Hasan Ali Yücel Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi
Sayı 15 (2011-1), 21-48

A SUCCESSFUL NON-NATIVE ENGLISH SPEAKER[1]

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ABSTRACT

The competencies of nonnative speakers have been revisited and as a consequence of globalization the focus has shifted from communicative competence to intercultural communicative competence over the last two decades. As a result of new conceptual frameworks of English(es), emancipatory frameworks for defining competencies of non-native speakers have emerged in academic circles. However, it is unclear whether this theoretical shift and these emancipatory frameworks have been widely adopted in practice. The aim of this study is to present how English teachers define competence of successful nonnative English speakers. The research also has sought to determine what type of English, such as EFL or ELF, teachers endeavor to implement in their classes.

Key Words: *Communicative Competence, Intercultural Competence, English As A Lingua Franca, Intercultural Speaker.*

ÖZET

Bir dilin anadil konuşucuları olmayan kişilerin iletişim yetileri birçok kez tanımlanmış, ve küreselleşmenin bir sonucu olarak son yirmi yıl içerisinde odak iletişimsel yetiden kültürlerarası iletişimsel yetiye kaymıştır. İngilizce(ler)in yeni kavramsallaştırma modellerinin bir sonucu olarak, akademik alanda, bir dilin anadil konuşucuları olmayan kişilerin iletişim yetilerini tanımlayan özgürlükçü modeller ortaya çıkmıştır. Ancak kuramsal bakıştaki bu değişimin ve özgürlükçü modellerin pratikte karşılığını bulup bulmadığı çok net değildir. Bu çalışmanın amacı, İngilizce öğretmenlerinin anadil konuşucuları olmayan kişilerin iletişim yetilerini nasıl tanımladıklarını sunmaktır. Bu araştırma aynı zamanda çalışmaya katılan İngilizce öğretmenlerinin kendi sınıflarında hangi İngilizce'yi, örneğin yabancı dil olarak İngilizce ya da lingua franca olarak İngilizce'yi mi, öğretmeye çalıştıklarını da ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamıştır.

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[1] *A limited version of this paper, entitled " What's a successful EFL/ESL Speaker?", was presented at the 44th Annual International IATEFL Conference, Harrogate, UK, April 8, 2010.*

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Anahtar Sözcükler: *İletişimsel Yeti, Kültürlerarası Yeti, Lingua Franca Olarak İngilizce, Kültürlerarası Konuşucu.*

Introduction

The turn of the 21st century has witnessed a marked shift in the status of English with the rapid increase in the flow of information. The impact of English in the world is pervasive. English language has gained a global status and English language learning has become mandatory. The existence of Englishes all over the world has resulted in new conceptualizations of English that has impact on language policy and pedagogy in general, and on the definition of a successful nonnative English speaker in particular. Together with the global status of English, the competence of English speakers has been revisited and redefined in the scholarly literature. In theoretical circles, we have witnessed a shift of focus from communicative competence to intercultural communicative competence and a shift of perspective from native-speakerism to more emancipatory frameworks over the last two decades. However, have these theoretical shifts been widely adopted in practice? How do English teachers define a successful nonnative English speaker? What type of English do they aim at? To this end, this paper presents the results of a case study conducted with native-English speaking teachers in the United States and non-native-English speaking teachers in Turkey. In Section I, the historical development of the conceptualization of English, the definitions of successful English speakers, and emancipatory frameworks proposed for non-native English speakers are discussed. Section II is devoted to the case study and its results.

The Historical Development of the Conceptualization of English as a World Language

Starting with the expansion of the British Isles Ireland, Scotland and the Wales between the 11th and the 19th centuries, and then the implantation of English settlers in North America, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand between the 17th and the 19th centuries, English language became native language of seven countries (Mollin, 2006:11). The historical expansion of English continued with 'the forced acquisition of English in Asia, Africa, Caribbean, and the Pacific region' between the 16th and the 20th centuries (Kachru, 1992:231; Mair, 1995:11), which Mollin (2006:16) calls the imperial stage III. The spread of English has still continued econoculturally[2] since the

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[2] *Quirck's (1988) language spread model is based on three types of spread; 1. The demographic spread 2. Econocultural spread 3. Imperial models (Molin, 2006:14)*

20th century as a result of cultural and economic power of English which, in turn, has brought it a global status. Mollin (2006), in her book entitled Euro-English, named these four phases of spread of English as imperial (stage I), demographic (stage II), imperial (stage III), and econocultural (stage IV).

The spread of English over the last 10 centuries resulted in relatively different Englishes around the globe. The scholars proposed various models to conceptualize the Englishes used. One of the well-known models was presented by Quirck et al. (1972). They distinguish English into three with respect to the countries language is used; English as a native language (ENL), English as a second language (ESL), English as a foreign language (EFL). Kachru's (1985) model of English on the globe attracted attention in the scholarly field. In his model, Kachru (1985: 12) views English in terms of three concentric circles and names them the inner circle, the outer circle (the extended circle),and the expanding circle. He also states that inner circle is norm-providing, outer circle is norm-developing, and expanding circle is norm-dependent. Kachru's three concentric circle model has been exposed to both appreciation and criticism. His model was ground-breaking since it helped the recognition of ESLs such as Indian English and Singapore English to be perceived as Englishes in their own rights that develop their own norms (norm-developing) (Jenkins 2007:1, McKay 2002:50-1). Kachru (1985), proposing an emancipatory framework for ESL countries, attracted criticism for disregarding the status of English in the expanding circle countries (Jenkins 2003, Jenkins 2007, Mollin 2006, Seidlhofer 2007) by defining the expanding circle countries as norm-dependent and the English used in these countries as "exonormative" (Jenkins, 2007:14). However, it should also be mentioned that, as Medgyes (1994:6) states

> "Kachru (1982) warns that they (three concentric circles) should not be regarded as closed sets, but rather as a spectrum of Englishes. Under favourable conditions norm-developing countries can become norm-providing ones, whereas norm-dependent countries can turn into norm-developing ones."

