruthiaux (2010) argues in this regard that such 'condescension' assumes people cannot be trusted to select appropriate domains for language use : 'as though without the benefit of

governmental guidance a typical Singaporean might launch into a job interview with the words *Eh, gimme job, leh?* (p. 102).

The aim of learning to use only ‘Good English’, Balakrishnan goes on, is ‘for our children’. The ‘... majority of us, we can only speak in one way, and therefore, let’s give them [Singaporean children] the best chance possible’ (paragraph 10). Presumably, this appeal to the future of his audience’s children does not constitute an emotional appeal, because in the next point, Dr Balakrishnan urges his listeners to ‘put aside some of the more emotional elements that language engenders in all of us, and to understand that we do this for pragmatic reasons’ (paragraph 11). Economic and political pragmatism is characteristic of Singapore society, and its use espoused at official levels (Barr, 2006; Hairon, 2006); it would be natural, then, for pragmatism to be taken up as support for language policy. The tendency of the Republic’s leadership is to view pragmatism as free of political and ideological considerations (Barr, 2006).

4.3.1.2 Speech by Mr Goh Eck Kheng, Chairman, Speak Good English Movement – SGEM Launch, 2010 (SGEM, 2011).

SGEM’s chairperson begins by exhorting Singaporeans to use ‘good English as it is our working and common language’ (paragraph 1). Unlike in Dr Balakrishnan’s speech, what constitutes ‘good English’ is not defined. Mr Goh introduces the 2010 ‘tagline’ for SGEM (‘Get It Right!’), which he says ‘is a motto to remind us that whenever we use English, we should try to use it correctly’ (paragraph 2). If ‘good English’ refers to StdE, the reality is that the ‘working and common language’ among Singaporeans, when speaking to each other, is CSE, which is perceived as an affinity-builder and informal.

Mr Goh, after thanking the various partners of SGEM's 2010 efforts, draws the attention of his audience to an 'activist kit to promote good English' (paragraph 14). Anti-CSE 'activists' can utilise the kit's 'Get It Right sticky note' pads to post error corrections on the writing of others to help them 'become aware of the mistakes and take action to correct them' (paragraph 15). Activists are also equipped with special notebooks in which mistakes can be recorded, and then sent to the 'English as it is broken' newspaper column. The SGEM Chairman wants to waste no time, encouraging his audience to start making use of the kit '... tonight, and in your places of work – especially office canteens – starting tomorrow morning' (paragraph 19). It is assumed from these comments that Mr Goh feels office canteens merit special action in the campaign against non-standard English!

The speech concludes with a plea for Singaporeans to be 'role models' and 'to broaden the environment where Standard English is used in our daily lives' (paragraph 20).

As with Dr Balakrishnan's speech, the Chairman's remarks ignore the issue of domain awareness. Apparently, Singaporeans cannot be relied upon to know the difference between daily conversation in the 'office canteen' and other domains where more formal registers are required. Singlish is perceived as friendly and useful in reducing social distance (P. K. W. Tan & Tan, 2008). It would seem then that this variety is ideal for chit-chat in the office canteen, though undoubtedly making the work of 'good English activists' much more difficult.

Individuals who set themselves up as arbiters of correct language, even without reference to linguistic authority, are sometimes referred to as 'language mavens', (Gupta, 2010b, p. 76). Mr Goh's speech encourages activists to take up the role. Armed with sticky-note pads for on-the-spot correction and notebooks for error reporting, the SGEM's reach is extended by potential

mavens. To which linguistic authorities these activists should refer to for their corrections is not spelled out by Goh's speech.

The ambitious reach of the state into the everyday lives of Singaporeans also extends to language use (Bruthiaux, 2010), and Mr Goh's speech reflects this. While not stated directly in the speech, the researcher wondered whether this desire to steer even 'office canteen' conversation signals a concern that a non-standard language variety may corrupt the standard. Again, such a concern underestimates and perhaps even overlooks the inability of language users to select codes appropriate for various situations, and misses the notion that a non-standard language variety can be utilised in the service of learning the standard (Rickford, 2000, 2005; Siegel, 1999a, 1999b, 2007).

4.3.1.3 Speech by Mr Lawrence Wong, Minister of State, Ministry of Defence and Ministry of Education, SGEM Launch 2011 (SGEM, 2012a).

Like Dr Balakrishnan, Minister Wong situates English in the milieu of a multilingual environment and seems to understate and even neglect the reality that English is a mother tongue for many Singaporeans: 'We speak not only English, but also our mother tongue languages whether Malay, Mandarin or Tamil' (paragraph 2). English is excluded here from the possibility of being a 'mother tongue'. Though not stated directly, such an assertion sets the stage for exclusion of Singaporean English speakers from native speaker membership. Whatever level of proficiency attained, the 'mother tongue' will be a language other than English.

Mr Wong references the reality of globalization and the ascendancy of English in this regard, and notes that Asian countries are working to improve English language standards (paragraph 4). He goes on to define Standard English as 'English that is grammatically correct,

commonly understood around the world, and intelligible to English speakers everywhere’ (paragraph 5). Intelligibility outside of Singapore has been a key thrust of SGEM, but as Bruthiaux points out (2010), the unintelligibility of Singapore English is a claim largely unaddressed by the Movement’s written materials. As will be discussed later, research on the intelligibility of Singapore English does not show its varieties to interfere substantially with understanding, especially those listeners closest to Inner Circle countries (Gupta, 2005; Kirkpatrick & Saunders, 2005; Low, 2010; Setter, 2005). An anecdote provided by Minister Wong in the SGEM launch speech suggests differently. He describes being misunderstood while a student in the USA, citing an English variety ‘interspersed with dialect, or with sentence structures translated directly from Chinese, or even with words that I had always mispronounced’ [*sic*] He claims to not have been intelligible other than to fellow Singaporeans: ‘Everyone else thought we were speaking in a foreign tongue’ (paragraph 3).

Mr Wong extends the reach of the state beyond the English spoken at the ‘office canteen’ (see the discussion of the speech by Goh Eck Kheng, above) to the most private language domains spoken in the home. Noting that creating an environment for ‘good English’ is a ‘collective responsibility’, the Minister exhorts ‘... all adults – teachers, parents, grandparents, uncles and aunties – to make a conscious effort to speak good English’. Through these collective efforts, children will ‘grow up, learning to speak good English naturally’ (paragraph 14). The extension of language policy into the private domain is extraordinary. Bruthiaux remarks that if SGEM’s aims were achieved, ‘it would generate possibly the first recorded case of single-code, variation-free speakers of a language’ (2010, p. 95).

Minister Wong lauds the efforts of one school whose leadership seems to have caught on to the idea of the activism encouraged in Chairman Goh’s 2010 launch speech: a listing of

‘taboo’ words and phrases motivates students to ‘catch their friends or teachers using them’ (paragraph 8).

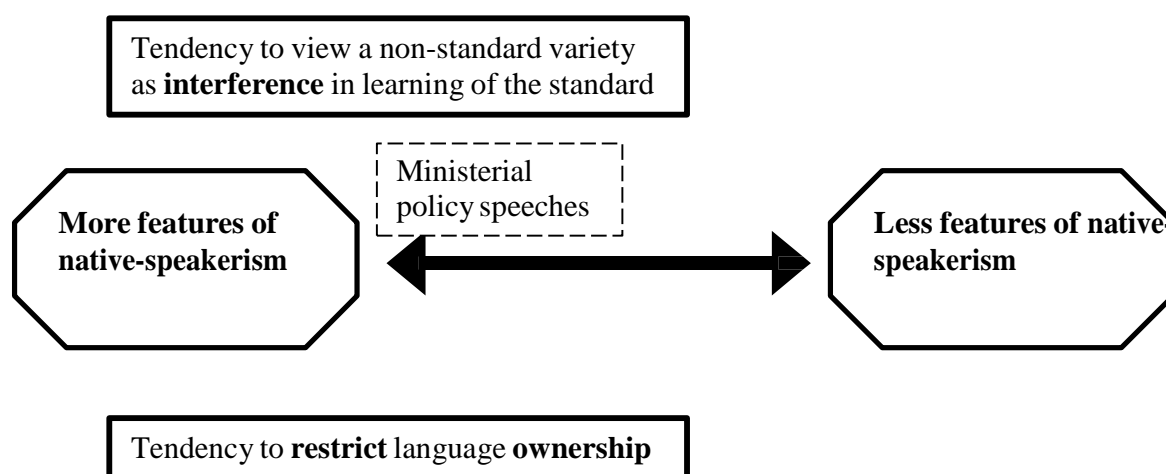
The common themes highlighted in the three ministerial speeches are summarised below.

Figure 19: Summary – commonalities in analysed speech documents

Evidence in speech of ...?	Ministerial speech		
	Balakrishnan	Goh	Wong
exclusion of Singaporeans from the ‘ownership’ of English	✓		✓
doubt about ability of English users to recognise domain awareness/code-switch	✓	✓	✓
extension of the reach of the state into private language domains		✓	✓

To summarise, the ministerial speeches examined in the document analysis lend support to the findings of the semi-structured interviews in regard to native-speakerism. The ministerial policy speeches showed evidence of a tendency to set native-speaker membership forever outside the reach of Singaporeans and to view CSE as an intrusion upon the learning of StdE – this based on the assumption that speakers are unable to recognise different domains for language use and make the appropriate code selection when necessary. The findings of the document analysis with reference to the relevant research question are illustrated in Figure 20.

Figure 20: Summary – Research Question 4 (Document Analysis)



4.4 Summary

The results presented in this chapter point towards significant attitudinal differences toward CSE in the classroom between NS and NNS teachers of English in Singapore. While both groups affirmed the role of CSE in establishing group affinity, self-identified NS offered generally favourable descriptions of CSE, and expressed less concern over the negative transference of CSE to StdE. Self-identified NNS indicated more agreement with the aims of SGEM compared to their NS colleagues. Whether one had received his or her education in Singapore was a significant factor in accounting for group attitudinal differences, pointing to the possibility that exposure to SGEM might be an influential element in these variations. The findings also indicate elements of native-speakerism present where they might not be expected: in attitudes toward a local variety by speakers themselves, and in policy speeches delivered at the ministerial level. A discussion and interpretation of the findings are presented in the final chapter.

Chapter 5: Summary and discussion

To assist readers, this chapter restates the research problem and provides a brief overview of the methodology employed in the study. The major divisions of this chapter will sum up the results and discuss the implications of the findings.

5.1 Summary of the problem

As described in the first chapter, this mixed methods study used qualitative and quantitative analysis to compare attitudinal similarities and differences between self-identified ‘native speaking’ (NS) and ‘non-native speaking’ (NNS) teachers of English in Singapore who were part of a programme initiative in the Singapore Ministry of Education. The opinions of these teachers were sought on classroom approaches to CSE, or Singlish, a localized variety of English used in informal speech domains, to determine whether Holliday’s conception of native-speakerism was an adequate explanation for their views. Three initial research questions guided the direction of the study, and after initial data collection, a fourth line of inquiry was pursued. These research questions are shown below.

