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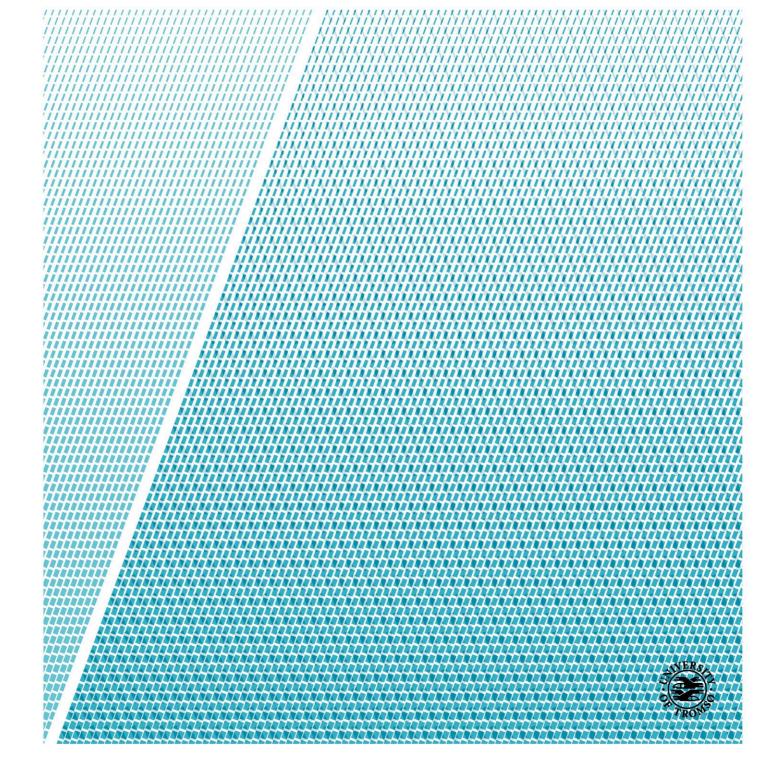
Your English is Fucked Up, Man.

A study of classroom breaches of pragmatic and sociolinguistic competence in Norwegian, upper secondary learners of L2 English

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Abstract

The present text presents an investigation of the pragmatic and sociolinguistic transgressions made by three groups of Norwegian, upper secondary level 2 (VG2) EFL learners, along with their teachers' responses to the breaches.

The younger generations' tendency towards having their out-of-school experiences with English taint their language output in what are supposed to be more professional arenas, like school, is well known. People in general, and educators especially, are aware of the fact that our modern, digital media society has influenced the way we all perceive what proper English is, and that many young people, who have multiple sources of their English L2 acquisition in addition to school, struggle with realizing that not all input automatically becomes appropriate output. This is creating great challenges in English language education in Norway today. However, very little research has been conducted on the topic, we have not yet grasped the scope of this phenomenon, or exactly what type of language effects are taking place, we are simply agreeing on the notion that young Norwegians seem to struggle with their pragmatic or sociolinguistic competence – that they have 'potty mouths', even in arenas where they should absolutely seek to avoid it.

The purpose of this master's study was to map out and make a sort of inventory of the most common breaches of pragmatic/sociolinguistic competence made by learners in three observed groups, and discuss possible contributing factors for the inappropriate utterances. At the same time, the teachers' responses (or lack thereof) to their students' transgressions were recorded, and the teachers were asked about how and if they let their pupils' breaches affect their formal assessment of said pupils. The data indicated that there is a lot of what can only be deemed quite inappropriate English output in EFL classrooms, at the very least there were in the ones studied. Findings also suggested that very few of the pragmatically problematic utterances are picked up on – or reacted to – by the teacher, and that there seems to exist a significant amount of uncertainty as to how lack of pragmatic/sociolinguistic competence should affect the pupils' formal assessment. The results of the study leave questions as to whether we are handling the challenges of modern, colloquial, entertainment-based English Discourse and the way it has slipped unnoticed in the backdoor to our classrooms – in a sufficiently alert and pedagogically agile manner.

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Table of Contents

1	Intr	oduction	4
	1.1	New Sources of L2 English	4
	1.2	The Norwegian Core and Subject Curriculum on Pragmatics	5
	1.3	Communicative, Pragmatic and Sociolinguistic Competence, Definitions	7
2	The	eoretical Background	10
	2.1	Profanity, King of Language Breaches	10
	2.2	Gee and Discourses	12
	2.3	eBAD and Acquisition vs. Learning	13
	2.4	Habituation and Conventionalization of eBAD	15
3	Me	thod	16
	3.1	In Search of the F-word: Observation in the Classroom	16
	3.1.	Possible Methodological Concerns of the Observation	19
	3.2	Survey: Teachers' Attitudes and Experiences	21
	3.2	1 Possible Methodological Concerns of the Survey	21
4	Results and Analysis		22
	4.1	Observation Group One: "Worst Case Scenario"	22
	4.2	Observation Group 2: Reflections Upon Work Practice Weeks	23
	4.3	Observation Group 3: Of Mice and Men	24
	4.4	Groups of Breaches	25
5	Discussion		32
	5.1	Causes of Out-of-School Practices and Habituation	32
	5.2	Causes of the Teacher	35
	5.3	Causes of Youth Culture, Identity and Discourses	38
	5.4	Causes of Possible Output Differences in Vocational vs. Academic Study Programmes	41
	5.5	Causes of Sex and Gender	41
	5.6	Causes of First vs. Second Language Morality	42
	5.7	Other Possible Causes of the Results	43
6	Cor	nclusion	44
W	orks C	ited	46
A	Appendices		
	Appendix 1: Receipt of approved study plan from the Norwegian Centre for Research Data 5		
Appendix 2: Information letter to the sample groups			51

"Learning a second or foreign language goes well beyond acquiring additional semantic and grammatical categories and distinctions. Indeed, the aim of language learning ought to go beyond acquiring the competence to produce grammatical sentences in the target language. Most importantly, it should enable learners to produce utterances that are considered functionally and socially appropriate by native speakers, in any given context."

(Sickinger and Schneider 2014:114)

1 Introduction

1.1 New Sources of L2 English

"Man, this shit is gay!" "You're a fucking retard!" "Give me the fucking book, you cunt!" You need a strong stomach and a highly developed filter to observe without cringing, the creative language outputs you will come across in Norwegian schools nowadays. The phrases, utterly shocking to some – just another Monday to others, are not uttered in the kids' mother tongue Norwegian, but rather in English, with thick American accents and plenty of attitude. The reactions from peers are almost always approving, and adult intervention is more or less absent.

It can come as no surprise that Norway's young generation of English learners currently get their strongest language input and communicative inspiration from other sources than school and traditional literature. Although the exposure to the target language is massive, significantly more substantial than, say, the previous generation's, and language proficiency seems impressive in these pupils, it appears as though some important norms disappeared in the acquisition process. What many current English learners who were raised on pop-cultural slang and profanity fail to realize is that not all input necessarily becomes appropriate output.

This failure to comply with what is fairly strongly established as important goals by the Norwegian educational authorities leads to a difficult conundrum for EFL teachers and pupils alike. How do we negotiate the fact that the English acquired and widely practiced by young people today is so notably different from the English the pupils are meant to learn and use?

The following questions guided this project:

- 1. What signs in the form of oral output of lacking pragmatic/sociolinguistic competence can be observed in an EFL upper secondary classroom? Do they have anything in common?
- 2. What are the factors that might contribute to, reinforce and control the problematic output?

In an attempt to answer this, I turned to three groups of young learners, who, along with their respective teachers, currently find themselves at the core of this issue, and examined their upper secondary EFL classroom discourse. The study provided no shortage of data supporting that questionable use of English occurs frequently in the groups examined, and it is interesting to reflect upon - and draw parallels to established theories about – what is actually happening, why it happens, and what we can and cannot do to maintain and fortify the relevance of formal EFL teaching.

Ultimately, this thesis has a modest aim: To raise awareness and action about an issue that is recognized as a problem of varying degree among the majority of teachers, but still remains unsolved. The usurping of classrooms by an English that is fundamentally inappropriate in professional settings is ultimately a development very few teachers know exactly how to approach or work with. Both teachers and pupils suffer under this confusion. In our pending state of apathy, we continue to lose ground to this rapidly moving phenomenon, and there is a very real chance that EFL teaching *in its present form* will become increasingly irrelevant for the learners, as we educators are taken aback and forced to yield and change our professional practices and values accordingly.

1.2 The Norwegian Core and Subject Curriculum on Pragmatics

LK06 is the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training's framework for teaching on all levels. It is divided into a general part (entitled Core Curriculum for Primary, Secondary

and Adult Education in Norway), which describes the purpose and vision for education in Norway as a whole, and detailed subject curricula, which outline, among other things, the exact competence aims for each subject at every level. Norwegian teachers generally employ the LK06 when they plan and review their lessons, and it is the cornerstone of most of the teaching activity that takes place in our schools.