In this sense, although Kachru's expanding circle was criticized for being norm-dependent, his framework is emancipatory in a sense that 'norm-dependent' countries can turn into 'norm-developers'. It should also be kept in mind that the status of English in the world showed a great difference after 1990s and the expanding circle Englishes have been reconceptualized, and Kachru's (1982, 1985) expanding circle English as exonormative and norm-dependent do not reflect the current status of English in the expanding circle. The current debate by pluricentrists on the status of English clearly proposes a lingua franca status which provides its own norms. As Mollin (2006:26) states, Kachru's model does not reflect the ELT status of English. Moreover, Kachru (1996, 2005), as Jenkins (2006:161) states, is against ELF "on the basis that

the term is not being used in its original sense, and that it is 'loaded'." Besides Quirk's (1985, 1990) and Kachru's (1990, 2005) frameworks , some newer conceptualizations of English have been proposed such as World Englishes, International English, English as an international language, Global English, English as a global language. And, the new conceptualization of English is quite confusing with respect to the terminology used in the literature. One of these well-known terms used for the current status of English is *international language*, which Seidlhofer (2004:211) criticizes since EIL sounds as if "there is one clearly distinguishable, codified, and unitary variety called International English which is not the case," (Jenkins, 2006:160). Jenkins mentions that the term "international" is confusing since sometimes it is used for Englishes used in ESL countries, sometimes both ESL and ENL countries, and sometimes expanding circle countries (Jenkins 2006:160, Jenkins 2007:2-4).

The other term that is used to define the status of English is *global language*. Crystal (1997:3) states that "a language achieves a genuinely global status when it develops a special role that is recognized in every country." Crystal (ibid.) maintains that a language has a global status if

i. .... a language can be made the official language of a country
ii. .... a language can be made a priority in a country's foreign language teaching, even though this language has no official status.

However, Jenkins (2007:4) criticizes the terms *English as a global language* or *Global Language* for being "vague as regards what type of communication they represent" and it causes a misperception that "English is spoken by everyone around the globe."

Another term used for English is *World Englishes*, and Jenkins (2006:159) states that the term, which is an "umbrella label", has three possible interpretations; it refers to all English varieties, or it refers to the outer circle Englishes, and lastly it is used with a "pluricentric approach to the study of English associated with Kachru and his colleagues and often referred to as the Kachruvian approach," (Jenkins, 2006:159).

One other term that is used to define the current status of English is *Lingua Franca*. Although the term traditionally had no native speakers, it evolved in time and new conceptualizations of the term emerged. The first conceptualization of ELF excludes its native speakers and is defined as a language used between interlocutors none of whose mother tongue is English (Jenkins, 2007:1). However, the newer conceptualizations of ELF include native speakers (Jenkins 2007:1, Seidlhofer 2007:142). Although both scholars include native speakers in their definitions they mention that not too many native English informants should be included in ELF corpus studies. According to Jenkins (2007:4) ELF "represents new manifestation of English different from

ESL and EFL." The new manifestation derives from the current status of English in the expanding circle which is used in intercultural and international encounters without a native English speaker target. However, it should be mentioned that there is no one but more emerging ELF varieties such as European Lingua Franca English (ELFE). Although it is early to claim that there is an identified linguistic reality such as ELFE, research has been conducted to define and codify it through very significant and groundbreaking studies such as Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) (http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/), English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (Mauranen, 2003), and International Corpus of English (ICE) (http://ice-corpora.net/ice/).

Table 1: The Four Phases of The Spread of English (Mollin, 2006:21) with Corresponding Conceptualization of Englishes.

	Dominant Type of Spread	Quirck et. al (1972)	Kachru (1985)	Emancipatory Frameworks
Phase I	Imperial	ENL	Inner Circle Norm-providing	ENL
Phase II	Demographic	ENL	Inner Circle Norm-providing	ENL
Phase III	Imperial	ESL	Outer Circle Norm-developing	ESL
Phase IV	Econocultural	EFL	Expanding Circle Norm-dependent	ELF Norm-developing

To sum up, the diversity in countries where English is spoken and the purposes of using English, and the demographic distribution of its speakers in the inner, outer and expanding circles have resulted in a paradigm shift in the conceptualization of English as a world language, and various frameworks have been proposed. The differences among the new frameworks defining the status of Englishes (ENL, EFL, ELF) are conceptual and linguistic, and significant to pedagogy and language policy (Seidlhofer, 2007:139). Moreover, these new frameworks are strictly related to the issue of what a successful nonnative English speaker is. In the following section, the conceptualizations of competences of nonnative speakers are presented from a chronological perspective to put forth how definitions are developed in time with respect to both how language has been defined (a linguistic perspective) and how globalization has affected English and the perception of it.