Figure 15: Summary of research questions (RQ) (reproduced from section 1.3)

Initial phase	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What are the views of Singaporean NNS English teachers and expatriate teachers on the use of Singlish in the classroom? In what way, if any, does a teacher's self-described 'nativeness' or 'non-nativeness' as an English speaker impact his/her view of CSE in the classroom? [RQ1] 2. What other variables result in significant attitudinal differences between teachers in the study? [RQ2] 3. Do these attitudinal differences or similarities between teachers yield any insights that might illustrate best classroom practices in regard to Singlish in Singapore classrooms? [RQ3]
2nd phase (pursued after analysis of initial data)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. To what extent are the attitudes expressed by self-described NS/NNS teachers a confirmation of/contradiction to the fundamental assertions of native-speakerism? [RQ4]

5.2 Review of the methodology

The methodology, detailed in Chapter 3, utilized a mixed methods approach in order to integrate both qualitative and quantitative data. Three research methods were utilised to pursue the four research questions listed above. A 43-item questionnaire, including both closed and open-ended questions, gathered attitudinal information from all Teacher Consultants (TCs) and their colleagues from schools involved in the Enhancing School English Language Programme in 2010 (N = 32). Questionnaire responses were analysed using chi-square methodology to identify significant differences between group responses.

Subsequent to the analysis of the questionnaire results, five survey respondents were involved in semi-structured interviews to further investigate themes uncovered in the questionnaire. Three female NNS, one female NS and one male NS were interviewed during March, 2010. Following interview transcription, the data was coded and thematically analysed

for emergent themes. Reflection on the coded data resulted in a second round of coding and analysis, which sharpened the key themes further.

Document analysis was utilized in order to further explore the central topics gleaned from the previous two methodologies. The existing coding structure employed in the scrutiny of the semi-structured interviews was applied to key documents reflecting policy direction. Thematic analysis during the coding process investigated whether the documents corroborated with the findings of the questionnaire and semi-structured interviews.

Figure 14: Summary – Research questions and methods (reproduced from section 3.3)

RESEARCH QUESTION (RQ)	RESEARCH METHOD (RM)		
	questionnaire (RM1)	semi-structured interview (RM2)	document analysis (RM3)
RQ 1	√	√	X
RQ2	√	X	X
RQ3	X	√	X
RQ4	√	√	√

5.3 Summary of the results

The following section, outlined according to research question and research method, provides a summary of the findings of the data. To aid the reader, the RQs (Research Questions) and RMs (Research Methods) are restated in each section.

5.3.1 RQ1/RQ2 – RM1

RQ1 (What are the views of Singaporean NNS English teachers and expatriate teachers on the use of Singlish in the classroom? In what way, if any, does a teacher's self-described 'nativeness' or 'non-nativeness' as an English speaker impact his/her view of CSE in the classroom?) / **RQ2** (What other variables result in significant attitudinal differences between teachers in the study?) – **RM1** (Questionnaire)

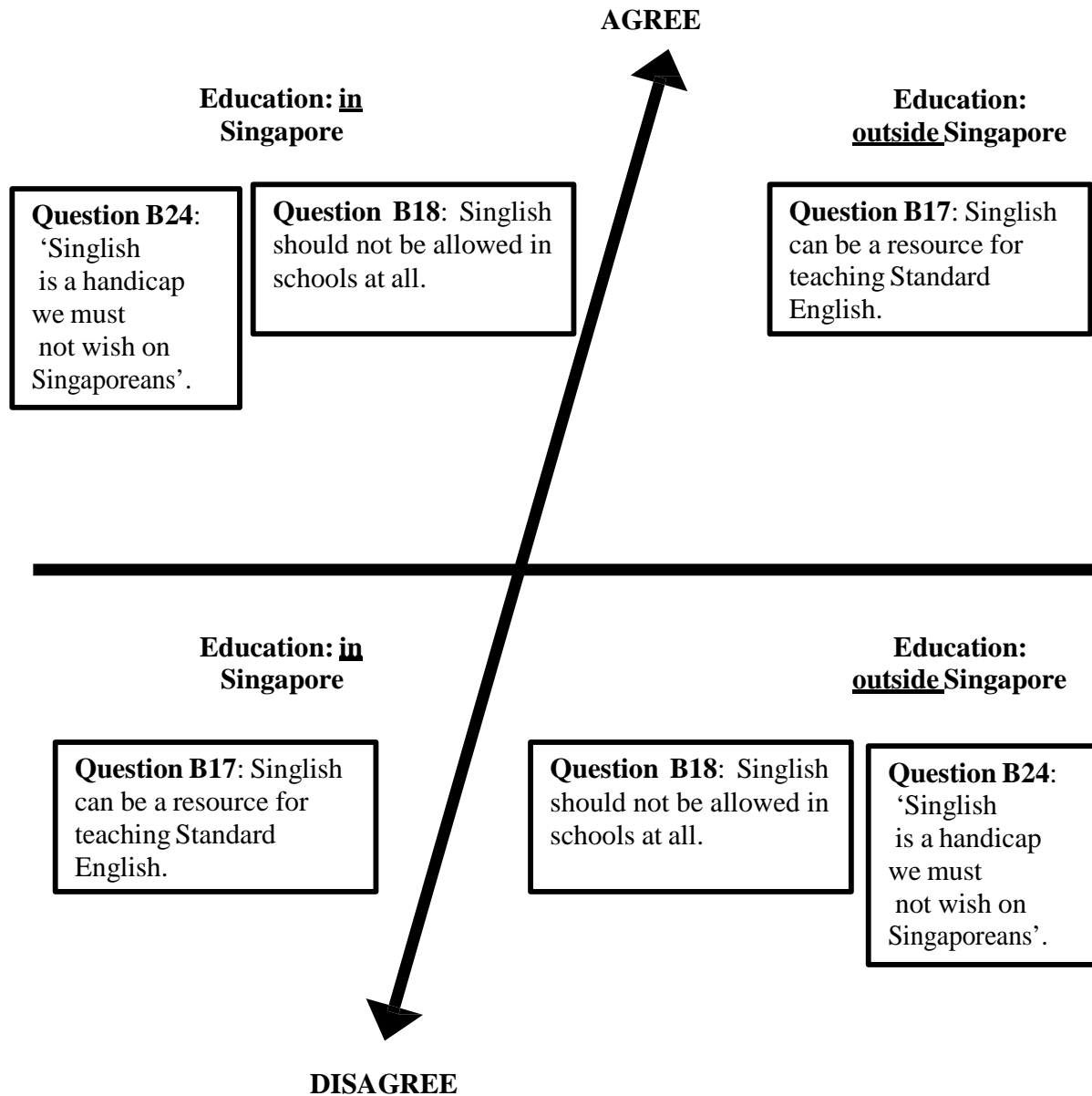
In the questionnaire, several noteworthy differences in attitudes toward classroom CSE were observed between categories of respondents. These differences are reviewed in brief, below.

- Teachers with more international experience were far more likely to believe Singlish is appropriate in the classroom (Question B2).
- Almost half of respondents educated in Singapore felt Singlish should be banned from schools, compared to none of those with education outside of the country (B18).
- Self-identified NS EL teachers were 40% less likely to correct Singlish immediately when it was spoken in the classroom (B16).
- Those educated outside of Singapore were far more likely to see Singlish as a potential resource for the teaching/learning of StdE (B17).
- English/Education majors were more likely to see Singlish as a resource for the teaching/learning of StdE than those educated in other fields of study (B17).
- All of the following groups were more likely to see Singlish as an important factor in Singaporean identity: those with more teaching experience; those with international teaching experience; those educated outside of Singapore; those who had not previously taught in Singapore; and both TCs and school department heads (B20).
- These categories of respondents viewed Singlish as appropriate in schools at recess or outside of school hours: teachers under 40, NS, and those educated outside of Singapore (B22).

- Teachers educated outside of Singapore were far more likely to disagree with the statement: ‘Singlish is a handicap we must not wish on Singaporeans’ (B23).

As described in Chapter 4, the researcher noted after the initial analysis of data that an important category of respondent impacted differences in questions B17, B18 and B24: whether the respondent had received his/her education outside of Singapore (see Figure 21). As previously noted, this recognition initiated a research line of inquiry of a possible relationship between a negative view of CSE, and exposure to the annual campaigns of SGEM which presumably those educated in Singapore would have been.

Figure 21: Influence of place of education on three questionnaire responses



5.3.2 RQ1 – RM2

RQ1 (What are the views of Singaporean NNS English teachers and expatriate teachers on the use of Singlish in the classroom? In what way, if any, does a teacher's self-described 'nativeness' or 'non-nativeness' as an English speaker impact his/her view of CSE in the classroom?) – **RM2** (Semi-structured interviews).

As noted, at several key points, the views of NS and NNS English teachers regarding Singlish diverged. In an apparent role reversal Singaporean NNS English language teachers expressed negative opinions about the local variety, while their expatriate NS colleagues tended to see Singlish as a legitimate language variety.

In the semi-structured interviews, while NNS teachers of English showed some attitudinal parallels with their NS colleagues in regard to classroom CSE, some divergence was found as well. The similarities and dissimilarities are listed in summary form below.

NNS/NS dissimilarities

- Data analysis of transcribed interviews showed a considerably higher incidence of negative descriptions of Singlish by NNS when compared with NS participants.
- Statements that expressed agreement with the aims of SGEM were noticeably more prevalent in the interviews of NNS respondents.
- By contrast, 17% of the content of NS interviews articulated positions contrary to the stated aim of SGEM.
- NNS interviewees were much more likely to communicate concern about the effect of Singlish forms in StdE writing, an apprehension not shared by the NS participants.

NNS/NS similarities

- Both NNS and NS respondents affirmed the functionality of Singlish in group affinity and identity.
- NNS and NS alike did not share the government's view that Singlish is merely bad English, and affirmed its 'legitimacy' as a language variety.

5.3.3 RQ3 – RM2

RQ3 (Do these attitudinal differences or similarities between teachers yield any insights that might illustrate best classroom practices in regard to Singlish in Singapore classrooms?) – **RM2** (Semi-structured interviews).

As was the case with the second research question, when conveying views on classroom practice in regard to CSE, the two categories of respondents again showed similarities and differences.

NNS/NS dissimilarities

- NS English teachers identified very little evidence of CSE forms in the written work of students, while their NNS colleagues cited Singlish forms as a cause for error in sentence structure.
- NNS respondents viewed Singlish as inappropriate in written work, while NS allowed a space for CSE in narrative contexts.

NNS/NS similarities

- Both NNS and NS provided feedback when Singlish forms were used in the classroom.
- Both respondent categories cited humour as a means to provide classroom feedback to CSE usage.
- Contrastive analysis was employed by both groups as a method in teaching the standard variety through the non-standard.

5.3.4 RQ4 – RM2

RQ4 (To what extent are the attitudes expressed by self-described NS/NNS teachers a confirmation of/contradiction to the fundamental assertions of native-speakerism?) – **RM2** (Semi-structured interviews).

Since the TC project involved international consultants – presumably, among other skills, bearers of a standard variety – in the context of a local variety, the researcher hypothesized that native-speakerism as conceptualised by Holliday (2005, 2006) would be in evidence.