The English Subject Curriculum part of LK06 (on which the formal assessment of each pupil should be based) addresses pragmatic/sociolinguistic issues in multiple places in the stated competence aims for pupils who have completed upper secondary education level 1 and 2 (VG1/VG2). Some of these aims include

[The aims of the studies are to enable pupils to]

- evaluate and use different situations, working methods and learning strategies to further develop one's English-language skills
- evaluate different digital resources and other aids critically and independently, and use them in own language learning
- express oneself fluently and coherently in a detailed and precise manner suited to the purpose and situation (Udir 2010: English Competence Aims, p. 9)

With this in mind, pupils who have failed to show ability to evaluate their EFL sources, apply different strategies to develop their English-language skills or express themselves according to purpose or situation should receive notable feedback on their failure to reach these competence aims through their formal and informal assessment. Is this - systematically and coherently - taking place in EFL classrooms in Norwegian upper secondary schools today? I hypothesize that it is not, at least not to a sufficient degree.

Brubæk (2012) also argues that there is a gap between the EFL teaching vision of the LK06 and actual practices. She observes:

(...) intending students to develop a certain competence is one thing. Whether students manage to reach the goals set by the educational authorities is a completely different story. (...) By successfully passing the VG1 course (first year of high school) in English, Norwegian students should, in theory, be highly skilled users of English. They should be able to communicate successfully in various types of contexts, manage to read and understand English textbooks and follow lectures in English at university level. (...) [Johansen's (2008) and my own findings] indicate a lack of

knowledge of the politeness norms and the pragmatic features of English among Norwegian students. Moreover, the findings indicate that the teaching of pragmatics in Norwegian schools is not done in a satisfactory manner, if done at all. These implications are potentially highly important and relevant in terms of developing a more thorough understanding of the quality of Norwegian EFL students' language competence (Brubæk 2012:2)

The Core Curriculum considers the fact that school is not the only arena where learning takes place, and that the altercation between in-school and out-of-school practices is sometimes a problematic one:

[Young people's] increasing exposure to the mass media places them in the passive role of spectators and exposes them to conflicting views and values. The narrowing of the young people's contact with the practical world outside the school and the consequent reduction of interaction with adults, is often exacerbated by an introverted and introspective peer culture. (...) formal education is only part of the lives of the young. Childhood and adolescence are also a time of turbulence and play, of fumbling and bungling. Learners are more than ever before active in sports, music, in organizations and teams, in choirs and clubs, where they set their own standards within a circle of friends, and where they influence and are influenced by their own milieu. The school must find the difficult balance between stimulating and exploiting the culture the young themselves create, and forming a counterweight to it. (Udir:30-31)

This, although a general reference to the meeting of in-school- and out-of-school practices, is highly relevant on the subject of language and the way it continuously evolves and adapts. The notoriously rapid development in digital technology and subsequent globalization has forever changed the way we acquire language; and in particular English, and there is no reason to believe that it will go back to the way it used to be – with school as the primary source of most learners' foreign language acquisition. Formal education's role of counterweight seems more crucial and challenging than ever before in a cultural atmosphere that is becoming increasingly introspective.

1.3 Communicative, Pragmatic and Sociolinguistic Competence, Definitions

Throughout this text, I have used the terms sociolinguistic competence and pragmatic competence. They both refer approximately to the same; a learner's ability to produce language output that is adapted to the context in which the learner finds him-/herself at any given moment. In scientific literature they are used interchangeably, sometimes with conflicting perceptions on the exact definitions of the two terms. To most, they both constitute sub-terms to the widely known modern linguistics concept of communicative competence, which guides much of the language teaching we are involved in today. The world-wide focus on communicative competence has paved the way for communicative language teaching (CLT), which largely emphasizes interaction as both the means and goal of the learning process. It has also moved the EFL teaching from involving mostly classical grammar-translation methods (which created "speakers" who had excellent knowledge of EFL grammar and vocabulary, but could not produce coherent fluency in their output) to a focus on ability to effectively communicate in the target language (Koran 2016).

Communicative competence was first coined as a linguistic term by Dell Hymes in 1966, and made even more popular in his 1972 article "On Communicative Competence". It refers to a language user's practical overall knowledge of the different aspects of a language, such as phonology, morphology, syntax, but it also includes the user's social knowledge of the appropriateness of utterances according to context. When Hymes addresses the issue of appropriacy, he argues:

From a communicative standpoint, judgements of appropriateness may not be assigned to different spheres, as between the linguistic and the cultural; certainly the spheres of the two will intersect" (Hymes, 1972:279)

Mizne (1997) breaks down communicative competence into four parts, based on the work of Canale and Swain in 1980 and 1983:

(1) linguistic competence, ability to use the linguistic code, grammar, pronunciation, and vocabulary correctly, (2) discourse competence, which is the ability to maintain cohesion between segments of discourse, (3) strategic competence, which is the learner's ability to repair communication breakdown and work around gaps in his or her knowledge of the target language, and finally (4) sociolinguistic competence, the learner's ability to use language appropriately in various social contexts. Canale and Swain's model for communicative competence serves to ensure that non-linguistic aspects of language such as sociolinguistic competence would not be

ignored in the understanding of communicative competence. (Mizne 1997:12)

Where Mizne, Canale and Swain name sociolinguistic competence as one out of four sub-categories of communicative competence (and imply that the term encompasses the characteristics of pragmatic competence also), others claim that pragmatic competence is a separate category in itself, which deals with "…the ability to convey the intended message, and to interpret the message intended by one's interlocutor." (Koran 2016:3).

In the end, I have found it most fruitful to rely on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR), which states that sociolinguistic competence and pragmatic competence (together with linguistic competence) are components in communicative language competence, and provides the following definitions of the two terms (my italics):

"Sociolinguistic competences refer to the sociocultural conditions of language use. Through its sensitivity to social conventions (rules of politeness, norms governing relations between generations, sexes, classes and social groups, linguistic codification of certain fundamental rituals in the functioning of a community), the sociolinguistic component strictly affects all language communication between representatives of different cultures, even though participants may often be unaware of its influence.

Pragmatic competences are concerned with the functional use of linguistic resources (production of language functions, speech acts), drawing on scenarios or scripts of interactional exchanges. It also concerns the mastery of discourse, cohesion and coherence, the identification of text types and forms, irony, and parody. For this component even more than the linguistic component, it is hardly necessary to stress the major impact of interactions and cultural environments in which such abilities are constructed." (Council of Europe 2001:13)

The competence breaches that are recorded in this study fall under both these components, henceforth I feel obliged to use both terms in my text, instead of choosing one of them and sticking with it. As far as I can tell, the problematic output I have found various examples of in my study, touch upon a number of the conventions and uses of language mentioned in the CEFR document, including, but not limited to general politeness, relations between

generations, codification, mastery of discourse, identification of text types and forms, irony and parody, and so on.

2 Theoretical Background

2.1 Profanity, King of Language Breaches

The reasons why anyone would wish to transgress against established language norms are many and multifaceted. Inappropriate output takes on many forms, and is produced – and reacted upon – with great variation in different communities. Humans use expletives (exclamatory words or phrases, often of an obscene or profane nature) to convey emotions such as anger, fear, surprise, joy, etc. We use slang to express belonging to a certain group, or to exclude others from a group (Dickson 2010:2). We can sometimes – for various purposes – imitate or parody characters from the entertainment industry by copying their typical discourse. We might lack the language proficiency or cognitive abilities to precisely express our thoughts, and thus succumb to simplification or labelling in our language. There is the chance that we seek to create comedy or obtain certain audience reactions through indecent language output, or that we are trying to be economical with our speech by using misplaced abbreviations. No matter the purpose of the questionable output, there are settings where it is more welcome and less controversial than others.

The most common language breach made by young Norwegian in English classes today is without a doubt the extensive use of profanity, as this study will confirm. Profanity is, according to the Merriam Webster dictionary, "a disrespectful or indecent word or expression». Synonymous terms include swear-words and expletives. Gauthier (no date) discusses the problem with profanity and argues:

What makes profanity such a delicate subject is that it is traditionally considered as something which should be avoided because it is meant to be offensive, blasphemous and vulgar. Other instances of bad language are just disliked, or grammatically incorrect, but the point is that profanity can be indecent and hurtful. Swearing is associated with bad education, and children who use it are generally severely reprimanded. (Gauthier:15)

It is possible to categorize profanity and range output from quite innocent to deeply offensive and distasteful – and everything in between. However, the impact of the profanity is largely dependent on the audience and prospective recipient of the output, and a phrase might be an abomination to one participant in a speech act, while totally acceptable (and even pleasant) to another.