The Historical Development of Definitions of Successful English Speakers

Originating from Saussure's langue and parole distinction, Chomsky (1965) distinguished competence from performance, competence meaning 'the unconscious knowledge that speakers have of the grammatical features of the language they speak' (Foster, 1996:8), and performance was defined as the language use. Chomsky's competence attracted criticism from several scholars for focusing on grammar of idealized native speakers. As Canale and Swain (1980:3) state Chomsky's 'theory of competence is equivalent to a theory of grammar.' Hymes (1979), who also criticized Chomsky's theory of competence for being limited to theory of grammar, focused on the significance of contextual relevance and appropriateness and introduced communicative competence both embracing 'knowledge of the language system' and 'contextual and sociolinguisitic competence (knowledge of rules of language use),' (Canale and Swain, 1980:4 quoted in Hymes, 1979:13). With the further studies of Canale and Swain (1980), and Canale (1983) speaker competence was defined on the basis of four competencies.

- **Grammatical competence**, the knowledge of linguistic code features such as morphology, syntax, semantics, phonology
- **Sociolinguistic competence**, the knowledge of contextually appropriate language use
- **Discourse competence**, the knowledge of achieving coherence and cohesion in spoken or written communication
- **Strategic competence**, the knowledge of how to use communication strategies to handle breakdowns in communication and make communication effective.

Niezgoda and Roever (2001:64)

Van Ek (1986), who in his model defines the learner as an individual that improves on personal and social dimensions, added two other competencies namely sociocultural competence and social competence to Canale and Swain (1980), and Canale's (1983) framework of speaker competence.

- **Social competence:** Involves both the will and the skill to interact with others, involving motivation, attitude, self-confidence, empathy and the ability to handle social situations.
- **Sociocultural competence:** Every language is situated in a sociocultural context and implies the use of a particular reference frame which is partly different from that of the foreign language learner; socio-cultural competence presupposes a certain degree of familiarity with that context

(Aguilar, 2007:61)

Basing upon Canale and Swain (1980), and Canale (1983) framework, Van Ek (1986) emphasized the social dimension of the speaker by taking into account his/her values, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors (Aguilar, 2007:61).

In the following years, Bachman (1990) and Bachman & Palmer (1996) suggested a new framework called Communicative Language Ability. Communicative Language Ability is composed of knowledge structures, language ability, strategic competence, psychological mechanisms and context of situation. This framework takes language competence as a more complex system embracing organizational competence and pragmatic competence. Bachman (1990:87) defines organizational competence as "the abilities involved in controlling the formal structure of language for producing or recognizing grammatically correct sentences, comprehending their propositional content, and ordering them to form texts." Thus, organizational competence covers grammatical competence and textual competence. Textual competence, which refers to the knowledge of cohesion and rhetoric organization, parallels with Canale & Swain's (1980) discourse competence. Bachman, different from other scholars, assigns a stronger status to pragmatic competence that embraces illocutionary and sociolinguistic competences. He (1990:90) defines pragmalinguisitc competence as "knowledge of the pragmatic conventions for performing acceptable language functions," and sociolinguistic competence as "knowledge of the sociolinguistic conventions for performing language functions appropriately in a given context." In Bachman's model, illocutionary competence covers both the knowledge of speech acts and language functions. In this sense, a speaker of a language uses his illocutionary competence to accomplish a specific target through the use of pragmatic conventions with acceptable language functions.

Further studies on communicative competence model were carried out by Celce-Murcia et. al. (1995). In their model, actional competence which they define as 'the ability to comprehend and produce all significant speech acts and speech act sets' was defined as an inevitable competence. In this model, they also made two terminological changes and modified sociolinguistic competence as sociocultural competence to emphasize the importance of the cultural background knowledge in effective language use, and grammatical competence as linguistic competence to include the sound system and the lexicon besides grammar (Celce-Murcia, 2008:42). The model proposed by Celce-Murcia et. al. (1995) is similar to Bachman's (1990). Actional competence corresponds to Bachman's illocutionary competence as sub-competence of pragmatic competence, and sociocultural competence corresponds to sociolinguistic competence with a more cultural emphasis. In Van Ek's (1986) model, however, sociocultural competence and sociolinguistic competence are identified as two different competencies, the former referring to the knowledge of appropriate language use in a context, and the latter is the knowledge of sociocultural context. In her further study Celce-Murcia (2008) proposed a newer framework

of communicative competence embracing both the four competencies of the former model proposed by Canale and Swain (1980) and Canale (1983) and two new competences: formulaic competence and interactional competence. Celce-Murcia (2008:47) states that 'formulaic competence refers to those fixed and prefabricated chunks of language that speakers use heavily in everyday interactions,' such as routines, collocations, idioms, and lexical frames. Interactional competence, on the other hand, is composed of actional competence, conversational competence, and nonverbal/paralinguistic competence. Conversational competence is defined as the knowledge of how to open and close conversations; establish and change topics; get, hold and relinquish the floor; and interrupt, collaborate, backchannel; and nonverbal behaviors are body language, proxemics, haptic behaviors, and non-linguistic utterances such as silence and pauses (Celce-Murcia, 2008:48-9).

The historical development of theories of speaker competence showed a shift from a theory of grammar to theory of communicative competence that prioritized social appropriateness, the importance of context and the ability to solve communication problems starting from the end of the 1970s. However, with globalization the framework of communicative competence was revisited in the 1990s as communications became more intercultural. Byram (1997:22) defines intercultural communication as interaction taking place

- between people of different languages and countries where one is native speaker of the language used;
- between people of different languages and countries where the language used is a lingua franca;
- between people of the same country but different languages, one of whom is a native speaker of the language used.