Yet, the self-identified NS participating in the study did not express positions in the semi-structured interviews that would be consistent with the ‘cultural correction’ characteristic of native-speakerism (Holliday, 2005). Rather, they ascribed legitimacy to CSE in terms of variety of English.

Though the self-identified NNS in the semi-structured interviews affirmed the legitimacy of Singlish on the one hand, they also exhibited a tendency to use derogatory language to describe CSE. They displayed a more corrective view of the local variety in reference to the standard variety: in this sense more ‘native-speakerist’ than their overseas counterparts.

5.3.5 RQ4 – RM3

RQ4 (To what extent are the attitudes expressed by self-described NS/NNS teachers a confirmation of/contradiction to the fundamental assertions of native-speakerism?) –
RM3 (Document analysis)

Chapter 3 described the SGEM document selection criteria for the document analysis: the document’s date, the degree of ‘representativeness’ (Bowen, 2009), and the extent of relevance to the research question. The document analysis searched for corroboration across the previous two methods: to what extent did the views expressed by EL teachers mirror official policy? Were the same negative views of a local language variety in relationship to a standard variety espoused by the documents which served as guiding principles for SGEM?

In summary, the ministerial speeches examined in the document analysis corroborate the findings of the semi-structured interviews in regard to native-speakerism.

- Policy speeches at the ministerial level seemed to exhibit a penchant to exclude Singaporeans from membership as native-speakers of English.
- These same policy directives tended to view CSE as an interference upon the acquisition of StdE, and assume the inability of Singaporeans to identify different domains of language use.

5.4 Discussion of the results

This section is arranged following the organisation of the study's conceptual frameworks explored in Chapter 2. The findings of the present study will be discussed and interpreted in the context of these analytical frameworks, with a view to adding to existing knowledge. Figure 22 (below), adapted from Table 9 in the literature review, illustrates and summarises the relationships between the conceptual frameworks, the study's findings, and the contribution to knowledge in the field, and serves as an outline for the organisation of the chapter. The study will conclude with some recommendations for future research directions in light of the study's findings.

Figure 22: Summary – study’s conceptual frameworks and contribution to knowledge review (adapted from Figure 9, section 2)

Chapter 5 Summary & Discussion Section #	Chapter 5 Theme	Chapter 2 Literature Review Section #	Chapter 2 Theme:	Study’s contribution to knowledge:
5.4.1	Singlish in the school classroom	2.1.1	Singlish in the school classroom	-native speaking (NS) English educators figure in teacher recruitment strategy, but are absent from the research literature in attitudinal studies of classroom CSE
5.4.2	SGEM: a success story?	2.1.2	Speak Good English Movement (SGEM)	-results of this study suggest that SGEM has been successful in its aims with shaping attitudes along the ‘frontlines’ of English Language (EL) teaching
5.4.3	Syllabus addition?	2.1.3	Singlish and the 2010 English Language (EL) Syllabus	-previous studies have drawn upon earlier versions of the EL Syllabus -this present study suggests that future EL Syllabus revisions formally recognise CSE for informal domains
5.4.4	Intra- language discrimination	2.2.3 2.2.3.1	Phillipson’s linguistic imperialism critiques of the linguistic imperialism thesis	- the findings of this present study provide a micro view of ways internal forces (as opposed to external ones) may function to maintain linguistic hegemony -the data gathered in this study suggest support for a notion developed in the literature that internal factors, rather than external forces of global language hegemony, pose a greater threat to local language varieties
5.4.5	Singaporean English as a Postcolonial English	2.2.4	Singaporean English as a Postcolonial English	-the study’s results offer supplementary evidence in discussions of the place of Singaporean English in

5.5.3	teacher preparation on dialect diversity to classroom practice			
5.5.1	Extensions to the concept of native-speakerism	2.5.1	Bourdieu and linguistic capital	-this study draws upon Bourdieu's conception of linguistic capital in upward mobility as a more plausible explanation for attitudinal variation to classroom CSE

5.4.1 Singlish in the school classroom

As previously noted, the NS paradigm has figured in past teacher recruitment drives for the Singapore MoE (Ching, 2006). As noted previously, though expatriate teachers from Inner Circle countries make up a section of the teaching workforce, they have been largely excluded from previous research on attitudinal consideration of classroom CSE. Logic would suggest that if such teachers are considered bearers of exonormative norms, the alignment of their views on CSE to official policy ones would be important; yet to date they have been mostly absent from the literature.

What to make of the import of expatriate EL teachers into Singapore's high-performing education system? The teacher consultancy role in the Enhancing School English Language Programmes as specified by the MoE required TCs to possess a degree in English language/English literature, and stipulated that 'degrees in English as an additional language are not acceptable' (CfBT, 2010, p. 3). This condition, curiously, sits astride another specifying which (Inner Circle) countries TCs must be recruited from (p. 3). As the brochure does not state the rationale for either employment prerequisite, and whatever written guidelines for the Programme composed by the MoE are not in the public domain, the researcher pursued a line of

inquiry valued in document analysis: the notion that what is not said in a text may be equally instructive (Rapley, 2007).

So what is ‘not said’ here? Is it that the Singapore MoE values the input of degrees in English Language or Literature *especially* from the ‘UK, Ireland, New Zealand, Australia, USA and Canada’? The researcher suspects that, in effect, being from an Inner Circle English-using country (B. B. Kachru, 1992b) was a condition of employment as a TC. Again, though not explicitly stated, this reflects merely another example of the long-standing orientation toward exonormative language models for Singapore’s educational planners (Ooi, 2001).

However, more positively, along with the orientation toward exonormative models, may be recognition of the growing role of English as a first language of Singaporeans. Degrees with specialisations in teaching English as an additional language do not meet the requirements for employment as a TC (p. 3). This stipulation would seem to indicate a declaration of arrival for Singaporean students at Inner Circle English learner status. This is characteristic of Schneider’s (2007) endonormative stabilization stage where linguistic norms follow a larger trend of growing cultural identity and confidence. The blurred lines of the shifts between the five stages in Schneider’s process of Postcolonial Englishes are in evidence of the same pages of text in the brochure now under discussion: the preference for exonormative Inner Circle models is characteristic of Schneider’s nativization stage, while the statement hinting at having arrived at Inner Circle status is more akin to the endonormative stabilization stage.

5.4.2 SGEM – A success story?

A possible success story suggested by the data obtained in this study is in regards to SGEM. Based on the attitudes reflected by the Singaporean EL teachers, the Movement seems to

be succeeding in its aims. Singapore-educated EL teachers expressed a generally negative view of CSE, were more likely to support its ban in the classroom, and were much more likely to see CSE as a ‘handicap’. Singaporean participants in the study expressed agreement with the importance of StdE in the Republic’s economic aspirations, and seemed to echo the concerns of their Minister for Community Development, Youth and Sports in believing students were ‘only capable of speaking one way’ (SGEM, 2011, paragraph 8) and therefore that CSE would find its way into StdE writing. At least when it comes to attitudes (if not practices), the message of SGEM appears to be getting through to key players in the implementation of the Movement’s strategy: EL teachers.

Two findings of the study, however, may be disconcerting to SGEM strategists. First, and ironically, some of the (supposed) bearers of exonormative language standards, the imported EL teaching consultants, seemed not to share the aims of SGEM in regard to Singlish. NS TCs seemed to be at odds with the Minister’s assertion that Singaporean students were ‘only capable of speaking one way’ and recognized in their learners an awareness of speech domains. These NS EL teachers ascribed legitimacy to Singlish as a variety of English. They also affirmed the role of CSE in establishing a sense of belonging and group membership for students. Second, SGEM planners may be disappointed to learn from this study that the data indicates a failure of the campaign in its ambitious aim to extend the reach of language policy into the most personal of usage domains. Singaporean EL teachers and their expatriate counterparts both affirmed the importance of CSE in group membership and affinity as well as its effectiveness for informal communication. If SGEM hopes to eradicate CSE, the data in this study suggests that much work lies ahead.

The possible Achilles' heel of SGEM – though perhaps also its guarantee of survival in perpetuity – is this unwillingness to cede a place to Singlish for informality in Singapore life. With its roots in a paternalistic 'dumbing down' of what Singaporeans are able to achieve in language domain awareness, SGEM insists on reaching into the speech of the office canteen, home and family. To continue to strive for high standards in StdE in order to accrue economic opportunity is already well understood, and international tests of achievement show this is being done effectively in Singapore (Darling-Hammond, 2010; Dixon, 2005a; Gupta, 2010a). The rationale for pursuing an even further reach of the long arm of language policy has not been forthcoming.

5.4.3 Syllabus addition?

It is time for the English Language Syllabus, in this researcher's view, to 'call a spade a spade'. SSE, CSE and the many shades of proficiency on the continuum between the two are a reality in Singapore schools and classrooms, and have domains of appropriateness and inappropriateness. The next edition of the EL Syllabus would, in the opinion of this researcher, do well to say so.

As NNS Mei explained, EL teachers use Singlish to 'make a point', 'bring across ideas easily', enliven meetings and 'attract attention'. Students value the local variety for lessening social distance (P. K. W. Tan & Tan, 2008). Admitting as much in the EL Syllabus would not, the researcher suggests, detract from the domain awareness sought in its aims.

The 2010 Syllabus, as noted previously, does allow that 'language use is guided by our awareness of the purpose, audience, context and culture in which the communication takes place' (p. 8). The importance to the EL Syllabus of the 'formal register of English used in different

parts of the world, that is Standard English' (p. 14) is already acknowledged. Why not an explicit reference to the role of CSE for informal speech domains?

Admittedly, such an unambiguous mention of CSE (and SSE) in the English Language Syllabus would likely encounter 'reverse native-speakerism' resistance from a now multigenerational tradition of partiality to exonormative standards. But it would give recognition to what is already going on: Singaporean students do, by and large, gain access to the dialect of StdE, while retaining CSE for informal usage. A plain statement of this, with an affirmation of SSE as a language variety, would be in keeping both with linguistic scholarship, and with the reality of what occurs in classrooms.

Would such an open assertion of SSE and CSE in the EL Syllabus make its way down through to teachers and classroom practice? Classroom implementation of top-down language policy is a complex and uneven process (Stritikus, 2003). In Singapore, an educational culture of examinations, driven by job market concerns, tends to determine what is taught, regardless of what is called for in the syllabus (Chew, 2006). Rubdy (2010) outlines a number of obstacles to the carrying out of change to EL instruction in Singapore. Admittedly, therefore, the stated legitimization of CSE and SSE in the next Syllabus revision may encounter barriers to having an immediate and direct effect on EL learners. Nevertheless, it would describe a process that is, in the researcher's view, very much under way, whether officially acknowledged or not.

These skirmishes in language policy implementation may be reflective of Singapore's shift, backward and forward along the stages toward endonormative stabilization and finally differentiation (Schneider, 2007). Singapore's variety of English seems headed for Kachru's Inner Circle – if it has not already arrived. Ironically, the data from this study suggests that 'reverse native-speakerism' may want to keep it out. Official acknowledgment of Singapore's

localized linguistic norms has been previously called for (Foley, 2001, 1988; Ooi, 2001). The next revision of the EL Syllabus, would, in this researcher's view, be prudent in heeding such a call.