It is important to note that when it comes to typical language breaches for EFL learners, there is no list or classification available. Gauthier (no date) refers to a categorization of profanities made by Trudgill and Andersson (1990), where swearwords are put into the following three groups:

- 1. Words related to *sexuality and excretion*. This is said to be the most common category of profanity, and includes universally recognized swearwords such as "fuck", "shit" and "ass"
- 2. Blasphemous words, related to religion. Examples include "God", "Hell" and "Jesus".
- 3. So-called "animal abuse", where words that originally just expressed animal species will take on an indecent meaning. Examples are "bitch", "pussy" and "pig".

Based on my own experience as well as the results of the study, which will be discussed in chapter 4.4, I would suggest also adding to this list

- 4. Ethnic slurs, i.e. terms produced in order to insult others on the basis of race, ethnicity or nationality (for example "nigger", "spic", "honky", "limey", "kike", "ching-chong", "redneck"), and
- 5. *Inappropriate labelling of traits and preferences* (such as "faggot" for a homosexual person, "retard" for someone (accused of) displaying lowered cognitive functions, "slut" for someone (accused of) displaying promiscuity, etc.).

I do not doubt that there are other groups of cuss words that fit onto this list, or will do so in the near future (consider, for instance, the creative art of insulting opponents in video gaming – certainly some gaming-based expletives that display a certain endurance and popularity are bound to end up in the Oxford Dictionary soon).

It is obviously possible – and quite common – to employ several of these categories of swearing simultaneously, however I don't believe examples are necessary. Suffice to say that young EFL learners appear to possess a tremendous range of creative (and ever evolving)

compositions of profanities. What is certain is that the existing classifications of profanity (as exemplified by the three categories of Trudgill an Anderson) do not cover the range of common language breaches found in Norwegian EFL classrooms. Swearing is only one of several features of typical problematic output made by these pupils. I will return to this issue in chapter 4.4.

2.2 Gee and Discourses

Most relevant to the core of this thesis; namely the topic of language and identity, lies James Paul Gee's work on Discourses (with a capital D).

"Discourses are ways of being in the world, or forms of life which integrate words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes, social identities, as well as gestures, glances, body positions and clothes. A Discourse is a sort of 'identity kit' which comes complete with the appropriate costume and instructions on how to act, talk, and often write, so as to take on a particular social role that others will recognize." (Gee 2012:158)

Gee basically says that throughout life, we take on a multitude of different Discourses in our attempt to fit in socially, and sometimes, such as in the case of using profanity in the classroom, these Discourses conflict with each other. Gee distinguishes between our primary Discourse (acquired in our initial socializing group, such as our parents) and the many Discourses we later come to inhabit, our so-called secondary Discourses – which come to us through social institutions beyond the family (school, church, leisure activities, places of employment, etc.). (Gee 2012: 170-171)

In modern times, these secondary Discourses can obviously also exist in and derive from non-physical arenas such as television, gaming and online activity, spheres where people are more free to display socially questionable behavior without being corrected and where the limits for what is acceptable language are being pushed all the time. Safely tucked away behind their avatars, computer screens and mobile phones, an increasing number of pupils acquire secondary (English) Discourses that are – when removed from this context – no longer applicable, and carry them into the classroom.

"Any Discourse concerns itself with certain objects and puts forward certain concepts, viewpoints and values at the expense of others. In doing so, it will marginalize viewpoints and values central to other Discourses. In

fact, a Discourse can call for one to accept values in conflict with other Discourses of which one is also a member." (Gee 2012:159)

This is evidently what takes place when a pupil uses 'thug English' in the middle of an English lesson, thereby displaying a palpable lack of understanding of the sociolinguistic context he or she is inhabiting; the Discourse of the outspoken and popular culture-savvy teen conflicts gravely with the expected Discourse of the pupil attending a formal institution of learning. However, obtaining social credibility and being acknowledged by one's peers seems to remain far more important to the pupil than the recognition and respect offered by authorities such as teachers or parents. In a modern classroom setting, at least in an English L2 classroom, it appears that the behavior-regulating *significant other* (Haller, Woelfel and Fink, 1969) of the pupils is no longer the teacher, as one would perhaps expect, but rather the pupil's peers, who set the criteria for what constitutes social attainment goals in this sphere. Discourses of modern, everyday life and out-of-school-practices have thus seeped into schools gradually, and usurped the position previously reserved for more academically correct Discourses. Output cultures that were traditionally kept apart (and still largely are in English L1 societies) are now increasingly hard to separate.

2.3 eBAD and Acquisition vs. Learning

On the topic of Discourses, there is a marked distinction between *acquisition* (a subconscious, informal process) and *learning*, which involves systematic negotiation and meta-knowledge about the target matter (Krashen 1985). Discourses, Gee claims, cannot be taught, but are rather acquired through "a process of "apprenticeship", mentoring, modelling, and social practice." (Gee 2012: 168). So while very few Norwegian EFL pupils joined a gamer's guild or listened to rap music or watched the South Park series with the specific intention of acquiring English, that is exactly what happened. They acquired a fluent, functional and extremely effective means of communicating with their peers in English, but, unfortunately, this Discourse was rendered useless, and even potentially harmful, in certain settings. Matters are not made easier by the fact that even though we hold more extensive knowledge about the things we have learned, we are certainly "better at performing what we acquire" (Gee 2012:167). So in addition to being much more frequent than learning, acquisition provides a far stronger mastery.

I believe that there are two ways in which young, Norwegian EFL learners can acquire what I will henceforth call an entertainment-based Discourse (eBAD). By this term I mean to indicate

the unfortunate aspects of informal EFL acquisition – the output that could and should evoke reaction when used in the "wrong" environment. Either the learners indulge in typical activities (i.e. gaming, TV, internet and social media) where certain forms of taboo vernacular are common and not frowned upon, and this style gradually becomes a natural and effective usage of the English language, or they pick it up from mere socialization with other learners who have consulted the aforementioned sources and are now proficient users of this secondary Discourse. Ultimately and most commonly, they do both: They acquire their eBAD through a pop-cultural "apprenticeship", and have this Discourse further reinforced and developed through social practices in their everyday lives as normal teenagers in the digital as well as the analogue world.

Gee goes on to say about the superiority of acquisition:

For most of us (...) using a second language [is a skill] we attained by some mixture of acquisition and learning. But it is a safe bet that, over the same amount of time, people are better at [this activity] if acquisition predominated during that time. (...) When we have really mastered anything (e.g. a Discourse) we have little or no conscious awareness of it. (Gee 2012 168-169)

It is this lack of consciousness that constitutes the greatest challenge in EFL classrooms today. The pupils did not likely make a deliberate decision to learn or use inappropriate language, it merely happened to them, in a chaotic whirlwind of informal acquisition from multiple sources. This in turn makes passing judgement on "indecent and filthy language" increasingly difficult. If school is *not* the strongest or most relevant source of EFL acquisition anymore, and if eBAD *happens* to our pupils more than them actually choosing to employ it, how do we as teachers go about reasonably and systematically assessing and shaping this language output? Must it not include raising our pupils' meta-awareness of their English in some way?

Gee observes that

Classrooms that do not properly balance acquisition and learning, and realize which is which, simply privilege [or punish! TSJ] those students who have already begun the acquisition process outside the school. Too little acquisition leads to too little mastery-in-practice; too little learning leads to too little analytic and reflective awareness and limits the capacity for certain sorts of critical reading (Gee 2012:168)

It seems as though learning and attaining meta-knowledge about language is – if the learner doesn't actively seek it – largely only available through school or formal education arenas. This

is both a disheartening and an encouraging thought. On the one hand, it gives clear indications that eBAD is here to stay and that the inflammation caused in the controversy between out-of-school practices and traditional English teaching is – unless the criteria are altered – only going to grow and result in multiple challenges for the EFL teacher and learner. On the other hand, it puts EFL teaching back on the horse; teaching English is not, as some (often young learners) will claim, obsolete, but instead it is more relevant than ever and downright necessary in order to negotiate the social pitfalls of eBAD.

2.4 Habituation and Conventionalization of eBAD

A fox who had never yet seen a lion, when he fell in with him for the first time in the forest was so frightened that he was near dying with fear. On his meeting with him for the second time, he was still much alarmed, but not to the same extent as at first. On seeing him the third time, he so increased in boldness that he went up to him and commenced a familiar conversation with him.