Thus, intercultural communication occurs in contexts where at least one part is a nonnative-speaker of the language used as a medium of communication. The term intercultural attracted criticism for 'inter' and its association with interlanguage. Inter', which refers to in-betweenness attracted criticism in the literature in respect to Selinker's (1969) concept of interlanguage referring to learner language. Quoted in House (2003:558) Selinker (1969;5) defines interlanguage as;

> "the observable output resulting from a speaker's attempt to produce foreign norm, i.e. , both his errors and non-errors. It is assumed that such behavior is highly structured …. and that it must be dealt with as a system, not as an isolated collection of errors"

Although defining interlanguage as a system on its own right, learner language is described as deficit-oriented, and an incomplete system. In this sense, the concept of intercultural may give similar impression such as being in

between two cultures, and developing from C1 to C2. However, as Kramsch (1998) mentions, interculturalism refers to a 'third place' "from where speakers understand and mediate between the home and the target language and culture (Aguilar, 2007:63). For this reason, House (2007:15) states that "the notion 'intercultural' would thus be liberated from a link with …. potentially deficient and norm deviant learner," and she describes intercultural speakers as "active agents organizing and managing their discourse creatively and independently," (House, 2007:15). Kramsch (1998: 16), on the other hand, describes intercultural speakers with their ability to select and use appropriate forms of the language and who have intercultural competence.

According to House (2007:17), although *communicative* has more emphasis on the linguistic side of communication and i*ntercultural* on the culture side of communication, the terms *intercultural* and *communicative* are close in meaning with respect to Hymesian perspective in which appropriateness is the key concept. However, it should be kept in mind that the change in the aim of teaching culture in language classes has affected *intercultural* and the term has resulted in a very different perception when compared to *communicative*. The aim of teaching culture "changed from promoting familiarity with the foreign culture through assisting learners to gain cultural awareness", and "fostering intercultural communication in learners to turning out intercultural beings and life-long learners of interculture," (Sercu, 2010:21). Traditional *communicative* with its linguistic, social and cultural emphasis was based upon an inner circle English whose culture was promoted in the classes. Thus, the acknowledged cultural aspects were those of the target language and, the learners' culture was either completely disregarded or considered to be in a peripheral position (Alptekin 2002:62, Aguilar 2007:62). Moreover, familiarity with culture in a traditional communicative perspective was associated with the novels, poems, plays, films, videos, advertisements of the target culture. *Intercultural* is distinct from *communicative* with respect to the target speaker it aims at. First, learners' culture is not perceived as a peripheral phenomenon, rather a starting point to achieve the target intercultural beings who are life-long learners of interculture. Moreover, significantly different from the term *communicative*, *intercultural* is not limited to traditions, customs, history, geography, novels, plays, films etc. but related to developing intercultural skills, attitudes and knowledge to assess and synthesize them (Byram, 1997). From this new perspective, Byram (1997) proposed a framework of intercultural communicative competence to define the competencies of intercultural speakers. In his model of intercultural communicative competence, he combined intercultural competence to the four competencies that were defined so far as communicative competence. His new model was affected from Van Ek's (1986) framework in the sense that intercultural competence takes into account notions such as values, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors which Van Ek (1986) emphasized the significance of these concepts by proposing socio-cultural and social competence. Byram

(1997) has no linguistic point in intercultural competence (saviors). Thus, the focus is on "skills, knowledge and attitudes other than those which are primarily linguistic," (Byram, 1997:49). However, intercultural competence cannot be separated from language competencies since interaction between cultures is part of language and language is a medium of interaction (Aguilar, 2007:65).

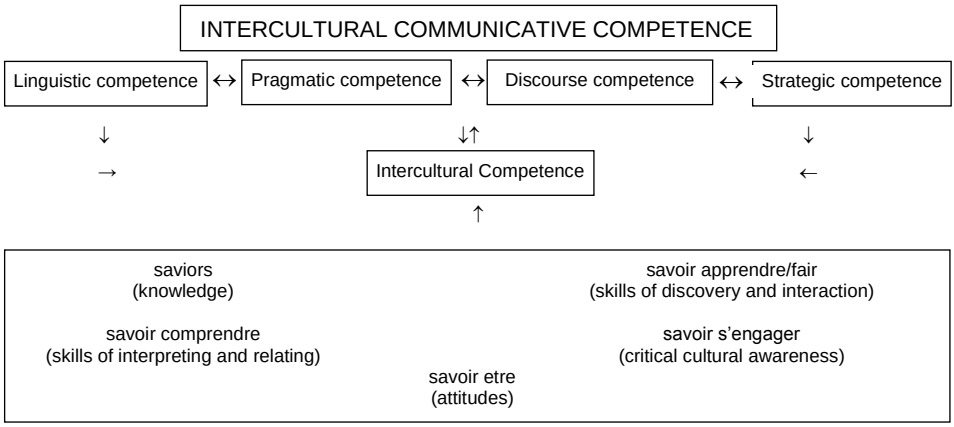

Figure 1: Intercultural Communicative Competence (Byram, 1997:73)

In his new framework illustrated in Figure 1, Byram (1997) proposes five sub-competencies of *intercultural competence* as follows;

> ***Attitudes:*** Curiosity and openness, readiness to suspend disbelief about other cultures and belief about one's own
> ***Knowledge:*** of social groups and their products and practices in one's own and in one's interlocutor's country, and of the general processes of societal and individual interaction.
> ***Skills of interpreting and relating:*** Ability to interpret a document or event from another culture, to explain it and relate it to documents from one's own.
> ***Skills of discovery and interaction:*** Ability to acquire new knowledge of a culture and cultural practices and the ability to operate knowledge, attitudes and skills under the constraints of real-time communication and interaction.
> ***Critical cultural awareness/political education:*** An ability to evaluate critically and on the basis of explicit criteria perspectives, practices and products in one's own and other cultures and countries.
>
> (Byram, 1997:51-53)

The chronological order of the frameworks proposed for defining successful L2 speakers over the last 45 years witnessed significant shifts in two intertwined domains;

a. Linguistic domain
- from accurately speaking speakers to appropriately speaking speakers in comparison to native speakers of the language
- from appropriately speaking speakers in comparison to native speakers of the language to appropriately speaking speakers of World Englishes

b. Culture domain
- *From* a culturally competent speaker defined through his familiarity with the target foreign culture *to* interculturally competent speakers with cultural awareness

These shifts in two domains resulted in emancipatory frameworks for non-native English speakers.