Tan and Tan (2008), drawing upon a statement in the UK's National Curriculum, note that language variation in that context is considered a resource to be harnessed in support of teaching a standard variety. Bokhorst-Heng (2005) observes that this is rarely included in discussions of Singlish. Such an approach is not without precedent (V. Edwards, 1997; Fogel & Ehri, 2000; Godley, et al., 2006; Siegel, 1999a, 2007); the employment of Ebonics in this regard is perhaps the most widely-discussed example (Rickford, 2000, 2005; Wheeler, 1999, 2005).

5.4.4 Intra-language discrimination

Intra-language discrimination is intimately bound up with the process of language standardization (Wee, 2005). Standardization is concerned with 'promoting invariance or uniformity in language structure' (Milroy, 2001, p. 531). Milroy stressed that prestige for a particular language variety is obtained through the social standing of speakers of that variety (2001, p. 532). It follows, then, that less standing is assigned to those who do not speak the variety associated with the prestigious speakers. Dialects then 'become, as it were, satellites that have orbits at various distances around a central body – the standard' (Milroy, 2001, p. 534). The standard form then becomes 'canonized' through institutional means, and the notion of a binary 'correctness' prevails: where there are two variations of a language feature, only one can be correct. The canonical forms are almost universally accepted and therefore become 'commonsense' (p. 535). As arbiters for a standardized language variety, it follows that schools and teachers, whether deliberately or not, play a central role in intra-language discrimination.

In critiquing the conception of Linguistic Human Rights (Phillipson, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1994), Wee (2005) describes a process whereby speakers of a non-standard variety are themselves in cahoots to perpetuate a standard variety.

The notion of a correct form associated with an institutional setting (such as the school) and the devaluing of a non-standard variety (such as the variety acquired at home) means that speakers often themselves collude in their own intra-language discrimination. Consequently, those speakers who do decide to champion the non-standard variety face resistance even from their fellow speakers (p. 54).

This complex process of interwoven complicity and resistance provides a fuller picture of linguistic inequities than the reductionist picture painted by native-speakerism. Wee reasserts the important distinction between ‘language community’ and ‘speech community’ and reminds readers that languages or language varieties cannot be conceived of as one homogenous unit (2005, pp. 49-50). Within an individual language exists great diversity, and inequalities assert themselves intra-language, related to prestige/non-prestige forms, and degrees of proficiency in standardized literate varieties (Blommaert, 2001).

Wee argues that ordinary Singaporeans themselves cannot be cast as homogenous in their views on the legitimacy of CSE. He illustrates this by presenting a range of sharply divergent opinions written as letters to the media; some expressed a strong appeal for the important role of Singlish in Singaporean identity, while others echoed the government’s view that ‘standard English’ was an economic imperative (2005, pp. 56-57).

As will be discussed in another section, native-speakerism’s depiction of a hegemonic, dichotomous relationship between English and other languages, and between foreign arbiters of a standard variety and localized speakers, falls short of accurately reflecting the multifaceted dynamics at work. Where native-speakerism would expect to find inter-language discrimination,

the findings of this study seemed to suggest evidence of discrimination's intra-language form. While expatriate trainers and presumably representatives of the standard variety expressed positive views of CSE and its legitimacy, its users tended to articulate a negative view. The forces of intra-language discrimination, according to the findings of this study, would appear to be a greater threat to CSE than an external language.

5.4.5 Singaporean English as a Postcolonial English

As outlined in section 2.2.4, a number of explanations have been put forward to conceptualise the development of a variety of English when spread into a new location. The findings from this study add supplemental evidence, at a micro level, to identify the place of Singaporean English in these models. Kachru (1992a) describes a three phase process starting with a 'non-recognition' of the local variety and a corresponding preference for external 'native speaking' linguistic models. In Kachru's second stage the local variety is more widespread, but still considered substandard. In a final 'recognition' phase, a 'linguistic realism' characterises speakers, and the non-native variety receives wider acceptance (pp. 56-57). The results of this study show self-identified NNS moving between the phases. Situated in a context where official educational policy dictates a standard form, but the reality that CSE plays a valuable role in informal domains, teachers toggle between linguistic realism and the 'true believers' in exonormative standards at a level of curriculum planning (Rubdy, 2010).

In regard to Schneider's Dynamic Model of the spread of English, it is of course unwise, on the basis of this study alone, to generalise about the larger process of language nativization and the shift away from exonormative standards in Singapore. The findings here do however provide data from a micro perspective to locate Singaporean English on the Dynamic Model.

The attitudinal data gleaned from this study, at least when it comes to views on CSE in the classroom, suggest features of Schneider's nativization stage along with the endonormative stabilization phase. Exonormative standards still figure heavily in the views expressed by Singaporean teachers. Gupta's description of a culture of 'language mavens' (2010b, p. 76) as fostered by SGEM, seems to have had at least some impact on the attitudes of Singaporean English teachers. Wee's (2005) assertion that sharp disagreements exist among speakers of Singlish regarding its legitimacy as a variety of English serve as further evidence of the nativization stage, or at least the earlier stages of endonormative stabilization. Again, a comparison to the attitudes of expatriate teachers in the study is revealing in this regard: the teachers from abroad expressed opinions reminiscent of Schneider's fourth stage, and even hinted at the fifth phase, differentiation, where linguistic identity is firmly established within the new country.

5.4.6 Reverse native-speakerism

Native-speakerism (Holliday, 2005, 2006) depicts the field of ESOL and its (so-called) professional discourses operating from deeply embedded cultural stereotypes and subsequent cultural chauvinism, resulting in attempts at missionizing cultural correction rather than real professional collaboration. Informed by critical theory, native-speakerism identifies both in discourse and practices a perpetuation of the myth of the 'native speaker' teacher, invariably reinforcing inequitable power relations. The teaching of English to speakers of other languages, with its inherent roots in colonialist ideology, places native-speakerists in a hegemonic relationship vis-a-vis other languages.

One of the starting points for this present study was the observation of Waters (2007a, 2007b) that while approaches to linguistics rooted in critical theory such as native-speakerism had considerable currency with the ELT profession, the empirical substantiation for such approaches was lacking. The research context in this present study provided what seemed to be an ideal setting in which to find the phenomenon of native-speakerism using the mainstream methodologies of social research called for by Waters.

In this research study, aspects of native-speakerism were in evidence, but perhaps not where one would expect to find them. The findings of the study ran counter-intuitive to some of the tenets of native-speakerism. When queried about attitudes toward a local basilectal, non-standard language variety, self-identified NNS EL teachers seemed to more closely exhibit characteristics one might expect to be attributed to native-speakerism than their NS counterparts. Self-identified NS, conversely, tended to assign legitimacy to the local variety despite their NS status in the standard variety. These divergent views were corroborated across the three methodologies in the study. In this research study, when it came to views on a local language variety, native-speakerism seemed absent from the attitudes of self-identified native speaking teachers.

Critical applied linguistics often argues that the English language, given its relationship to a colonial history and its link to economic advantage, is therefore inherently a threat to other languages. In this study, the threat to a local language variety appeared to be not from external sources, but from internal ones. While speakers of a standard variety expressed views favourable to a local one, the largest threat to extinction of a local variety seemed to come from its own users. Though the findings of this study suggested linguistic hegemony was in evidence, it did not appear to be – as might be expected – from outside.

Perhaps somewhat ironically, in this study the absence of native-speakerism in places the researcher expected to find it may serve to reinforce Holliday's central thesis: the importance of avoiding stereotypes. Critical theorists, the findings from this study suggest, may need to guard against engaging in the very practice they reject: further 'Othering' those they suspect of having 'Othered'.

Dismissing existing social research evidence, or of pursuing new lines of inquiry, in the suspicion that they may be too closely linked to embedded discursive constructs of which the researcher is unaware (Kabel, 2009), in this researcher's view, may run the risk of throwing out the baby with the bathwater. As Waters argues, the identification of native-speakerist behaviour through the voice of the social theorist alone, without the application of empirical research, may have the unfortunate effect of vilifying what might later prove to be a constructive educational practice (2007b).

A top-down approach drawn from social theory alone brings its own set of ideological underpinnings. A central assertion of CT, that all relationships are inherently political, if above question – since potential critics are blinded by discursive constructs posing as reality – may be in danger of, as Waters says, 'imposing a powerful hegemony of its own' (2007a, p. 355). Automatically construing, for example, the relationship between NNS and NS, or English and other languages as *inherently* a struggle between oppressor and oppressed, may inadvertently rule out consideration of other dynamics at play.

This is not to disparage the overwhelmingly valuable contribution of CT to applied linguistics and to ELT professionalism world-wide in raising uncomfortable questions about inequities in the distribution of power, racism, colonial attitudes and the like. The researcher acknowledged in the opening pages of this present study indebtedness to Phillipson's *Linguistic*

Imperialism as a starting point in his own journey. The seminal works of Pennycook (1998) and Jenkins (2000) have also been influential in this regard. CT's application to applied linguistics has resulted in an important call to attention of underlying inequalities built in to the study and discourses of ELT. But the adoption of an 'uncritical stance to critical theory' may run counter to some of the field's own aims.

As described in the section on the study's delimitations (see section 1.6), on the basis of this small sample, it is unwise to generalise about the NS EL teacher population at large, even within Singapore itself. However, the findings of this particular study cause the researcher to wonder whether some of the cultural chauvinism inherent in native-speakerism is being broadly mitigated by dissemination of the notion of World Englishes. Certainly Holliday is describing a phenomenon observable in the world of ELT, but perhaps its effects have lessened? The data from this study suggests tentatively that critical linguistics may well want to both celebrate a hard-earned victory, and redirect their message to a different audience.

The above comes with an important caveat, however. In a review of Crystal's 1997 book, *English as a Global Language* (2nd edition, 2003), Phillipson protests what he feels are oversights in the work. Concerns regarding inequalities perpetuated by English in its global reach, the possibility of its destructive relationship with other languages, and the bond of English to its colonial past are, Phillipson argues, overlooked or understated to the detriment of the book (Phillipson, 1999). While Crystal mounts a robust and convincing defence of his position (Crystal, 2000), Phillipson's review serves as a warning to this researcher against complacency. In suggesting, above, that through diffusion of the ideas of World Englishes the effects of native-speakerism may have been somewhat negated, the researcher wishes to avoid giving the impression that somehow, all is well with the global spread of English. Unfortunately, cultural

chauvinism in the name of language teaching, inequalities perpetuated by official language policies, language hegemony, devaluation of NNS teachers and other linguistic injustices continue, even in a 'nice field like TESOL' (Kubota, 2002). Ideologies often function without a conscious awareness of their political nature (Fairclough, 1995). Declaring a partial victory in no way implies that the task is finished.

5.4.7 Non-standard forms in the classroom

Is a school and classroom ban on Singlish effective? The data from this study seemed to confirm the findings of other research: despite campaigns and well-intentioned dictates from school leadership, Singlish persists, and serves a significant function in shaping identity. Both NNS and NS teachers in this study stressed its import in creating a sense of belonging, and in aiding understanding among less proficient learners. School-wide prohibitions on the use of CSE might give the impression that school leadership is falling in line with the broader language policy direction of Singapore's government, which may be wise in the context of the promotion system utilised by the civil service. Nevertheless, given that the data suggests Singlish plays a central role as an identity marker, as a way to express informality, and as a bridge to group affinity, its eradication and ban from schools seems an unreachable goal.