(Æsop's Fables, as cited in Thompson 2009)

Another theoretical term that plays into the issue of language transgressions and profanity in the classroom, comes from behavioral theory and is called *habituation*, or sometimes extinction (if the behavior is conditioned, and not innate). The theory is that an organism that is exposed to a certain stimulus repeated times, will eventually stop reacting to it. Habituation is a type of so-called non-associative learning, which means that the repeated stimulus has not been paired up with a punishment or a reward – it is simply the magnitude of the exposure of it that makes the exposed organism cease to have a reaction. Fennel (2011) states that "the reduction in behavioral response is thought to demonstrate both memory encoding of the stimulus and potential learning", which makes the concept of habituation relevant to language acquisition as well as practically any other behavior we can think of. Habituation has been found to exist in a multitude of species (Jennings 1906, Thompson 2009), and it is a process

that can cause animals and humans (and even plants) to cease reacting to a stimulus which they innately would.

Although profanity is hardly innate, the human reaction to nonconformity and deviation is. This again deals with identity and group-membership. Markers for socially inapt behavior which declare belonging to or exclusion from a community have been vitally important throughout human history. So while we are effectively pre-programmed to react when someone employs language in an unusual or repulsive manner, sufficient neutral subjection to the stimulus (i.e. the inappropriate language output) over a period of time will make us blind and unresponsive to its atrociousness. It becomes understandable that a teenager who is practically raised on slang and profanity will eventually stop reacting with shock or appalment upon hearing certain phrases – they are commonplace. I hypothesize that habituation to eBAD takes place early in young, Norwegian EFL learners, and, consequently, in their teachers, who are heavily exposed to the stimulus in classrooms as well as in their personal spheres. If we estimate that most EFL teachers in upper secondary school in Norway today are between 20 and 70 years of age, quite a few of them are bound to be acquainted, maybe even intimately familiar, with current trends in popular music, gaming, TV and digital media. Henceforth they are well versed in eBAD themselves, either through primary or secondary sources, or both.

3 Method

The main study described and discussed in this text is a qualitative, observational study. In this chapter, I will however be subsequently referring briefly to a pilot study I conducted in the spring of 2016, a minor quantitative survey concerning teacher attitudes toward and experiences with pragmatic and sociolinguistic breaches. Although I include a short description of the survey in the Method section, I will only be presenting parts of the data obtained in the survey, and only in chapter 5: Discussion, where it pertains to the topics raised.

3.1 In Search of the F-word: Observation in the Classroom

Approximately 35 students (three separate groups) from the vocational upper secondary school where I am employed participated in this observational study, in other words

obviously a convenience sample of informants. The size of the sample prevents generalization to any larger population, the results can speak of the condition of these learners at this institution. I would nevertheless claim that the likelihood that one might find similar tendencies in other upper secondary classrooms in Norway is quite high.

The study was approved in its entirety by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD). All of the informants had consented orally to participation in the study, and knew that they were being observed, although the specific topic and details of the study and the research design was not revealed to them. The reason for this was what Labov (1972) calls the "Observer's Paradox," meaning I would have reduced chances of revealing representative, truthful output from the informants if they knew exactly what I was looking for. "The aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain this data by systematic observation." (Labov 1972:209) At no point were the informants' names or personal data used, the purpose was of course to make the study and the processing of the data as unobtrusive for the pupils as possible.

The three groups were observed over a two-week period in March 2017, meaning six hours for the level one pupils (VG1) and four hours for the level two pupils (VG2). Group 1 was a level one group which contained twelve pupils, ten boys and two girls. Group 2 was fourteen level two pupils, twelve boys and two girls. Group 3 was an all-male level two group of nine. The pupils had by now attended this class in its present form (same participants, number of pupils, room and teacher) since August in the year before (i.e. seven months), so they were accustomed to spending time in each other's company in this particular setting, and to engaging in discourse – whether initiated by the teachers or themselves. The age of the pupils in the sample ranged from 16 to 19.

The teachers who had agreed to let their classes be subject to observation, were asked to include me in lessons with as much oral pupil participation as possible. In contrast, a pure lecture-based lesson would not facilitate any relevant oral output from the learners.

Otherwise, the content (topics and types of assignments) was entirely planned, executed and assessed by the teacher, without any involvement from me. I did not examine any written material produced by the sample groups, as the focus was entirely on oral learner output.

I took extensive notes throughout the whole of all the sessions, and saved all of them for later analysis. I considered both audio and video recordings of the data, but in the end I decided that in order to capture the pupils' *backstage behavior*, i.e. what they do when they act naturally, rather than their *frontstage behavior*, which is what they decide to reveal in the observer's company, (Johnson and Turner 2003:312), I was better off toning down my presence and maintaining the original form and style of the English lesson the pupils had grown accustomed to. I must simultaneously admit that I find the idea of exploring this topic further, with many more informants and over a much longer period of time, and presenting the data in audio-visual form increasingly titillating. However, this is obviously an endeavour that exceeds that of an MA-thesis.

The reason why I chose an exploratory and open-ended observation as my method was that I wanted to gather specific and authentic data on a phenomenon that I have been a close witness to through several years as an English teacher in upper secondary education, and give an as holistic account of this situation as possible (Creswell 2014:186) I know that sociolinguistics is tricky, both from an educator and a learner's perspective, and I also know that certain groups display an overall better understanding of appropriateness in language than others and that discourse cultures vary greatly, even within one school or one department. Still, I have never previously seen studies of pragmatic breaches in L2 English made by Norwegian upper secondary pupils, nor any attempt at categorizing said breaches or exploring how they come to exist and develop. I sincerely believe it is a topic that should be investigated thoroughly, as it affects the way we should approach and are going to view L2 learning and teaching in the future. In my study I hoped to see various examples of problematic English output in settings where the participants felt safe enough in the environment to act normally and naturally.

Through this exact type of observation, I could record data on what the informants actually do, and not on what they claim to do (as would be the case in for example an interview or survey). In the case of "bad language" I believe it would have been challenging to obtain credible reports from informants on their output habits, as most would not wish to "incriminate" themselves, or they might actually not be sufficiently aware of their own output production and the results it produces. For the type of data I was aspiring to collect, observation in a natural environment seemed to provide more reliable results. When a researcher spends a limited amount of time in a group where the informants know they are being observed, she takes on the role of observer-as-participant, the third of the four roles which Gold (1958) calls the complete participant, the participant-as-observer, the observer-as-

participant and the complete observer, going from more qualitative to less qualitative (Gold 1958, in Johnson and Turner 2003:313). The three other roles would have been impossible for my study, as they would either have been too time- and resource consuming, or they would entail major ethical concerns, such as not letting the informants know that they were being studied.

This research design was to a large degree emergent (Creswell 2014:186), meaning that the initial plan for the research could not be tightly prescribed, and that although I knew what tendencies I could expect upon entering the observer role, I was unaware of the exact data the observation would offer and how I would approach analysing it.

Another reason for choosing classroom observation as my main method, was my growing curiosity about classroom research, and the increasing sense that this is something that is important, and that I am not doing nearly enough of in my professional life as an English teacher. David Hopkins, author of A Teacher's Guide to Classroom Research confirms this:

"Classroom research, in the sense I refer to it here, is an act undertaken by teachers, to enhance their own or a colleague's teaching, to test the assumptions of educational theory in practice, or as a means of evaluating and implementing whole school priorities. (...) Undertaking research in their own and colleagues' classrooms is one way in which teachers can take increased responsibility for their actions and create a more dynamic environment in which teaching and learning can occur." (Hopkins 2008: 1)

It is ultimately my aim to develop and enhance my analytical capabilities and knowledge of relevant and purposeful data collection — which will in turn generate a more meaningful professional life for me, and quite possibly a better quality of my teaching practices.

3.1.1 Possible Methodological Concerns of the Observation

I was well aware of the fact that my presence in the classroom might induce a change in the pupils' behaviour and output production. I was open to the fact that an external persona with an obvious and stated agenda of assessing and recording elements of the lesson could lead to reactivity in the group, both in the form of an unusually low production of output (in the case where the informants felt shy or uncomfortable with being monitored) or an unnaturally high occurrence of "shocking statements", i.e. statements produced with the intention of creating an effect or reaction from the surroundings. However, most of the pupils knew my face from

before or had been taught by me previously, and they did not as far as I could tell appear affected by my sitting at the back of the room taking notes and not actively participating in the class.

A prominent weakness with the design I landed on was of course the very likely possibility of something slipping by me – that I could not observe or record all the content of interest that occurred in the sample at the time of the observation. In the classroom setting, with many individuals producing output alternately and simultaneously, I might simply not have heard all that was being said. Being an obvious outsider of both the social environment as well as the Discourse of the observed groups, I might very well have misunderstood or failed to grasp the meaning of all the statements or words. There was additionally the likeliness that I might not have had sufficient time to record all the utterances (precisely), since I took notes by hand. All these factors could contribute to impairing the interpretive validity of the data. I realize that I cannot guarantee that I have caught and recorded all the relevant breaches that occurred during my time observing the three groups of informants. In fact, it is almost certain that I have missed quite a few. Nevertheless, I believe that the data I did record can provide substantial insight, and be useful in future corroboration.