Emancipatory Frameworks for Non-Native English Speakers

The paradigm shift in the conceptualization of English as a world language has showed its reflections on the definitions of a successful speaker, and language competence in the sense of native speaker intuitions has left its place to successful communicator, and a new era 'emancipation of non-native speakers' has started, at least theoretically. The diversity in English as a result of diverse contexts where English is used for different purposes shifted the focus from norm-dependent perspective to a norm-independent perspective in the definitions. The former supports a native-speakerist approach defined through an ideal native-speakerist perspective emphasizing the appriopriacy of speaking *like* native speakers. The latter, on the other hand, shifts the focus from native speaker to a speaker who is competent in international communication instead of imitating native speakers. Alexander (1999:27), from a norm-independent perspective, mentions about a shift from native speaker norms to intelligibility, and he states that learners need to be able to talk *to* native speakers but not *as* native speakers. The concepts of intelligibility overlap House's (2003) distinction between language for identification and language for communication. House (2003) states that English, which is not a *language for identification* (for whom English is not an L1) but *communication,* is used as a contact language between interlocutors who do not share a common language. If English is in a 'de-owning' position since the number of its non-native speakers is larger than its native speakers (Pennycook 1995, House 2003) and if it is widely used for communication but not identification then what is the criterion for defining language competence of English speakers? Does it derive from a language for identification perspective or a language for communication perspective in the de-owning English era? One of the well known emancipatory framework is defined by Jenkins (2006). She criticizes an interlanguage framework for enculturing learners into British/American or any native English speaking context and making them speak like native speakers.

Jenkins (2006) offers English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) framework and she defines English as an instrument of communication rather than a language for identification. Thus, English is not defined as a possession of inner circle countries whose norms are taken as a yardstick. This model eliminates ENL countries norm-provider status by claiming that ELF context provides its own norms for itself. According to Jenkins (2006) it is misleading to classify expanding circle Englishes as interlanguage or language for identification since such a perspective

> "ignores the sociolinguistic reality of the vast majority of learners and user of English in expanding circle contexts, particularly in Europe and East Asia. Admittedly a small number do need English for communication with its NSs." (Jenkins, 2006:142)

Jenkin's lingua franca framework overlaps with House's (2003) language for communication perspective since it takes the expanding circle contexts into consideration as opposed to interlanguage approach. Thus, from a language for communication approach toward the Englishes used in the expanding circle countries, English is "not as a psycholinguistic in between system developing inside a speaker on his/ her way to full mastery of the English language system," and it does not require the learner to be a "'proper member' of another speech community," (House, 2003:558). Rather than being a proper member of another speech community, Holliday (2005:12) offers a Position 2 which takes English as an international language and local context as the norm. Thus, Position 2, as a result of a shift from language for identification to language for communication perspective, rather than setting the same norms for all English spoken contexts, it takes the norms of the local context into consideration.

Table 2: Native-Speakerism to Position 2 (Holliday, 2005:12)

	Native-Speakerism	**Position 2**
Language and context	English is foreign. The 'native speaker' is the norm.	English is international, The local context is the norm.

All the above mentioned emancipatory approaches proposed by Jenkins (2006), House (2003), and Holliday (2005) have come out as a result of transformationalist perspective that emphasizes the need to reshape the framework with respect to sociocultural and sociopolitical realities. Transformationalist [3] frameworks, which are also called emancipatory, are

[3] *Dewey (2007:334) maps Held et. al's (1999) three principal means of conceptualization of globalization with current approaches to English language. Hyperglobists discuss about linguistic imperialism and international hegemony of English. The skeptic's perspective corresponds to mainstream ELT in which native-speaker norms are the criteria as in interlanguage and language for identification perspectives.*

pedagogic in their nature since their goal is to cause a change in English language teaching by making students successful communicators in international communication (Mollin 2006:30).

To sum up, two determining criteria emerged in the scholarly literature in defining what a successful nonnative English speaker is, which I distinguish as language oriented competencies such as linguistic competence, discourse competence, pragmatic competence, sociolinguistic competence, sociocultural competence, actional competence, formulaic competence; and communication skills oriented competencies such as social competence, strategic competence, intercultural competence. Communication skills oriented competencies are sine qua non of successful English speaker both from a transformationalist and skeptic perspectives for the fact that English is a widely used medium in intercultural encounters. The content of language oriented competencies can be defined with respect to different frameworks that have been discussed so far. Thus, from a transformationalist perspective, ELF status of English is the norm to define the competencies of English speakers. From this framework, the competencies should be defined with respect to ELF based upon ELF corpus studies such as ELFA and VOICE. However, it should be kept in mind that, even if there is/will be an ELF corpus, since ELF speakers are either bilingual or multilingual people there would be no single but many different ways of conveying meaning, politeness as part of individual identities. From skeptic's perspective, on the other hand, nonnative English speakers' language competence must be evaluated according to an inner circle English, thus native speaker norm.

Transformationalists propose new conceptual frameworks for English with respect to its sociocultural and sociopolitical status.

The Study

In this research study, the aim was to find out whether the theoretical shift from communicative competence to intercultural communicative competence, and norm-dependent frameworks to norm-independent frameworks are adopted in practice.