Banning the non-standard to devote full attention to the standard seems, admittedly, intuitively logical. As noted previously, Siegel (1999a) summarises three arguments often put forward in favour of disallowing the use of dialect in school classrooms. The first argument centres around time: in an education system with limited instructional time available, it would seem to follow that allocating time for dialects would draw valuable time away from a central aim of schooling: learning the standard variety. Another position appeals to economic

opportunities associated with mastery of the standard form: this ‘ghettoisation’ argument fears that curriculum time spent on dialects unnecessarily disadvantages students. Finally, a third position assumes that negative interference from the non-standard variety will inhibit the learning of the standard.

Self-identified NNS EL teacher Mei described the roles of Singlish in a department meeting of English teachers:

Mei: Sometimes even other teachers also use it. Just to emphasize the point.

Interviewer: English teachers?

Mei: Yes. Within ourselves but purposely we used it because number one we can laugh at it and number two we can just bring across the point sometimes. So even English teachers use that. And in um....

Interviewer: And does anyone does anyone try to say in those meetings, “Hey, no... no Singlish here”?

Mei: No. They all just laugh haha then continue, so ok. But basically it brings across idea more easy, I mean easily. Um. And also it’s more relaxing, I find. If you use Standard English, proper English, throughout the whole meeting it can be a bit boring I find. Could be so. Sometimes if you just want to wake someone up you purposely use one or two instances they’ll just wake up. Because the main idea is English teachers are not supposed to use Singlish so when you use Singlish it’s something unique something different. So it attracts attention. Yes.

One study participant succinctly summarized the situation: ‘Singlish happens’. The instrumentality of StdE in accomplishing Singapore’s economic goals has been made clear by the government, and the MoE has demonstrated success in the teaching and learning of the standard form. The data from this study suggest that it may be time for critical linguistics to celebrate victory and move on (see section 5.4.6). Perhaps the same exhortation could be given to well-meaning school leadership.

School leadership reflects the assertion of the state that Singlish, by its presence alone, serves to weaken proficiency in the standard form of English, and with it the Republic's economic prospects. It follows then, that the government cannot accept the notion of a coexistent relationship of diglossia between Singlish and English (Wee, 2005). This assumption, however, flies in the face of a significant body of research on the subject of the role of dialects in learning the standard. Siegel's (1999a) survey of the literature did not find evidence that use of non-standard varieties in the classroom negatively impacted the learning of the standard variety, and concluded that the evidence demonstrated the opposite.

Mutual prejudice between users of standard and non-standard language varieties is of course nothing new: the ancient Greeks found fodder for stereotypes in dialects of the standard variety (Corson, 2001). Regional speech variations are utilized as material for television comedy sketches throughout the world, including Singapore. A key difference is when such variations are part of official language policy.

In tracing the development of officially sanctioned bias against non-standard varieties, Corson (2001) describes an 'ideology of correctness', where policy prescribed by the state ascribes a higher prestige to the standard. The use of the standard variety in official state roles and functions – including education and educational assessment – ensures its higher legitimacy. Bourdieu's theory of symbolic capital and its many forms finds in the process of standard language legitimisation an outcome whereby all other linguistic practices are measured against the standard (1991). The discourse of language standardisation is laden with the politics of power and its distribution (Fairclough, 1989). Silver (2005) finds these power politics at work in the development of Singapore's language policy, evidenced, among other things, through debates about standardisation.

Since the state confers legitimacy to a language variety through its use in official roles, schools are then charged with the effective teaching and learning of the standard. Educational leadership then exercises this power, granted *de facto* by the state, to impose one language variety over another on learners. In describing the lower middle class of French society, Bourdieu noted the tendency of over-correction in linguistic matters, as part of an effort to maintain a position within class structure power distribution (1991, p. 63). This may be an accurate description of a similar situation in Singapore. Throughout the researcher's teacher training experience in Singapore and Malaysia, sharp debate among local teachers has been observed over what might seem to outsiders to be relatively insignificant matters of English usage (see section 1.1). Again, while the maintenance of power relations is evident in such a situation, it does not seem to be – contrary to what might be expected in native-speakerism – administered through the external cultural chauvinism of the expatriate native-speakerists. 'Correct' English seems to function in these situations as quite hotly contested 'linguistic capital' in which local users gain access to symbolic and/or material profit (Bourdieu, 1986, 1991). The expatriate trainers in these instances tended to interpret these debates over seemingly inconsequential matters of usage as issues of language alone; the researcher suspects they may represent much more. The researcher's observation was that intra-language – rather than inter- language – discrimination (Wee, 2005) was an apt description for these instances.

It seems obvious that students who enter school with greater access to the standard variety encounter less discrimination than learners who, for various reasons, have more limited access. Schools, eager for the recognition by credentials characteristic of academic learning, measure correctness by the standard variety for, among other reasons, ease of processing and ranking students (Corson, 2001). It has been argued that the linguistic capital to be had through

education in a standard variety is not equally accessible to all, despite the assertions of enthusiastic educationists that social factors are defused through the meritocratic process.

Bourdieu observed that education tends to replicate the very conditions it previously generated.

The foundational work of Labov (1972a, 1972b) in reference to American non-standard varieties of English, demonstrated both that the non-standard forms have their own conventions for usage and that educational assessment of the standard, therefore, must be decoupled from the role of the non-standard (see also Godley, et al., 2006). The use of non-standard varieties serves an important function in class solidarity (A. D. Edwards, 1997). While it is not being put forward, as Bruthiaux quips, ‘that Singapore schools teach Singlish for academic purposes’ (2010, p. 95), the employment of CSE in the instruction of the standard variety could well offer many Singapore students, especially from neighbourhood schools, more equitable access to the standard.

The suggestion of native-speakerism is that disadvantaging of speakers of a non-standard variety is likely to be characteristic of the users of the standard. Certainly there is plenty of evidence of this phenomenon to be found in the field of ELT. However, native-speakerism seems to provide an incomplete explanation of the data gathered in this study. Self-identified NNS EL teachers earn linguistic capital through a prevailing ‘ideology of correctness’ (Corson, 2001; Milroy, 2001) at work in Singapore’s educational culture, and stand to gain symbolic power from the ‘correct’ application of an exonormative variety.

Heller’s (1995) study of the paradoxical power relations inherent in the discussion of standard French in Canada is pertinent here. The vernacular of working-class francophones, international French (to describe L2 speakers of French), and the standard language of the school intersect in a complex interplay of symbolic power relations. Heller describes a situation where

students must master a standard and de-contextualised form of language, yet an assortment of contact varieties are central to identity as a French Canadian. The students manage the contradiction, as do many students (and teachers) in Singapore neighbourhood schools, through various means of code-switching. She argues that the monolingual and standardization ideology driving school policy serves primarily to advance the interests of a bilingual elite; ironically, working-class francophone children, whose interests monolingual French schools are intended to safeguard, are disadvantaged by such an approach. As educated francophones move from subordinate to superior positions in institutional settings, positional legitimacy is asserted through an appeal to the threat of Anglicization. This puts francophones in a paradoxical situation when it comes to a policy of French monolingualism in schools and its negative effect on other languages: legitimacy is threatened if one simultaneously fights language hegemony with language hegemony!

As noted previously, insistence by school leadership on banning Singlish has proven to be largely ineffective. Students who have access to StdE collaborate (mostly) with school policy, but those who lack proficiency often do not. A persistent appeal to an exonormative, often de-contextualized standard variety at the expense of a contact variety primarily acts, as with Heller's description of a francophone school in English Ontario, to preserve the interests of the power hierarchy.

School-wide bans on Singlish, however well meaning and intuitively correct, contradict a considerable body of research on the use of non-standard forms in the classroom. In an extensive survey of studies on the classroom function of stigmatized language varieties, Siegel (1999b) found no basis for the notion that utilization of a non-standard form inhibited learning of

the standard, and the research suggested positive results when the non-standard variety was employed.

Corson (2001) argues that the full inclusion of speakers of non-standard varieties into the educational mainstream classroom will require critical discussions on issues of language, identity and power by *students*. He suggests a list of nine characteristics of a curriculum that actively embraces language variation in the classroom (pp. 94-5). Approaches to bringing students into critical engagement with matters of language ideology have been documented elsewhere (e.g., Bloome, Carter, Christian, Otto, & Shuart-Faris, 2005; Godley, et al., 2006), and will be discussed further in the section that follows.

5.4.8 Singlish as a resource

One study participant, Bernice*, illustrates some of her own classroom practices in employing a non-standard variety as a resource in the teaching of the standard variety.

Interviewer: Can they [your students] tell the difference between Standard English and Singlish?

Bernice: I don't think so. The better ones would be able to tell, you know, if I go to the better classes I point it, I show them some um, I got the, I'll get some sentences of talkingcock.com and they will laugh at it you know some sentences they'll laugh at, that shows they have some awareness, but um, but the weaker students I don't think they have very much of an idea, lah. Yah.

Interviewer: I'm interested you...you...you take some sentences from talkingcock.com and show them to the students. And, um what's your ... what's your purpose in that?

Bernice: OK. I want to highlight to them like ok their common usage, um like where are you going? They'll say "you go where?" This is basically Chinese. "Ni qi na li" it's basically Chinese. You see the talkingcock.com would have sentences like this. It's hard for me to think offhand but they have a lot of examples there so I take it from there and show it to them. And then tell them what is the difference between Singlish and English. And explain and try to explain to them what is Singlish. Yah, hope hopefully will make them be more aware of it.

As well as drawing attention to the differences between CSE and StdE in writing, Bernice also utilizes spoken language to teach the standard variety.

Bernice: Ok...um... I teach – ok - I teach the graduating classes, so they have the O-levels have this component called oral right, the conversation you have to talk to examiner, so what I'll do I'll record them.

Interviewer: You record them.

Bernice: I record them and then I'll play it in class for everybody to hear.

Interviewer: You record like...uh... practice exam? A practice oral exam?

Bernice: Yes. right. OK, at this moment now I'm doing I'm just making them read aloud, ok, but slowly I'll make them record their conversation, I'll record the picture description and let them listen to themselves. Yah their own I think it's important that they hear themselves speak because they don't very often they do things without being, having self-awareness.

Interviewer: That's a great idea. So you play a recording in class and then what?

Bernice: I'll pick some recordings you know I'll collect from all there I'll listen I'll give them a break then I'll pick out the ones that I already want to highlight and tell them what they think of this, have you heard this sentence structure, what is it. Discuss with them. Yah, because they'll be penalized heavily for speaking improper English for exam and will it will scare them too, it's a powerful tool. O-levels is very powerful.

Siegel (1999a) summarizes arguments for using dialects in support of the learning of the standard that have centred on impediments for students :

- 1) negative attitudes and ignorance of teachers;
- 2) negative attitudes and self image of the students themselves because of denigration of their speech and culture;
- 3) repression of self-expression because of the need to use an unfamiliar form of language; and
- 4) difficulty in acquiring literacy in a second language or dialect (pp. 509-510).