Burke and Johnson (2003:315) speak of the possibility of the observer "going native" (i.e. overidentifying with the informants) as well as having selective, biased perceptions as to conceivable weaknesses of observational data. Into this discussion emerges the question: What is my own attitude to language breaches in the classroom? For all I know, I might have a very low or — more probably after the year-long habituation process I have undergone in my classrooms and binge-watching Netflix shows — an unreasonably high tolerance for slang, profanity and other forms of inappropriate output. It is important to note that even though there is certainly a focus on the importance of communicative competence in language teaching in Norway today, there exists no specific framework or glossary of what you can and cannot say within the confounds of the school (or any other place for that matter). Henceforth, the data produced in this study is my own interpretations of what I find to be problematic language in a formal place of education, and even though I have reason to believe that this is a viewpoint shared by many of my peers, I have yet to obtain a detailed, official guideline for appropriacy in the classroom.

3.2 Survey: Teachers' Attitudes and Experiences

In April 2016 I developed and conducted a quantitative survey among the English teachers at the same vocational upper secondary school as where I collected my observation data. Consequently, this was also a convenience sample, and in addition the respondents numbered so few that transferability deteriorated – it was not possible to claim any statistical generalizability to the rest of the population. Out of the 13 informants who received the survey, 12 responded, which gave a strong response rate of 92,3 %, and therefore it is highly likely that the responses in the survey gave an accurate description of the perceptions of the English teachers at this precise school.

The purpose of the survey was to obtain a representative overview of general conditions — more specifically the teachers' experiences with - and handling of - inappropriate use of L2 English. The reason why I chose a quantitative approach was that I had limited time resources, and that the amount of information could be reduced to exactly what I was interested in, something that might be challenging when applying qualitative methods. The survey was intended to serve as a pilot study that would provide me with information and ideas on which to build research questions for the MA-thesis to follow.

3.2.1 Possible Methodological Concerns of the Survey

A weakness that stands out in this quantitative study is obviously the question of reliability. To what extent can the teacher informants really speak reliably as to whether inappropriate language *is* in fact a problem in their teaching, and what consequences this actually gets for the pupils' formal assessment? For one, this might not be an issue the respondent has given much conscious thought to, they might not know the answer to the question (but will perhaps nonetheless provide one). In addition, replying falsely or sugar-coating one's answers is ultimately unproblematic for any respondent to an anonymous survey, as it will have no consequences for them at any stage. There is also the chance that the wording of the questions was misunderstood or interpreted differently by the respondents, take the example of "inappropriate language". An explanation of what this phrase entailed was given at the beginning of the survey, in the information section, but when it was later used in questions, the explanation was not available, and hence it is not unlikely that the respondents drew on their own understanding of this phrase upon answering.

In the end, I hoped that the combined data from the main study and the pilot study would provide me with answers to some of the questions that guided this project. The recorded output from the pupils in the observational study along with some relevant supplementary data from the pilot survey might furnish some insight into an issue that I find deeply interesting and pertinent to my own role as a capable and competent EFL teacher, as well as the overall future of EFL teaching in Norway.

4 Results and Analysis

4.1 Observation Group One: "Worst Case Scenario"

This group consisted of 12 pupils. Both genders were represented, but male pupils (ten) outnumbered female ones (two). The class was working on the topic of work safety, and in the lessons I observed, they first had a plenary class discussion on typical Health-, Safety- and Environment (HSE) codes and what safety issues the pupils had to consider at the workshop, as apprentices with a company, or in their future professional careers, and later they were arranged in pairs and told to create and present a fictional "worst case scenario" where they were free to make up all the details of the story.

Throughout the six-lesson observation all of the pupils produced output, although some considerably more than others, and with a great variety of degree of relevance to the subject at hand. Three of the pupils said nothing during the class discussion, but were nevertheless obliged to speak during the presentation of the accident scenario. The group as a whole seemed very enthusiastic about the assignment and appeared to enjoy the chance to improvise. They certainly produced fluent and comprehensible output and used both technically relevant terms (such as names of procedures and tools) as well as far less formal expressions. The class discussion disclosed a range of what I can only label as pragmatically and sociolinguistically problematic utterances, all of which follow here:

- (i) "And then she gets her hair caught in the fucking lathe!"
- (ii) "What a loser!"
- (iii) "Oh fuck off, [name of classmate], you don't know shit about this"

- (iv) "If you hadn't been such a retard, you would have knew [sic] not to smoke around the gas bottles"
- (v) "Fuck you" (x 4)
- (vi) "Shut the fuck up"
- (vii) "Imma smoke his ass"
- (viii) "Get the fuck outta my way"
- (ix) "Call the police, you cunts"
- (x) "Whazzup my nigga!" (upon greeting a classmate who entered the room)
- (xi) "The paramedics came and dragged his lame ass outta there"
- (xii) "It was motherfucking insane"
- (xiii) "I ain't no snitch, yo"
- (xiv) "By then it was too late. He was fucked"
- (xv) "What am I going to do with this shit? I don't understand nothing"

The total number of breaches in group 1 was 18 (the phrase "fuck you" was uttered four times), and the number of pupils who uttered them was six. Six pupils produced no problematic language output. The instances of immediate teacher correction were none, although the teacher made two general comments to the class as a whole about "trying to find words that express exactly what you want to say" and "using terms and phrases that are professional and relevant to your study program".

4.2 Observation Group 2: Reflections Upon Work Practice Weeks

The second group of observees contained 14 pupils, predominately male; just like in the previous group there were only two girls in this class. They had all recently returned from a period of work practice internships with different local companies. One at a time, the pupils were asked to briefly and informally (meaning without preparation or a script) describe and reflect upon their experiences in front of the rest of the group and the teacher. The speech act took the form of a dialogue, as the teacher (and on a few occasions the other pupils) often posed questions or asked for specifications based on what the pupil had said. Subsequently, the pupils were instructed to create a text of approximately 400 words where they discussed why they believed it is important to train at a company in addition to receiving vocational training at school. In preparation for the writing, they talked with a partner about this issue.

The second activity (discussion in pairs and text production) generated no recorded problematic output. This was a fairly quiet and reserved group compared to the other two, and they did not seem to have obvious problems with inappropriate language. During the first activity, where the students talked about their work practice weeks individually, all pupils participated. I recorded only three utterances that might be deemed as unsettling in a classroom:

- (xvi) "He was a bit of a douchebag" (referring to a person the pupil met while training with the company)
- (xvii) "When I was done I just cleaned and made coffee and talked to the guys and shit"

The total number of breaches in group 2 was two, and the number of pupils who uttered them was also two. There was no immediate teacher correction to the utterances.

4.3 Observation Group 3: Of Mice and Men

The third group contained nine pupils, all male. They knew each other very well, and produced English output with ease and confidence, as a group. The oral proficiency seemed to be very high, as was the sound level and willingness to play around with L2 English, often in attempts to create comedy. During the four lessons I observed the group, they were reading and discussing the classic American novel Of Mice and Men by John Steinbeck. Two pupils produced no output throughout the discussion, but the remaining seven were quite active and answered the questions posed by the teacher, as well as discussing amongst themselves, disclosing varying degrees of pragmatic competence. Among the many insightful and eloquent remarks about the novel, some of the output was certainly pragmatically questionable. The recorded breaches were as follows:

- (xviii) "That nigger who lived in the stable!" (when answering the teacher's question "Who was Crooks, do you remember?")
- (xix) "He whacked his homie in the end. So sad. What an asshole" (reflecting upon George Milton's decision to shoot Lennie Smalls in the final scene of the novel)
- (xx) "You like to pet mice and other furry animals too, don't you [name of classmate], you little perv?"
- (xxi) "[name of classmate] reminds me so much of Lennie! He's a motherfucking thug! Gangsta!"

- (xxii) "Lennie was a retard" (answering the teacher's question "How would you describe Lennie's character?")
- (xxiii) "She [Curley's wife] was a total slut. Everyone thought so."
- (xxiv) "That bitch brought it on herself"
- (xxv) "You are such a suck up!"
- (xxvi) "Shut the fuck up when I'm talking, [name of classmate]!"
- (xxvii) "They wanted a house of their own, with rabbits and shit. Sooo gay, if you ask me."
- (xxviii) "Screw you guys, I'm going home"
- (xxix) "I didn't have a reaction, I had an erection"

The number of breaches in group 3 was twelve, and the number of pupils who uttered them was six. Two pupils did not produce output at all, and one pupil did not in the course of his speaking say anything that breached with appropriateness. There were four instances of immediate teacher correction: "You must know that we never use that word when describing race, [name of pupil]", "Don't swear, please" x 2 and "Very funny, [name of pupil]".)