Method

The total number of participants in this study was 20 English teachers. 10 native English speaking teachers teaching in the States and 10 non-native English speaking teachers teaching in Turkey who taught English at universities to university students participated, and approximately a twenty minute interview was conducted with each interviewee. The interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed for data analysis. The data was analyzed qualitatively according to the following criteria presented below. Under each criterion subcategories were identified according to interviewees' responses.

a. What kind of a speaker?

   Criterion I: *the competencies of a successful nonnative English speaker defined by native and non-native English speaking teachers:* The purpose of this criterion was to find out what competencies were important to English teachers.

   Criterion II: *a comparison of competencies identified by native and nonnative English teachers to the competencies given in the literature:* The purpose of this criterion was to find out what features identified by the teachers overlapped with the one's given in the literature. This would help the researcher find out whether theoretical frameworks identifying competencies were adopted in practice by teachers.

b. What kind of English?

   Criterion III: *teachers' perspective about the status of English in the world, and what kind of English they teach:* The purpose of this criterion was to find out what English teachers thought about the status of English in the world and what they actually taught in their language classes. The answers to this criterion helped researcher find out whether native and non-native English teachers teaching in different contexts had a more transformationalist perspective in teaching English and towards nonnative English speakers. .

Results

Criterion I: *the competencies of a successful nonnative English speaker defined by native English speaking teachers*

Table 3: Characteristics of a Successful Nonnative English Speaker Defined by Native English Speaking Teachers

Categories	Subcategories
1. Structural aspects of language	grammar / syntax
2. Phonetic aspects of language	prosody / pronunciation / accent / intonation / stress / rthym
3. Fluency	immediateness /fluency
4. Pragmatic aspects of language	appropriate response / appropriate vocabulary / appropriate expressions / awareness of context and functions of language/ social rules and norms
5. Figurative meaning	understanding idioms
6. Cultural competence	
7. Vocabulary knowledge	
8. Convenience in use of language	being comfortable in language
9. Comprehensibility	clear and easy to comprehend
10. Discursive aspects of language competence	give and take the floor
11. Natural language use	colloquial expressions /slang & idioms

Native English speaking teachers' definitions of a successful non-native English speaker were analyzed and distinguished into eleven categories and presented from the most frequent one to the least in Table 3. The most frequent category mentioned by the respondents was the structural aspects category. All the respondents referred to the significance of accurate structure use (accuracy) in their interviews.

> "What impresses me about her is that …. She almost makes no grammatical mistakes."
> "Because it seems that the structure of the sentences is accurate…."

Although structural aspects were the most frequent category, there were interviewees who stated that it was not the most important aspect to describe a successful nonnative English speaker's competence.

> "Obviously, their grammar and syntax is …. To me that's not the most important thing."

> "It was not just grammar. Yes her grammar was flawless. It was her ability to understand."

The second most frequent category was phonetic aspects of language. Except one, all interviewees brought up phonetic aspects of language as significant characteristics to define a successful speaker.

> "They have mastered the pronunciation of the language with some errors but just good enough to be understood by other speakers."
> "I think the prosody part, you know the super segmental part is vital for someone who has communicative competence and even though their grammar and vocabulary may be very good if they don't have …. prosody it is hard to understand them."

More than half of the interviewees referred to fluency and convenience in language use as important competency of a successful nonnative English speaker.

> "She is very ….articulate….whenever she speaks she is very very composed…"
> "…. Able to answer questions immediately without any pausing without any obvious looking for words."
> "He or she is very comfortable in English…it seems second nature to them."

Pragmatic aspects of language were mentioned by half of the respondents . This category comprised appropriate response and appropriate vocabulary.

> "It is the ability …… to respond appropriately ……there are also elements of communicative competence.
> "Part of it, I mean there are several parts. You know, the basics such as grammar, appropriate vocabulary, pronunciation, intonation."

Figurative aspects of language were mentioned by less than half of the interviewees .

> "It was her ability to understand idioms …"
> "They use idiomatic expressions very well …"

Culture language relationship was mentioned by less than half of the interviewees. Only one interviewee underscored the importance of being culturally competent as follows

> "... that cultural competence is not yet there,...They want to have competence so that they can work within the culture within the

> language. ... I do firmly believe that you have to understand the culture and cultures of the language to become competent in it."

Less than half of the native English speaking teachers mentioned about comprehensibility and intelligibility.

> "Their speech is clear. They get to the point …. They are direct enough to communicate their message."

Some interviewees mentioned about the discourse competence.

> "I feel like they know how to take turns in a conversation and understand how English works in a conversation."
> "He or she has the ability to respond and answer coherently."

Less than half of the interviewees mentioned a successful nonnative English speaker's ability to use authentic language.

> "If the expression sounds natural to me …. For example someone who is able to use the language like colloquial expressions, slangs and idioms…"

Table 4: Characteristics of a successful nonnative English speaker defined by non-native EFL teachers

Categories	Subcategories
1. Structural aspects of language	accuracy / grammar
2. Vocabulary knowledge	
3. Fluency	
4. Pronunciation	Intonation / stress / pronunciation
5. Convenience in language use	being comfortable in language
6. Authentic language	
7. Pragmatic competence	using appropriate language / contextual language use
8. Strategic competence	

Non-native English speaking teachers' definitions of a successful nonnative English speaker competencies are composed of eight categories which are shown from the most frequent one to the least in Table 4. The most frequent category mentioned by the respondents was the structural aspects category. Almost all the respondents mentioned about accurate structure use (accuracy) in their interviews.