In this researcher's experience, the above descriptions accurately depict the plight of many learners from Singapore neighbourhood schools.

Discussing ways to better utilize African-American dialect in improving student scholastic success, Rickford (2005) outlines three approaches. The first he calls a 'Linguistically Informed Approach' where teachers are taught to make a distinction between reading errors and pronunciation differences (p. 27). Students reading aloud may decode a word according to dialect pronunciation and therefore 'misread' it. Some Singapore students, for example, may seem to 'misread' final consonants; in fact CSE often leaves word-final consonants unvoiced in speech.

Rickford also suggests a tool already employed by Bernice as described above: contrastive analysis. Bernice's use of contrastive analysis for pedagogical purposes in highlighting differences between a standard and non-standard variety has been effectively employed in other contexts (Fogel & Ehri, 2000; Godley, et al., 2006; Wheeler, 2005). Taylor (1989) compared a control group of children taught without any mention of Ebonics with a group where contrastive analysis was utilized to underline differences between the students' dialect and the standard form required for the purposes of the school. The results showed a dramatic decrease in the use of non-standard forms as evidenced in writing. Rickford reports of positive results in other, similar contexts (2005).

Third, Rickford suggests that beginning reading be taught in vernacular forms, followed by a switch to reading in the standard form at a later time. Impressive results were shown among children using 'Bridge' readers in African American English (Rickford, 2005). Such approaches to minority dialects are sometimes called 'accommodation' programs (Siegel, 1999b, 2007): they often make use of creative writing, storytelling or music using the dialect of the home. The creoles of the Commonwealth Caribbean and Aboriginal English in Western Australia have been employed in this regard (Siegel, 2007). Studies of texts by authors who employ varietal forms in

their writing is an example of an accommodative strategy of harnessing the localized variety for instructional purposes. As one letter to Singapore's *The Straits Times* newspaper put it in discussing Singapore literature that used Singlish: 'The word and expressions used in the context are meaningful to local readers and they conjure up images in a way that non-local lexicon cannot. Moreover, it makes the story more convincing and authentic ...' (quoted in Wee, 2005, p. 57). Michael Chiang's *Army Daze* (1985), to cite just one of many examples of literature employing Singlish dialogue, expresses locality in such a way. Empowering students to make such connections provides, in this researcher's view, a rich educational resource.

In the 'world untouched by reality' (Schiffman, 2006) of curriculum planning, the researcher is not optimistic that such initiatives, which require at first an open admission of the prevalence of Singlish in the city-state's English Language classrooms, would be taken up. Though 'self-congratulations abound' at the MoE (Rubdy, 2010, p. 225), 20% of students are considered at risk of not completing secondary school, and of those, 90% are from the Normal Technical stream (P. S. K. Ho, 2012). The deliberate incorporation of CSE into lessons for Normal Technical students, including reading lessons, is an intriguing possibility given the history of this stream's low scholastic achievements.

The researcher suspects such efforts are already underway in Singapore, utilized by teachers who are forced to employ these strategies covertly in the face of school-wide bans on Singlish, a language engineering policy which is proving to be effective as disseminated by SGEM, and tacit denial of CSE's existence by educational officials. As will be highlighted in section 5.5.3, future research is recommended, perhaps by case study, to understand ways in which this negotiation between standard and non-standard is being managed by Singapore teachers.

5.4.9 Critical discussions of language

As alluded to previously, SGEM may well claim success in its efforts to assert the significance of StdE in the Republic's economic aims. The importance of an internationally intelligible form of English in maintaining Singapore's position in an increasingly globalized world was a point not lost on study participants. But is there another way to incorporate CSE into the discussion?

In considering how to move schools beyond an ideology of correctness, Corson (2001) argues that *critical* discussions of language variety ought to be part of instruction in the standard. In order for students to begin to look with a critical eye at the historical setting in which language becomes standardized, Corson suggests that learners examine how various language varieties came to be associated with prestige while others did not. Such explorations are now part of classroom discussions when it comes to culture, race and gender, so it is not inconceivable that the subject of non-standard language be integrated in the same way. Its inclusion is not inconsistent with the scope of the curriculum, either: the 2010 EL Syllabus calls for instruction in critical assessment of written and spoken language (e.g., Reading and Viewing, LO3, LO4, pp. 43-44; Listening & Viewing, LO3, p. 27). For example, a viewing by students of Jack Neo's (2002) film, *I Not Stupid*, about a disadvantaged boy in Singapore's high-demand school system, might serve as a starting point for discussions by students of the role of education in language and power. Such 'linguistics for kids' lessons (Godley, et al., 2006, p. 34) would seem to align with the EL Syllabus aims.

A central obstruction to the implementation of critical approaches to discussions of non-standard language seems unlikely, at least based on the findings of this study, to be the hegemony of foreign native-speakerists. An important starting point, rather, would be in teacher

training: an exploration by teachers of their own attitudes toward CSE in relation to StdE, and an examination of the linguistic capital available (or unavailable) to them as educators. Earlier research on teacher attitudes to non-standard language varieties in the classroom reveals at best sociolinguistic ignorance, and at worst, prejudice (Corson, 2001; Rickford & Rickford, 1995). Teacher training in dialect awareness has shown success (Fogel & Ehri, 2006). Guskey (1986) suggests three aims for teacher training: change in teacher behaviour, enrichment of student learning, and a subsequent shift in teachers' beliefs and attitudes. Guskey's insightful ordering of the aims implies that a demonstrable augmentation to student learning is a key factor in attitudinal shift by teachers.

Godley et al (2006) posit three themes as central to teacher training in preparing educators for language variation in classrooms: meeting resistance to classroom dialect diversity, identifying issues of language, identity and power, and providing practical application of linguistic research on language variation (p. 31). Cheatham et al (2009) recommend resources for equipping teachers and parents with a better understanding of language variation in the classroom.

Teachers, of course, are understandably reticent to adopt such an approach if it is not fully endorsed by the educational hierarchy, whatever the syllabus might call for. Schiffman's (2006) characterization of Singapore language policy planning offers a clue into what might happen to a suggestion such as has been made above:

- Internal criticism is not tolerated in Singapore, so internal critics have to pussyfoot around and couch criticism in coded terms.
- Foreigners can critique things, but are mostly ignored.
- Academics such as those at NIE are aware of the problems, but are ignored.
- MOE and the Curriculum Development Board live in a world untouched by reality.

It would seem, then, that the kind of critical dialogue called for by Alim (2005) between sociolinguists and educators is needed at the top levels of curriculum planning. The ‘world untouched by reality’ as described above would do well to avail itself both with some of the insights of sociolinguistics and closer attention to how CSE actually functions in the classroom. The idea that a standard language exists, and which should shape and direct usage, is, of course, an ideological one (Milroy, 2001). Government leadership in the Republic seemingly root language policy in this ideological construct, and its effects ripple through to multiple levels of educational planning.

A previous study of the beliefs and practices of three Singaporean English teachers indicated that educators were provided little guidance on the practicalities of implementing language policy in the classroom (Farrell & Tan, 2007). Teachers in the study were unclear on what exactly constituted Standard English, and were seemingly left to their own devices to sort it out. While policy planning as expressed through SGEM has some lofty aims, the nature of their implementation on what is presumably one of the ‘front lines’ of language teaching – the classroom – is not always apparent. A past attempt to implement a large-scale training initiative in the grammar of English, for example, seemed to model a prescriptivist approach out of sync with the larger curriculum aims of language for different contexts (Kramer-Dahl, 2007; Rubdy, 2010). A discussion of what is meant by Standard English – and what is not – could, and in the researcher’s view, should form part of the critical dialogue mentioned above between academics and teachers.

5.5 Suggestions for future research

5.5.1 Extensions to the concept of native-speakerism

The choice of the term ‘native-speakerism’ is, in this researcher’s view, inadequate in describing the multifaceted web of NS/NNS power relations that characterize ELT. The term seems to imply a simplified oppressor-oppressed relationship that may obscure the complexity of all that takes place as linguistic capital is symbolically bought and sold by educational stakeholders. In fact, as was said in regard to the ideology of standard French in Francophone Canada, paradoxes abound in the relationships between the EL subject, CSE, Singaporean EL teachers, and their expatriate counterparts. As noted previously, Heller (1995), in a study of a Francophone school in English-dominated Ontario, noted that both the French language and meanings of French identity were delineated in ways that served (upward) social mobility. Those who had benefitted most from social mobility exercised their authority to ensure the perpetuation of what was labelled a ‘standard French’. This usually decontextualized and written language form served the structures of social mobility, such as university entrance. Students from French working-class backgrounds (ironically, perhaps examples of ‘bona fide’ Quebecois – whose language rights French monolingual education was intended to protect) were disadvantaged by the narrow definitions of language selected for the school setting. New immigrants also found themselves on the outside of this narrow array of language delineation. Heller went on to describe the complex set of interrelationships as those who benefit most from language choice exercise power, and the various ways in which it is accepted and/or resisted by the marginalized.

In some Singapore neighbourhood schools, StdE seems to play a similar role. It exists mainly in written form, and is largely decontextualized from much of the daily communication

needs of both students and teachers. Yet the mastery of its written form, as expressed in examination success, is a key marker for social mobility. An ‘examination culture’ is a central characteristic of the Singapore education system, and the importance of exam performance figures centrally in decisions of school administration, department leadership, and the pedagogical strategies of teachers (Cheah, 1998b). Examination results are seen by Singaporeans as a key to upward social mobility in a system of meritocracy.

In this sense then, the ability to use ‘standard English’ (in the somewhat imprecise specific sense in which it is normally used in schools) is a key marker for social class. Those, like teachers, who have benefitted from the mobility afforded by the mastery of written and decontextualized ‘standard English’ in this regard, are likely to insist on its perpetuation.

During the period of the study, the researcher encountered an anecdotal example of the over-correction Bourdieu (1991) described, with language seemingly representing symbolic capital in social mobility. In 2009, considerable staff room discussion at the school in which the researcher was placed centred on the language skills of a disgraced beauty pageant winner. A young woman’s crowning as Miss Singapore World, and subsequent dethroning, resulted in substantial media scrutiny regarding her employment history, and, more pertinent to this study, her English language proficiency (J. Lee, 2009). Singaporean teachers in the researcher’s school who added the verb *boomz* to a sentence (a word coined by the young woman during a media interview, which subsequently became subject to much public ridicule), were almost guaranteed a laugh. Informal discussions with the expatriate trainers in the study about the media buzz surrounding the young woman’s use of English revealed a certain confusion: What was all the fuss about?

This anecdote is included here as an illustration of the role of ‘standard English’ and its function as a class delineator in the Republic. The ex-Miss Singapore World was subjected to the hyper-correction Bourdieu described, and was a highly visible showpiece for the intra-language discrimination (Wee, 2005) that is a regular feature of Singapore life. Singlish is viewed as acceptable to create belonging and affinity with Singaporeans, but in positions where one is expected to represent Singapore internationally, non-standard forms are viewed as potential sources of national embarrassment. While the young woman’s English proficiency was defended by the pageant’s organizer, Singaporeans, representing the whole continuum of basilect to acrolect, ridiculed her efforts through social network channels.