4.4 Groups of Breaches

The recorded output in the three groups together constitutes a total of 32 utterances which I question the appropriateness of in a formal classroom setting. The specific origins of the utterances are unknown to me, and the connections in which they are spoken are multifaceted and complex. Nevertheless, here follows an attempt at explaining the nature of the utterances as interpreted by myself, and naming four apparent categories or sub-groups of breaches: Direct swearing, sexual innuendo, insults and pop-cultural parody. Note that several of the breaches fit in more than one of these sub-groups.

1. Direct swearing/profane words

These types of language output were by far the most common type of breach, and manifested as unmistakably offensive, universally recognized expletives of varying gravity. They include occurrences of "fuck", "fucking", fucker, fucked, "motherfucker-/ing" "shit", "cunt", "ass", asshole, "suck", "bitch", "slut", and can be found in a multitude of the 30 registered breaches, for example:

(iii) "(...) you don't know shit"

- (v) "Fuck you" (x 4)
- (vi) "Shut the fuck up"
- (viii) "Get the fuck outta my way"
- (ix) "Call the police, you cunts"
- (xii) "It was motherfucking insane"
- (xiv) "He was fucked"
- (xix) "What an asshole"
- (xxiv) "That bitch brought it on herself"

The three established swearword categories by Trudgill and Anderson (as discussed in chapter 2.2), namely words related to sexuality and excretion, blasphemous words and so-called animal abuse, were represented in the pupils' output, but note that phrases from the blasphemy category have been omitted in the data, as one might question whether such terms are in fact still breaches of pragmatic/sociolinguistic competence in most parts of the increasingly secularised society of modern Norway. Merriam Webster's definition of blasphemy as "1. great disrespect shown to God or to something holy, or 2. irreverence toward something considered sacred or inviolable" definitely seems far removed from the intent with which these words ("Jesus, you are slow!" "What in God's name do you mean?" "OMG!") are spoken by young Norwegians. One might disagree as to whether "blasphemic" output is appropriate in all settings, but it is inarguably very frequently found in the English (as well as Norwegian!) Discourses of average pupils in Norway, without the severe connotations such utterances had in the past.

In chapter 2.2 I further suggest adding two categories of swearwords; *ethnic slurs* and *inappropriate labelling of traits and preferences*. The data of this study included several examples of the two:

- (iv) "If you hadn't been such a retard, (...)"
- (x) "Whazzup, my nigga!"
- (xvi) "He was a bit of a douchebag"

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(xviii) "That nigger who lived in the stable!"
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(xxii) "Lennie was a retard"

(xxiii) "She was a total slut"

(xxv) "You are such a suck up!"

(xxx) "Sooo gay, if you ask me"

As seen, the sample tended to use a lot of classic profanity, with emphasis on common, recognized swearwords found in entertainment-based English, especially variants of the word "fuck". There were also occurrences of ethnic slurs ("nigga"/"nigger") and inappropriate labelling ("retard", "douchebag", "slut", "suck up"), where the speakers failed to retrieve correct or appropriate words to describe a person or characteristic, and resorted to a vulgar term instead.

2. Sexual innuendo

These breaches did not necessarily contain profane words or expletives, rather they were phrases – and sometimes puns – that alluded to something sexual, and/or was probably intended to contain a double meaning, one of which was sexual. They appeared to be commonly uttered with the intent of comedy, and they often generated wide approval from peers (who got the joke). Examples include:

(xx) "You like to pet mice and other furry animals too, don't you [name of classmate], you little perv?"

(xxix) "I didn't have a reaction, I had an erection"

There is evidently nothing wrong with the linguistics of these sentences, some might even argue that the comic talent in (xx) and the ability to spontaneously concoct a play on words in (xxix) shows a surprisingly advanced level of language competence in an EFL learner, but the phrases can – however witty and linguistically correct – not pass as appropriate classroom output.

This is somewhat a problematic area, as I suspect my status as a social outsider in the sample groups left me oblivious to a significant amount of the "dirty jokes". I feel fairly certain I did

not register all of the occurrences of sexual innuendo in the sample, there was a lot of approving laughter and displays of "male confidence" (see chapter 5.5), the origin of which I was not able to identify. Nevertheless, these attempts at comedy through sexual innuendo, although popular and highly effective among peers, are perhaps not suitable in the eyes of everyone.

3. Insults directed at classmates or others

This was output that took the form of a personal or general insult, either to someone physically present, or to a referenced character, real or fictional. These insults were often used for a purely comic effect, and my impression was that they were rarely spoken with genuinely ill intent, although the impact on the recipient was of course impossible for me to calculate. Examples of insults from the sample are:

- (ii) "What a loser!"
- (iii) "Oh fuck off, you don't know shit about this"
- (iv) "If you hadn't been such a retard, you would have knew (sic.) not to smoke around the gas bottles"
- (v) "Fuck you" (x 4)
- (vi) "Shut the fuck up"
- (xi) "The paramedics came and dragged his lame ass outta there"
- (xxi) "[name of classmate] reminds me so much of Lennie"
- (xxv) "You are such a suck up!"

One thing I noticed with the insults, was that one often followed another, that is to say, they often occurred in clusters, where the pupils spurred each other on and tried to retaliate and surpass the preceding utterance. For instance, the following exchange between three informants was recorded as a whole, no output is omitted:

Pupil 1: If you hadn't been such a retard, you would have knew (sic.) not to smoke around the gas bottles.

Pupil 2: Fuck you.

Pupil 1: No, fuck you.

Pupil 1: No, seriously, fuck you.

Pupil 3: Fuck you both.

Pupil 1: Oh, shut the fuck up.

The reason why insults constitute such a significant part of the language breaches will be discussed further in the subsequent chapter. It is unquestionably a notable feature of the discourses displayed in the sample.

4. Parody from popular culture

A lot of the language output produced by the pupils was apparently recognized phrases which seemed to bear meaning to the majority or all of the members of the group (and sometimes to myself and the teachers), such as famous quotes from TV series/films/video games/music lyrics, or so-called internet memes; phenomena that have become well known due to a viral online status. Also represented was output that would be hallmark of a famous or stereotypical figure known from popular culture (such as the Mafioso, the urban criminal, Cartman from South Park, etc.). Examples are:

(vii) "Imma smoke his ass".

(xiii) "I ain't no snitch, yo".

(x) "Whazzup, my nigga!"

(xix) "He whacked his homie in the end"

All the precedent breaches are examples of classic, American, inner city vernacular with connotations to action entertainment and crime. There seems to be an attempt – through use of slang features such as euphemisms, abbreviation and deviation to standard grammar – to copy the diction as well as the pronunciation of AAVE (African-American vernacular English) in the output (Algeo and Pyles 2004:215), and since this is hardly the English that is generally taught in Norwegian schools, we can assume that the pupils have acquired it elsewhere. Conceivable sources are entertainment channels such as rap music and television.

Pupils also tend to use special catchphrases from TV-shows or videogames, an example of this was

(xxviii) "Screw you guys, I'm going home"

The latter is a phrase found as a recurrent tagline for the character Eric Cartman in the popular, American animation series South Park. In all likelihood, there were more of these type of references to phenomena known to the pupils, although indecipherable to me.

Obviously, not all pop-cultural references are bad language or inappropriate in the classroom. Some of them are simply natural elements in everyday conversation, and sometimes titillating in their status as "common knowledge" in the group. The problem arises as soon as the utterances fail to contain meaning to the one running the lesson, i.e. the teacher. If the pupils spoke only in parodic phrases from their eBAD, no matter how to the point these were, they would be worthless in a contexture where your conversation partner is supposed to be assessing your ability to convey meaning in English, and can find none.

Omissions

As mentioned above, the data from the observation does not include all utterances that might be deemed inappropriate. I decided after some thought to omit occurrences of blasphemous words ("Oh, my God", "Jesus Christ", "OMG"). To me they don't constitute serious pragmatic/sociolinguistic breaches, although I am open to claims that this type of output should be avoided when employing professional discourse.