> "I think, accuracy and fluency are the most important competences. The grammar has to be correct to be understood clearly."

> " …. should be capable of using correct and appropriate grammatical structures."

Vocabulary capacity was mentioned as much as accuracy by the non-native English speaking teachers.

> "To me his vocabulary capacity must be sufficient to handle any kind of conversation. I mean, a sufficient vocabulary capacity is a must. He must be capable of using various adjectives, adverbs etc."
> "The words he/she chooses and uses, and his/her vocabulary capacity is significant."

More than half of the interviewees referred to fluency and convenience in language use as significant characteristics of a successful English speaker.

> "A person with a wide range of words and grammar structures … who puts them altogether and uses them fluently. She/he does not stop to think and to find out the correct grammatical structure, word or expression. S/he finds correct words in a short time."
> "Can that person express him/herself comfortably in that language? Is he comfortable when choosing the words and structures? ….. His/her ability to use language in a comfortable way…"

More than half of the respondents mentioned about the importance of pronunciation. Less than half of these respondents mentioned that accurate pronunciation was one of the most important features of a successful speaker.

> "Native speakers of English do not really care about grammatical mistakes. However, intonation is significant to them. I think intonation and stress are very important for native-like competence."
> "Sometimes you see a person who uses perfect vocabulary and grammar but she/he cannot pronounce the words correctly. I think pronunciation is the most important thing."

Half of the respondents referred to pragmatic competence.

> "Grammar is important but I think context and language use according to the context is more important."
> "S/he must be capable of using appropriate language, for instance, he has to know how to use the correct register to handle conversation."

Very few respondents mentioned about authentic language use referring to use of idioms and colloquial English.

> "His ability to use idioms and his vocabulary choices are important because those things make language sound natural."
> "Does he think in that language and use colloquial English or does he translate from his native language?"

Only one non-native English speaking teacher stated about strategic competence of a successful nonnative English speaker.

> "For instance, s/he should be able to say 'could you repeat that?' rather than breaking the conversation… and find a way to solve communication problems."

Criterion II: *a comparison of competencies identified by native and nonnative English teachers to the competencies given in the literature*

The comparative results of the competencies of a successful nonnative English speaker defined by native English speaking and non-native English speaking teachers with the competencies given in the literature are summarized as follows:

- The most frequent competence identified by both groups of teachers was linguistic competence. In both groups, structural aspects of English were defined as one of the most significant feature of language. The phonetic aspects defined as significant aspects by both groups. To non-native English speaking teachers vocabulary knowledge was the second most frequent characteristics of a successful nonnative English speaker. On the contrary, less than half of native English speaking teachers mentioned about the importance of vocabulary knowledge as a characteristics of a successful speaker.
- Pragmatic aspects of language were mentioned by half of the native English speaking teachers, and non-native English speaking teachers.
- None of the native English speaking teachers mentioned about strategic competence while only one non-native English speaking teacher mentioned about the importance of it.
- Discourse competence was identified by very few native English speaking teachers while none of non-native English speaking teachers mentioned about it.
- Intercultural competence was the least mentioned competence by both groups of teachers. None of the non-native English speaking teachers mentioned about intercultural competence, whereas, a very few native English speaking teachers referred to intercultural competence as a competence of a successful nonnative English speaker.
- Fluency and convenience in language use were identified as significant features of a successful speaker by both groups of teachers.

Table 5: Characteristics of a Successful ESL Speaker, EFL Speaker and Characteristics Given in the Literature.

Components given in the literature[4]	Components gathered from interviews with ESL teachers	Components gathered from interviews with EFL teachers
Linguistic competence	• Structural aspects of language • Phonetic aspects of language • Vocabulary knowledge	• Vocabulary knowledge • Pronunciation and intonation • Structural aspects of language
Pragmatic competence	• Pragmatic aspects of language • Figurative meaning • Colloquial Expressions/slangs/idioms • Comprehensibility	• Using language appropriately • Authentic language use
Discourse competence	• Discursive aspects of language	−
Strategic competence	−	• Strategic competence
Intercultural competence	• Cultural competence	−
Sociolinguistic competence	• Social aspects of language	•

Criterion III: *teachers' perspective about the status of English in the world, and what kind of English they teach:*

The purpose of this criterion was to find out whether a shift in the linguistic domain "from appropriately speaking speakers in comparison to native speakers of the language to appropriately speaking speakers of world English(es)" was adopted. The aim was to find out on what basis each competency was defined by native and non-native English speaking teachers and whether the teachers' definitions derived from a norm-dependent or norm-independent perspective. For this reason, teachers were asked what they thought about the status of English, and what type of English they taught in their classes. Native English speaking inner-circle teachers identified the status of English as follows;

Table 6: The Status of English Defined by Native English Speaking ESL Teachers

1. International language
2. The widely spoken language
3. Lingua Franca

[4] *"Components given in the literature" category is based upon communicative competence frameworks of Canale and Swain (1980), Canale (1983), Bachman (1990), Byram (1997).*

4. Global Language

Native English speaking teachers' responses about the status of English was distinguished into four groups and presented from the most frequent one to the least in Table 6. More than half of the group defined English as an international language. Nearly half of the group defined it as a widely spoken language and lingua franca, and very few of them defined it as a global language. These teachers were asked whether they thought there was standard English. More than half of the group mentioned that it was difficult to talk about standards in English since there were various varieties of English. Less than half of these teachers, however, mentioned that although there were different varieties, American and British English were standard English(es).

Table 7: What kind of English do native English speaking teachers teach?