Native-speakerism, then, in conceptualizing the inequalities that exist within ELT, as a model seems to fall short of encompassing the complexity of power relations at work within the context of NS/NNS interplay. Waters warns against the tendency toward a ‘reductionist stance’ where people are assigned a category and assumed to belong ‘wholesale’ to it (2007a, p. 358). By drawing upon the term ‘native-speakerism’ as a way to explicate divisions with the ELT enterprise, Holliday unwittingly recreated the binary overgeneralization he sought to avoid (see p. 385, 2006)?

Ramanathan (2005), in a study of the multitudinous ways in which English is both accommodated and resisted in the context of the Indian education system, describes an ‘assumptions nexus’: a complex web of beliefs about reality and social practices which conspire to preserve class status quo. Defining this assumptions nexus as ‘a collective syndrome of values, aspirations, perspectives, motivations, behaviours and world views that the middle class has just by the sheer virtue of being so’ (p. 6), he argues that discussions about medium of instruction of Indian education, whether ‘English-medium’ (EM) or ‘Vernacular-medium’ (VM)

must be considered against the backdrop of this nexus. This set of ideologies and practices, working alongside an educational system where they are embedded, serve, Ramanathan argues, to create a situation where ‘middle-class EM students can, to some extent, assume that the system will work for them (us) in ways that VM students cannot’ (p. 112).

Singapore English language teachers, to varying degrees, seem also to collude with an assumptions nexus of beliefs, motivations and values implanted in both the educational culture and the culture at large. Beliefs about language standards, the role of English as a class marker, government-led discourse about the direct link between English proficiency and Singapore’s economic survival, SGEM-promoted assumptions about intelligibility, a school examination culture, and doubtless many other factors interact together to fashion the maze of practices which preserve ‘Standard English’.

De Costa (2010) in an analysis of ways in which the ideology of standard language is practiced by student immigrants to Singapore, questions the notion that linguistic hegemony as administered by the state is solely responsible for the language choices made by individuals. He finds at work in the study participants’ language choices a range of competing yet intersecting forces: from macro concerns such as broader global economic realities in an era of globalization, to the linguistic demands of group work in a secondary school classroom. State-level hegemony seems to present an inadequate explanation for the complexity of these types of individual decisions related to language variety. State language policy, even as far-reaching as government policy generally attempts to be in Singapore, still does not hold complete power over language choice: a complex interplay of macro and micro factors are at work beyond the reach of the state.

And yet, to illustrate the complexity of the language choice situation, even as central gatekeepers in the preservation of language standards, EL teachers themselves seem at times to

utilize CSE as an act of resistance to the imposition of StdE. Self-identified NNS Mei describes how CSE can be used in meetings of English teachers:

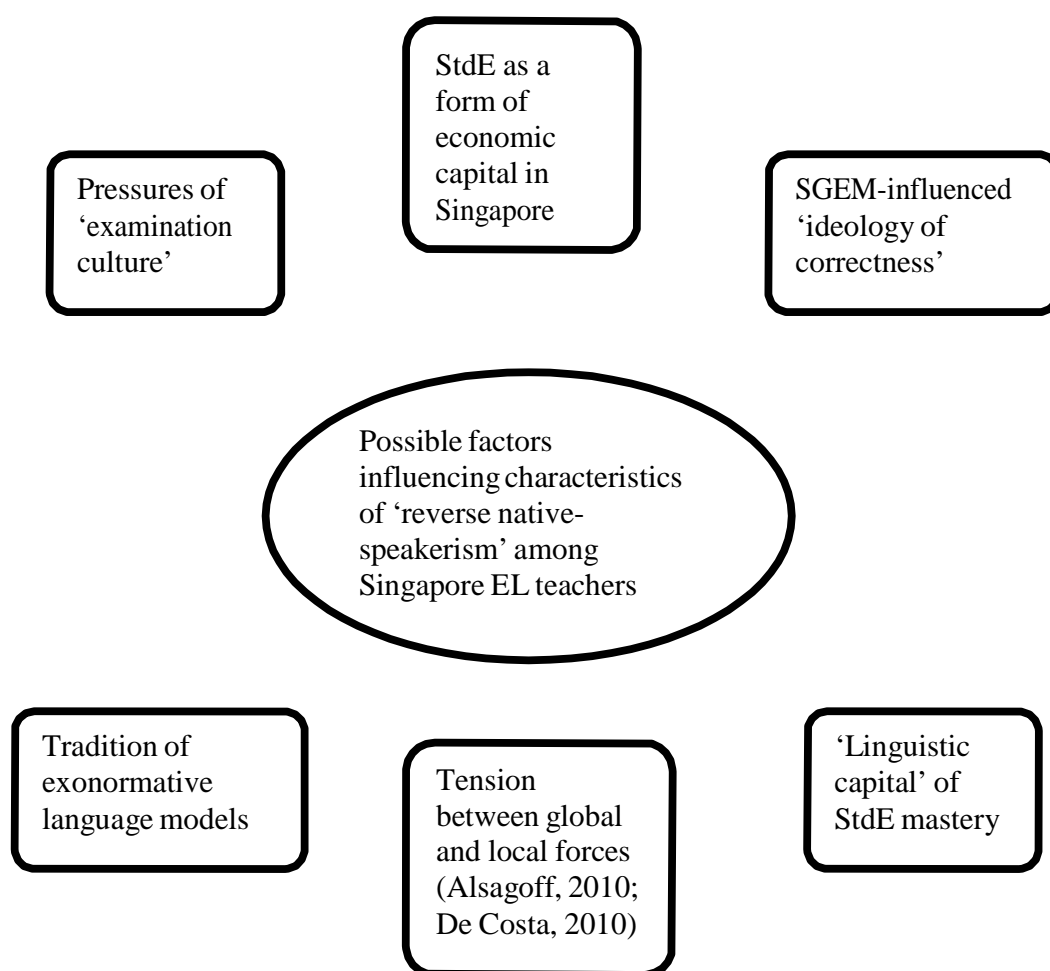
Mei: If you use Standard English, proper English, throughout the whole meeting it can be a bit boring I find. Could be so. Sometimes if you just want to wake someone up you purposely use one or two instances they'll just wake up. Because the main idea is English teachers are not supposed to use Singlish so when you use Singlish it's something unique something different. So it attracts attention.

Singlish, as a language variety 'English teachers are not supposed to use', provides a 'unique' and 'different' flavour to the meeting that 'attracts attention'. Clearly, this complexity – where EL teachers both conspire in an assumption nexus to preserve a class marker and yet employ a non-standard variety in a seeming act of resistance – call into question the apparent reductionism of native-speakerism.

What influences might be brought to bear on Singaporean English Language teachers as they practice elements of a 'reverse native-speakerism' as suggested by the data in this present study? The tradition of exonormative language models comes into play. Certainly, the prevailing ideology of correctness (Corson, 2001) that is layered throughout Singapore public discourse in relation to English, and makes up the bulk of SGEM's annual campaign content, is an important factor. So is the linguistic capital that teachers stand to gain from asserting their own mastery of the standard variety. A tension between the external forces of globalization and a desire for social identity expressed linguistically (Alsagoff, 2007, 2010a, 2010b) might also impact language variety negotiation and selection (DeCosta, 2010). The widely held presumed relationship between the instrumentality of English in employment success, making the standard variety a form of economic capital (Silver, 2005) also would figure in classroom instructional language choices. The examination culture (Cheah, 1998a) is a critical factor as well; the reality is that the intended focus of 'Thinking Schools, Learning Nation' has not yet superseded the

preference for success in written examinations as a central feature of Singapore's education system. An assumption of language hegemony by external 'native-speakerists' suggests, then, an inherently inadequate explanation for the complexity of factors swaying attitudes toward a local variety. Figure 23, below, illustrates some areas for consideration in future investigations of 'reverse native-speakerism' in relation to CSE.

Figure 23: Possible factors influencing characteristics of 'reverse native-speakerism' by Singapore EL teachers – directions for research



5.5.2 Case studies: approaches to the non-standard in the teaching of the standard

As noted previously, positive results have been reported on the use of a vernacular variety in the teaching and learning of the standard (Rickford, 2005; Rickford & Rickford, 1995; Siegel, 1999b, 2007). It follows then that another avenue for potential research is cases where CSE is being used by educators for teaching StdE, an area that does not yet have wide coverage in the research literature, and is infrequently mentioned in discussions of CSE (Bokhorst-Heng, 2005). In the context of considering how teacher beliefs align with classroom practices, Farrell and Tan (2007) utilized a case study methodology to examine ways that three Singapore primary school teachers approached Singlish in the classroom, as evidenced by their feedback practices. A case study in the context of social research has been defined as ‘an intensive investigation of a single unit’ (Gilgun, 1994, p. 371). Yin (2009) defines a case study as a method of inquiry that ‘investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident’ (p. 18). Singapore teachers, especially those in neighbourhood schools, regularly navigate such boundaries: attempting to teach a standard variety, in an environment where the local variety predominates, often under an official school-wide ban on the use of the local variety, within the constraints of a prevailing examination culture. How Singapore teachers negotiate this sometimes treacherous terrain, alternating between compliance and resistance, points to some interesting directions as a prospect for future research.

Such case study investigations of approaches to classroom Singlish might help alleviate the burden teachers often encounter through tacit resistance to an impractical and even unhelpful school ban on CSE. Singlish happens, and to maintain the facade at official levels that it is not a part of everyday school and classroom life is accomplishing little. Further case studies

highlighting strategies used in harnessing Singlish in the teaching of StdE is an approach much more in line with reality.

5.5.3 Effects of teacher preparation on dialect diversity to classroom practice

Godley et al (2006) call for the implementation of a number of strategies which, they argue, will equip teachers with sociolinguistic understandings of the power relations inherent in dialect and language along with methods for incorporating these understandings into classroom practice, resulting in more effective preparation for dealing with classroom language diversity. These include such schemes as teacher education that speaks to concerns of language and power, practical applications of relevant sociolinguistic research, teacher courses emphasizing language variety as a potential resource, and a reorientation to a contrastive rather than a solely corrective approach to student errors. The actual working out of recommendations such as these in Singapore classrooms, as shown previously, is entirely consistent with the aims of the present EL Syllabus. The authors conclude their discussion with a call for further research.

Additional research is needed that follows pre-service and in-service teachers into the classroom to see how their teaching practices are affected by the teacher preparation that we call for and by revised language ideologies (Godley, et al., 2006, p. 35).

Again, however, an initial obstacle to pursuing this research direction might be the aforementioned curriculum planning ‘world untouched by reality’ (Schiffman, 2006) where a combination of ignorance and denial serves to keep CSE out of the discussion.

Two potential research directions present themselves in light of the authors’ suggestions. The first would be to survey Singapore teacher preparation in this regard. To what extent do questions of language, identity and power figure in language teacher pre- and in-service training?

Are discussions of dialect diversity in relation to Singlish included in teacher preparation? If so, to what degree? Are pedagogical strategies for employing CSE modelled to would-be and current language teachers?

The second research direction follows the first. Assuming that applications of relevant sociolinguistic research are a feature of pre-/in-service training, as the authors ask, in what ways are teaching practices being influenced by the proposed forms of teacher training? Does appreciation for the range of proficiency in SSE, as asserted in pre-service training, manifest itself in Singapore classrooms?