I also left out examples of what Turner et al (2014) refer to as *digitalk*, a modern and effective style of communication that has come to exist in the last couple of decades, through the development of digital technologies. In writing, it entails for example heavy use of abbreviation, along with the omission of punctuation and capitalization. The purpose is of course to save time when typing. Turner explains the term:

As communication technologies evolved from telephone to computer chat capabilities, the discourse of "talk" likewise transformed. Immediate conversations that once took place orally could occur via writing, in real time. To avoid overlapping utterances and to increase communicative efficiency, shortcuts that involved fewer keystrokes became standard practice among many users (Crystal, 2001). Similarly, the development of

text technology via mobile phone has afforded users the choice of immediate or delayed response. Initially, numeric keypads and the expense of text messages encouraged users to minimize keystrokes. The more recent introduction of unlimited messaging plans, QWERTY keypads, and auto-correction tools has led to more variety in language choice. Thus, digital language continues to evolve in response to the affordances and limitations of technology and the capabilities of the users. Most teens use both the Internet and cell phones to communicate with their peers, and patterns of language cross technological boundaries. (Turner et al, 2014:161)

Digitalk is no longer just a deviation of Standard Written English (SWE), but has transferred into speech, and pupils can be heard using terms that originate from for example text messaging or game chat ("LOL", "n00b", "YOLO", "ty"). I believe, however, that these features must be seen as natural changes in an ever evolving language, and that they don't necessarily comprise inappropriate language breaches when used in a classroom. There is a good chance that the adult teacher won't always appreciate the meaning of all these new words and phrases (and that is obviously frustrating), nevertheless I maintain that they are not signs of failure to demonstrate language proficiency, but rather the opposite, as is also stated by Turner:

Despite the fears of waning literacy in a digital world, a growing body of research has shown that not only is digitalk not detrimental to students' literacy, but also the practice of manipulating language may actually signal advanced literacy skills. Many studies on the relationship between digital language and literacy measures have shown a positive correlation (...) demonstrating that use of digitalk may actually be a mark of growth and proficiency in literacy instead of a deficit. (Turner et al, 2014: 163-164)

The younger generation, along with all generations to follow, are digital natives, and any attempt to increase sociolinguistic and pragmatic competence cannot begin by attacking all language innovations that come from the digital revolution. I believe teachers and educational authorities must focus on the language breaches that are most detrimental to social norms, as I have tried to do here.

5 Discussion

5.1 Causes of Out-of-School Practices and Habituation

There are undoubtedly many factors that may play into the high frequency of inappropriate language output found in the study's sample. It is important to recognize that there is no single contributor to the problematic output. Initially, it is important to keep in mind that these pupils spend only a little shy of half their waking time in the confounds of the school, and their English lessons (in vocational study programs) constitute two (level 1) or three (level 2) lessons out of a weekly total of around 40. Secondly, the almost extreme digital competence of young learners has rendered traditional English teaching – at least on an upper secondary level – somewhat outdated (Hellekjær 2012). There is still quite a distance between the competence aims of the national curriculum and the English (frequently) practiced by the learners in private.

The young generation of L2 English users in Norway acquire their English from a multitude of arenas, of which school is only one, and, dare I say, not the most prominent one. When I ask my pupils to list their English language sources (I do this at the beginning of every school year), some of their answers are more or less constant. They follow here, in a random order: Family/relatives/friends, travelling, TV/film/series, Internet/social media, video gaming and music. School is practically always mentioned, but almost never as a primary or even secondary source.

So what kind of English is being taught to our pupils while we are not watching? It's pretty safe to wager that almost every single Norwegian teenager owns his or her own mobile phone, and has access to the digital world in some form or another on a daily basis. Depending on individual interest, young people participate in different digital, entertainment-related activities, such as video gaming, online common interest communities, social media, music streaming and watching their favourite series. All of these activities are substantial sources of EFL, and, consequently, of eBAD – the unfortunate "side effects" of informal English acquisition.

Current TV culture aims to entertain by any means possible, and this denotes constantly moving the boundaries for what is allowed to show – and say. Cable networks and

entertainment companies, such as HBO and Netflix, are hugely popular with the younger generation, and are not bound by the same content regulations as broadcast networks who use the public airwaves. Over the years, we have grown accustomed to hearing TV-characters swear, insult, mock, threaten and in other ways deviate from standardized English, so much that we hardly raise an eyebrow to it anymore. Even award-winning, critically acclaimed shows like HBO's *The Wire* have been found to contain as many as 20 swearwords per 1000 words of dialogue (Bednarek 2014).

In gaming, the habit and art of insulting one's opponents is prominent, and even though not all young people play videogames, many phrases and words, along with a gamer's habit and style of insulting opponents are by now established in modern discourse. The words and the style are known and used by more than those who inhabit the gaming community. Nowadays there is hardly a single gaming system that doesn't host several games with both mature content and language. The 2013 game *The Last of Us* employs the expletive "shit" on as many as 160 occasions, surpassing the word "fuck", which is only used 130 times. The 2006 game *Scarface: The World is Yours* actually holds a Guinness World record for obscene language. "Fuck" is used 5688 times within the title's 31000 lines of dialogue (GiantBoyDetective 2014). In the end, profanity in gaming occurs both in the games' scripts and on the gamers' own initiative (audio or text chatting to each other while gaming), and both the vocabulary and the style of communicating with and correcting peers using profanity transfer onto everyday discourse, it seems.

Popular music is evidently another source of English acquisition for Norwegian learners, and a large portion of the music artists listened to by Norwegian youth is from the USA. Consider the following lyrics from the 2014 song "Shady XV" by US rapper Eminem, the fifth most downloaded artist in Norway in 2015, and also notorious for his use of profanity in his lyrics:

That's nutbag that I'm talking, who am I kidding?
You faggots are all gonna do my bidding
Don't get dragged to the auction
Neiman Marcus, bags of Vuitton and all
I'll push a bitch into oncoming traffic, just watch this
Stretched, tinted, black sedan my ass
See how mad you act when I drop you off at Saks Fifth Ave
In a fucking taxi cab to go shopping
Affable guy next door is laughable
My next whore's gonna have mechanical arms

That'll jack me off with a lotion dispenser with a motion sensor No emotion hence I guess this sick prick dies hard

While the Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA) places warning labels on all audio recordings that contains "strong language or depictions of violence, sex, or substance abuse to such an extent as to merit parental notification", and artists who tend to use a lot of profanity in their lyrics usually make edited (profanity omitted or replaced with more decent words, such as "messed up" instead of "fucked up") versions available for sale, Norway is bound by no such regulations and people of all ages are free to stream, buy and play on the radio music with explicit lyrics.



The current Parental Advisory warning label, introduced in 1996 by the RIAA.

All forms of online activity are protected by a certain degree of anonymity, that is to say, individuals need not fear severe consequences of using "bad language" in informal online situations such as chatrooms, MMORPGs or comment sections of social media posts. The worst that can happen (unless you commit crimes punishable by law) is that an administrator bans you or you receive some correction or ridicule from your peers. Needless to say, this anonymous, repercussion-free state pushes the boundaries of online output, both in terms of content and language.

Consequently, it seems fair to assume that the main sources – and the strongest continued reinforcers – of the pupils' language output is the exposure to English through informal, out-of-school arenas such as online activities, gaming, films/series and music. Many of the recorded data in this study indicate a strong relation to the aforementioned sources. Through their out-of-school practices, the pupils have grown so accustomed to hearing and seeing

inappropriate English that they seize to react to the output, they become habituated to the stimulus of indecent language, and eventually start employing it themselves, with ease and void of fear of consequences.

5.2 Causes of the Teacher

Another quite obvious contributor to the level of pragmatic and sociolinguistic correctness is the teacher, and how he or she has consciously or unconsciously taught pragmatics to the specific groups. Questions such as the following are relevant here:

- What is the natural, everyday discourse style between this teacher and the pupils?
- Has the topic of pragmatics been included in the lesson plans this year?
- How does the teacher react when pragmatic/sociolinguistic breaches occur?
- Is the teacher a sufficiently strong model language user him-/herself?
- What attitudes does the teacher hold as to the gravity of output breaches?

During the observation there were several instances where the teachers in the sample groups not only ignored (or failed to recognize) language breaches, but in fact reinforced pupil behaviour that to others might have qualified for a disciplinary reaction instead. They would for example answer questions that contained breaches:

Pupil: "What am I going to do with this shit? I don't understand nothing!"

Teacher: "Here, don't worry, I will show you [name of pupil]"

or they would smile/laugh/comment favourably/reply jokingly to clearly questionable output from pupils. There might be many reasons for this, and I cannot comment on the teachers' choice to handle the situations in the manner they did. I do believe that four factors especially contribute to the scarce reprimanding seen in the sample, although I have no scientific data to back this up:

- 1. The teacher did not perceive the breach (i.e. did not hear or did not understand it)
- 2. The teacher did not correct the breach for fear of seeming prudish or old-fashioned

- 3. The teacher has through working longitudinally in this environment, or through private practices, or both become habituated to the discourse and no longer reacts "appropriately"
- 4. The teacher is aware of the problem, but is forced to avoid addressing the communicative challenges in order to keep up with the syllabus.