WHAT KIND OF ENGLISH?	
AMERICAN ENGLISH	**ENGLISHES**
− Pure American English	− English as an international language
− American English +other varieties mentioned	− comprehensible English

Half of the native English speaking teachers mentioned that they taught American English because their students were learning English in an American context. Some of the teachers teaching American English stated that they mentioned about other varieties of English in the class to raise awareness that there are other Englishes in the world. The other half of the interviewees stated that although they taught in an American academic context, the status of English in the world had an effect on their objectives to some extent. Some mentioned that they tried to teach English on an international basis by giving the differences between Englishes. One of the interviewees also mentioned that she aimed at the competencies of an English speaker defined in the Common European Framework (CEF). There were interviewees stating that some of the students used English in their business careers in their home countries so they needed to develop different competencies that a second language context required. For this reason, rather than American English they focused on comprehensible English.

> "Basically American English but different varieties of English are mentioned in the class to make them aware that they will come across different Englishes."
> "I focus not on American English but on comprehensible English and I try not to make them feel like they need to speak the English of Americans."
> "I teach English on an international basis because most of the people use English in international communication environments."

Non-native English speaking EFL teachers' responses about the status of English are presented from the most frequent one to the least in Table 8. More than half of the interviewees in this group defined the status of English as an international language. Very few respondents mentioned about the de-owning status of English by referring to the shift from a national status to an international one.

Table 8: The Status of English Defined by Non-native English Speaking ESL Teachers

1.	Required/Mandatory language of this century
2.	International language
3.	De-owning status

Non-native English speaking teachers were asked what they thought about standard English(es). Almost all of the teachers mentioned that there were various Englishes in the world. However, their responses to what English they taught displayed that they taught American and/or British English in their classes. Table 9 displays what the subject non-native English speaking teachers teach in their classes.

Table 9: What Kind of English do Non-native English Speaking EFL Teachers Teach?

WHAT KIND OF ENGLISH?	
A HYBRID ENGLISH	**BOOK ENGLISH**
− American + British English	− Book English + Daily English (no specific type either American or British) − Book English which is standard English (American or British)

Less than half of the non-native English speaking teachers mentioned that they taught a hybrid version English which was a mixed version of American and British English. More than half of the teachers stated that they taught book English. When this group of teachers were asked what they meant by book English they said either British or American English which was referred to as either standard or ideal English. Less than half of these teachers mentioned that they taught daily English by making use of authentic materials.

> "I am teaching book English which is a kind of standard English, either American or British. I know that language is above book English;

> however, the context is not very efficient for students to use the language outside the class. It is restricted."
> "We are teaching book English. I try to teach daily English as well by making use of authentic texts and materials. I use American newspapers or British radio recordings in the class."
> "I cannot say that I am teaching pure British or American English. I think I teach both of them."

Findings and Conclusion

This study aimed at investigating how English language teachers define a successful nonnative English speaker. In doing so, the focus of this study was whether the theoretical shifts from communicative competence to intercultural communicative competence, and native-speakerism to more emancipatory frameworks were adopted in practice by native English speaking and nonnative English speaking English teachers.

What kind of a speaker?:The results showed that in both groups there was a tendency to define competencies of a nonnative English speaker through language oriented competencies such as linguistic competence, pragmatic competence, discourse competence rather than communication skills oriented competencies such as social competence, intercultural competence, and strategic competence. Although the structural aspects of speakers' language were identified as a reference point to define a nonnative English speaker as a successful one, the significance of pragmatic aspects were mentioned by half of the respondents in both groups. This indicated that the shift in the linguistic domain, "from accurately speaking speakers to appropriately speaking speakers" has been adopted in practice. However, as mentioned earlier, only one native speaking English teacher mentioned cultural competence, and one nonnative English speaking teacher referred to strategic competence. This result indicated that a shift "from a culturally competent speaker defined through his familiarity with the target foreign culture to interculturally competent speakers with cultural awareness" has not been adopted in practice. However, neither the results with respect to criterion I nor criterion II showed if there was a shift in the linguistic domain "from appropriately speaking speakers in comparison to native speakers of the language to appropriately speaking speakers of World Englishes." To find the answer of this question teachers were interviewed about the status of English in the world and what type of English they taught in their classes which I classified as criterion III.

What type of English?:The results indicated that the native English speaking teachers were familiar with the terminology used for the current status of English. Half of these teachers stated that they taught American English because they were in an American context. This showed that the local context had an effect on the type of English teachers taught. On the other hand, the other half of the interviewees stated that they either taught English on an

international basis or comprehensible English. This finding indicated that there was a tendency at least in half of the group to teach English from a more emancipatory perspective rather than a native-speakerist perspective.

The results indicated that more than half of the nonnative teachers of English were familiar with the status of English; however, less terminology was used in comparison to the other group. Although almost all the teachers mentioned about the existence of various Englishes in the world, the results showed that all the respondents in this group taught "some kind of standard English" which they called hybrid English (American and British English) or book English (American or British English). This finding indicated that in this group there was a tendency to teach native-speaker norm dependent American and/or British English. It should also be mentioned that, although the teachers in this group taught standard English, there was one respondent relating the issue to the materials prepared and published with a standard English perspective.

Although the study suffers from limitations such as its relatively small sample size and short interview length, and thus must not be overgeneralized, its results should nevertheless alert scholars and researchers to the pitfalls and difficulties of any attempts to quickly implement theory from the academic arena into actual practice. The findings of this study showed how mainstream English education perspective and the education system basing upon such a perspective can determine the language teaching processes and perception of competencies of nonnative speakers in a world where English is widely used in nonnative-nonnative interactions in intercultural encounters.

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