5.6 Summary

This chapter drew upon the conceptual frameworks covered in the literature review to interpret the findings of the study. The chapter situated the results of the study in a large body of literature on Singaporean English, the World Englishes paradigm, and non-standard language varieties in educational policy and practice, and Holliday's conception of native-speakerism. The findings suggest that both SGEM and the WE paradigm have had an impact on attitudinal variation toward an indigenized variety of English, the former to NNS EL teachers in Singapore, who evidenced negative views of CSE, and the latter on their expatriate NS counterparts, who were more favourable toward this variety. The data collected in this study also illustrates ways in which CSE is being used as a resource for EL teaching. While native-speakerism does describe an observable phenomenon within ELT, it was found inadequate in explaining the findings of this present study. Intra-language discrimination and Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital were considered as possible explanations, among others, for the 'reverse native-speakerism' found in this investigation. The chapter concluded with three directions for future research: potential

areas to extend and elaborate on the conception of native-speakerism so as to fully include all dimensions involved in the phenomenon, a case study approach regarding CSE in Singapore classrooms, and studies measuring the effects of teacher preparation on approaches to classroom CSE specifically, and non-standard language varieties in general.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Notes to the participants – questionnaire/interview

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research survey. The purpose of this questionnaire is to investigate attitudes toward the use of Singlish in the classroom. Here are some important things to know regarding your participation in this research project.

- 1 Your participation is completely voluntary. You may withdraw your participation at any time, without explanation, and any data gathered from your participation will be permanently destroyed.
- 2 This is an anonymous questionnaire – please do not identify yourself in any other part of the questionnaire.
- 3 All individual data will be kept completely confidential. Your questionnaire answers will only ever be referred to by a numerical code. After the data has been gathered, analysed and the final report has been written, individual participant records will be destroyed.
- 4 You will be asked to provide a code number to identify your school (see Question 19). After the data has been collected, the key to this code will be changed, and will be known only by the researchers. It will be impossible for anyone to connect your answers with the school you teach at.
- 5 Individual questionnaire answers will not, under any circumstances, be shown to reporting officers or school leadership.
- 6 A report on the *overall* findings will be presented. This report will be made available to all research participants.
- 7 You are welcome to contact the researcher with any comments, questions or concerns, by email: greg.tweedie@cfbtsingapore.org, or by telephone: +65 8355 6240.
- 8 Should you have any concern about the conduct of this research project, please contact the USQ Ethics Officer, Office of Research & Higher Degrees, University of Southern Queensland, West Street, Toowoomba QLD 4350, Telephone (07) 4631 2690, email: ethics@usq.edu.au.

I understand the above conditions, and agree to participate in this research questionnaire.

Name

Signature

Date

Appendix 2: Questionnaire – Singlish in the classroom

The findings from this questionnaire will make up part of a research project investigating the views on the use of ‘Singlish’ in the classroom. Please do not identify yourself – this is an anonymous questionnaire. All individual data will be handled confidentially, but we would be happy to share our overall findings with you if you’d like.

SECTION A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

- 1 Are you _____ male? _____ female?
- 2 Your age group is
 _____20 – 30 _____30 – 40 _____40 – 50 _____50 – 60 _____60+
- 3 In total, how many years have you been teaching?
 __Less than 1 year 1-3 years 4-6 years 7-9 years 10 or more years
- 4 How many years have you taught **English** in secondary schools?
 __Less than 1 year 1-3 years 4-6 years 7-9 years 10 or more years
- 5 How many years have you taught **English** in primary schools?
 __Less than 1 year 1-3 years 4-6 years 7-9 years 10 or more years
- 6 How many years have you taught in situations where the **majority** of students in the class did not have English as their first language?
 __Never less than 1 year 1-3 years 4-6 years 7-9 years 10 or more years
- 7 Including your home country, in how many different countries have you worked as an English teacher? ____1 ____2-3 ____4-5 ____6 or more
- 8 Was more than one language spoken in your home when you were between 0 – 6 years of age?
 ____Yes ____No
 a) If yes, which language(s)? _____
- 9 Would you consider yourself a ‘native speaker of English’? ____Yes ____No
- 10 What, in your own words, is a ‘native speaker of English’? _____

- 11 What, in your own words, is ‘Singlish’? _____

12 In which country or countries did you receive

a) your primary level education? _____

b) your secondary level education? _____

13 What was the language of instruction:

a) for your primary level education? _____

b) for your secondary level education? _____

14 What is your highest level of education?

_____secondary

_____diploma in education

_____diploma (other fields) Subject: _____

_____undergraduate degree Major: _____

_____undergraduate degree (other fields) Subject: _____

_____postgraduate diploma: education-related

_____postgraduate diploma (other fields) Subject: _____

_____master's degree: education-related

_____master's degree (other fields) Subject: _____

_____doctorate degree: education-related

_____doctorate degree (other fields) Subject: _____

- 15 How many years, **after** your secondary education, have you studied in preparation to become a teacher?

☐ Less than 1 year ☐ 1-3 years ☐ 4-6 years ☐ 7-9 years ☐ 10 or more years

- 16 Had you taught English in Singapore before your current assignment?

☐ Yes ☐ No

- a) If Yes, for how many years?

☐ Less than 1 year ☐ 1-3 years ☐ 4-6 years ☐ 7-9 years ☐ 10 or more years

- 17 Are you currently teaching the subject of English Language to:

☐ Secondary 1? ☐ Secondary 2? ☐ Secondary 3?

☐ Secondary 4? ☐ Secondary 5? ☐ other?

- 18 Which best describes your current teaching role?

☐ English subject teacher ☐ Teacher Consultant ☐ Head of Department (English)
☐ Vice Principal ☐ Principal

- 19 Your two-digit school code is (refer to the box below): _____

- | | |
|----|----------------------------------|
| 1 | - [SCHOOL NAMES OMITTED AFTER |
| 2 | - SURVEY COMPLETION FOR PURPOSES |
| 3 | - OF CONFIDENTIALITY] |
| 4 | - |
| 5 | - |
| 6 | - |
| 7 | - |
| 8 | - |
| 9 | - |
| 10 | - |
| 11 | - |
| 12 | - |
| 13 | - |
| 14 | - |
| 15 | - |
| 16 | - |
| 17 | - |
| 18 | - |
| 19 | - |
| 20 | - |
| 21 | - |
| 22 | - |
| 23 | - |
| 24 | - |
| 25 | - |
| 26 | - |

SECTION B: YOUR VIEWS ON THE USE OF SINGLISH IN THE CLASSROOM

In this section of the questionnaire, you will be asked about your views on the use of Singlish in the English language classroom in Singapore schools.

Below are some statements related to the use of Singlish. Decide to what extent you agree with them.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----|
| Strongly disagree | - 1 |
| Disagree | - 2 |
| Neither agree, nor disagree | - 3 |
| Agree | - 4 |
| Strongly agree | - 5 |

- | | | | | | | |
|----|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Singlish is acceptable in informal situations. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2 | Singlish is acceptable in classroom situations. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3 | My students cannot tell the difference between Standard English and Singlish. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4 | I always expect my students to speak Standard English during lessons. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5 | It is appropriate for a teacher to use Singlish in the classroom to explain especially difficult concepts. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6 | It is appropriate for a teacher to use Singlish to help build rapport with students. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 7 | Foreign teachers should learn to use some Singlish so as to build rapport with students. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 8 | Students need to be proficient in Standard English to succeed in Singapore. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 9 | Students need to be proficient in Standard English because they are taking Cambridge O level exams. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 10 | I correct my students when they speak Singlish during lessons. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 11 | It is appropriate for a teacher to use Singlish in the classroom in order to save time. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 12 | Singlish should be eradicated. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 13 | English teachers should model Standard English only. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 14 | If students are allowed to speak Singlish, they will use Singlish forms in their written work as well. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 15 | Singlish is a 'legitimate' variety of English, just as American English or Australian English are. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 16 | Teachers should immediately correct students when | | | | | |

they speak Singlish during lessons.	1	2	3	4	5
17 Singlish can be a resource for teaching Standard English.	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	- 1				
Disagree	- 2				
Neither agree, nor disagree	- 3				
Agree	- 4				
Strongly agree	- 5				
18 Singlish should not be allowed in schools at all.	1	2	3	4	5
19 In Singapore, Standard English means 'British English'.	1	2	3	4	5
20 Singlish is an important part of Singaporean identity.	1	2	3	4	5
21 Speaking Singlish is trendy and fashionable.	1	2	3	4	5
22 Singlish is appropriate for students to use with peers during recess or outside of school hours.	1	2	3	4	5
23 It is appropriate for a teacher to use Singlish when dealing with student discipline problems.	1	2	3	4	5
24 One of Singapore's political leaders said, 'Singlish is a handicap we must not wish on Singaporeans'. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?	1	2	3	4	5

Thank you for your participation!

Appendix 3: Semi-structured interview questions

Central research question (CRQ), theory questions (TQ) and interview questions (IQ)
(Wengraf, 2001, p. 81-92)

CRQ: In what ways do native and non-native speaking English teachers in Singapore differ in their attitudes toward Singlish in the classroom?

TQ1: Do NS/NNS English teachers see Singlish as a 'legitimate' variety of English?

IQ(a): What do you think 'Singlish' is?

IQ(b): How do you think 'Singlish' is different from 'Standard English'?

TQ2: Do NS/NNS English teachers see Singlish as a hindrance to Singapore's economic goals?

IQ(c): To what extent do you think Singlish is a limitation for Singaporean students? How?

IQ(d): Do you think Singlish limits Singaporeans in general? In what ways?

IQ(e): One Singapore politician said, 'Singlish is a handicap we must not wish on Singaporeans.' Do you agree? Why or why not?

TQ3: Do NS/NNS English teachers see Singlish as a hindrance to the learning of Standard English?

IQ(f): How would you define 'Standard English'?

IQ(g): Can you comment on how you think Singlish might affect your students as they learn Standard English? Can you provide some examples?

TQ4: Do NS/NNS English teachers see Singlish as a resource for the learning of Standard English?

IQ(h): Have you found any benefits from students using Singlish in the classroom?

What are they?

IQ(i): In what situations do you use Singlish in the classroom? Is it effective? In what ways?

TQ5: Do NS/NNS English teachers differ in their strategies toward Singlish in the classroom?

IQ(j): How do you normally deal with students speaking Singlish in the classroom? (For example: you ask a question in Standard English and the student answers the question using Singlish.) Can you give some examples? How effective do you think your approach is?

Appendix 4: Checklist of possible semi-structured interview questions
(Patton, 1990; Wengraf, 2001)

QUESTIONS	PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE
about behaviours/experiences	IQ(j)	IQ(i)	
about feelings	IQ(h)		
about knowledge		IQ(a), (b)	
about sensory events			
demographic questions			
about opinions or values		IQ(c)	IQ(d), (e)
about anything else (added by Wengraf)			

Footnotes

*Bernice was anomaly in the data, and therefore was included only anecdotally in the study's results. Although she identified herself as a NNS EL teacher in comments to her TC and to the researcher in the semi-structured interview, she indicated on the questionnaire that she was a NS teacher.

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