Certainly, to some educators, an engaged and diligent class, albeit riddled with profanity, is preferable to one that produces no utterances and who refuses to participate in any form of oral activity. The conflict between inappropriate, colloquial English and proper, formal English should perhaps (more often than this study proves that it does) result in the teacher having to address and confront the learner who is showing a clear lack of pragmatic competence. However, learning theory teaches us that a learner who is subjected to multiple corrections (no matter how mild the punishment might seem to the administrator) will often after a while grow passive and disengaged. There are many disadvantages of punishment and corrections in learning, Cheney and Pierce (2004) claim that the greatest drawback of positive punishment/adding an aversive stimulus (like a verbal correction) in order to reduce the occurrence of an unwanted behaviour, is that it fails to teach desirable behaviours. Furthermore, positive punishment, such as pointing out someone's inappropriate language input, can produce undesirable emotional reactions like passivity, fear, anxiety, or hostility (Cheney and Pierce 2004). This notion is widely supported and definitely something to keep in mind when teaching languages or indeed any other behaviour. Cameron and Pierce (2002) state:

Some teachers and educators are familiar with and use positive reinforcement effectively. A teacher who does use positive reinforcement looks to reward small steps of success rather than punish instances of failure. Schools who adopt positive reinforcement methods are likely to promote both the enjoyment of learning as well as high academic performance (as cited in Cheney and Pierce 2004:178)

For many students, it is already a big step out of the comfort zone to participate in classroom activities (and an even bigger one when those activities take place in English), so when they are told that their output is not of the desired quality, many resolve to give up on participation. Cambridge scholar Penny Ur discusses this in her webinar *Getting them to talk in English* (when they don't want to):

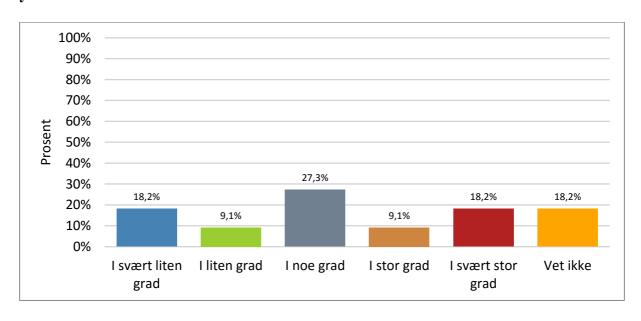
Getting learners to talk in English is one of the most difficult challenges facing the teacher. One of the major reasons for this is that speaking — unlike listening, reading and writing — can only normally take place directly

in interaction with an audience, in real time: so if you express yourself badly, hesitate, make mistakes – such failings are immediately exposed to the listener(s). Many learners feel uncomfortable and stressed in such a situation, even within a supportive classroom, and often prefer to keep quiet or use their mother tongue." (2015: YouTube introduction)

With this in mind, it is easy to understand how some teachers might choose to disregard questionable output during the EFL lessons. "At least he speaks", some might reason, and thus overlook the failing pragmatics of the learner.

Lastly, there is a possibility that the teachers don't know, or they disagree on, how precisely to let a pupil's tendency towards eBAD affect their English subject assessment. In a pilot study regarding experience with and handling of inappropriate language output in classrooms, I asked twelve teachers in a survey (in their L1 Norwegian): To what extent will you let a pupil's use of inappropriate English affect your formal assessment of him/her? The answer categories in the Norwegian table below reads from left to right as follows: "To a very small degree", "To a small degree", To some degree", "To a large degree", "To a very large degree" and "I don't know".

Table 1: To what extent will you let a pupil's use of inappropriate English affect your formal assessment of him/her?



The answers the respondents provided in this variable were strikingly scattered across all the categories, two of the respondent even answered "I don't know". This indicates – although it does not confirm – a clear absence of consciousness concerning this important issue, and that

in itself is alarming. Coincidence should play no part in how a pupil receives the formal assessment in a subject, the criteria should, by contrast, be clear, general and available. If – as my pilot study indicates - there exists an uncertainty as to how lacking pragmatic competence should affect a pupil's English grade, it is consequential and should be examined further. It should also be a thoroughly addressed topic at teacher education programmes.

5.3 Causes of Youth Culture, Identity and Discourses

Admittedly, a large portion of pupil output is completely lost on their teachers, just like much of the youth culture and discourse happens over the heads of adults. This is surely the way it has always been, and, perhaps, the way it should be. The whole point of slang, for instance, is to exclude others (traditionally adults), and it is often referred to as an in-group phenomenon, a subversion of a standard variety, created exactly with the intention of keeping trespassers out. Thus, it is not easily battled, nor should it be an educator's goal to do so, just to limit this output in formal discourse. Dickson (2010) observes:

It is all but impossible for an outsider to destroy slang, especially with the argument that it is improper, impolite or politically incorrect. For most of the twentieth century a battle was waged on the word "ain't". The anti-ain't-ers never had a chance. When, for example, during the Great Depression, they criticized baseball great Dizzie Dean for using the a-word on his radio broadcasts, he all but liquidated their argument by pointing out "Lots of people who don't say aint', ain't eatin'."

Even teachers who are fairly up to date on the distinctive features of the world of their pupils, who know of many internet memes and pop-cultural references and can engage in modern topics, jargons and discourse styles that are of special interest to their pupils, will ultimately fail in catching all the nuances and attaining real access to this identity group, since they do not live permanently in this world, in fact, their mere age and status automatically exclude them from it. It is, understandably, in the young generation's interest to reserve arenas for themselves where they can exist without adult (parents, teachers, etc.) supervision and insight, where criteria for how to obtain social credibility and a strong sense of identity/belonging to a group is dictated by the members of said group, and not by external authorities. Nilsen (2010) claims that

The youthful style of language is in fact stereotypes of how youths talk, and young people (and others, for that matter) can choose to employ these stereotypes – or distance themselves from them. This choice correlates to the youth culture they belong to or wish to belong to. If a youth belongs to a culture where heavy swearing is regarded as something normal, it's quite probable that she will swear a lot. If a youth does not wish to be part of this culture, she can distance herself from it by not swearing at all. This relates to language as a marker for group identity. The concept of identity is complex, and it is often discussed in sociolinguistics. Many concur with the constructivist (or postmodern) view of identity, which claims that humans have several language identities to choose from, as opposed to a single core identity, as asserted by essentialism (Hasund 2006b:34). Hasund writes that modern sociolinguistics places itself in the middle of these views. Individuals have several language identities, and can thus adapt to different groups while maintaining individual features, even though these are formed through speech acts involving others. As a result, people can change the way they use their language depending on who they are talking to (for example swear with their friends, but not in front of their parents). (...) The groups an individual belongs to can henceforth contribute to altering language, while language-based group identity is formed through interaction between group members. (Nilsen 2010:19)

Original text:

Ungdommelig språkstil er altså stereotypiene om hvordan ungdom snakker, og disse stereotypiene kan ungdom (og andre, for den saks skyld) velge å benytte seg av, eller ta avstand fra. Valget henger ofte sammen med den ungdomskulturen de tilhører eller ønsker å tilhøre. Dersom en ungdom tilhører en kultur der det å banne ofte blir sett på som det "normale", vil sannsynligvis denne ungdommen også banne ofte. Dersom en ungdom ikke ønsker å være en del av denne kulturen, kan hun vise avstand fra den ved ikke å banne i det hele tatt. Dette henger sammen med språk som markør for gruppeidentitet. Identitetsbegrepet er komplekst, og blir ofte drøftet i sosiolingvistikken. Mange støtter det konstruktivistiske (eller postmodernistiske) synet på identitet, som går ut på at mennesker har flere språklige identiteter de kan velge mellom, ikke en fast identitetskjerne, slik essensialismen hevder (Hasund 2006b:34). Hasund skriver at den moderne sosiolingvistikken plasserer seg i en mellomposisjon mellom disse. Individer har flere språklige identiteter, slik at de kan tilpasse seg forskjellige grupper, samtidig som de har noe individuelt, selv om dette blir dannet i språklig samhandling med andre (ibid.). Dette gjør at mennesker kan forandre måten de bruker språket sitt på alt etter hvem de snakker med (for eksempel å banne sammen med venner, men ikke foran foreldrene) (...) Gruppene et individ tilhører, kan altså være med på å endre språket, samtidig som språklig

gruppeidentitet blir dannet nettopp gjennom samhandling gruppemedlemmene imellom. (Nilsen 2010:19)

Incidentally, this youthful discourse and the degree to which any person decides to adhere to it will decide group membership or lack thereof for said person. Not everyone wants to speak in a manner that makes them appear impolite or failing at pragmatic nuances, and this might ultimately be their social downfall, as they face exclusion from the community they wish to be part of. Gauthier says:

Moreover, the avoidance of such words in a community of practice can be a factor of rejection of this very community. The repeated use of some linguistic features, even if they are expletives, can become a sociolinguistic marker of belonging to the community of practice using it, and then, these words used in this context can turn into markers of affection or recognition of integration, even when they basically had an opposite meaning. (Gauthier: 38)

According to this, the language breaches, which are abominations in the ears of most adults, have been adapted into the everyday tongue of the pupils, where they have developed and taken on new meanings as markers for the pupils' social community. The transgressions are no longer inappropriate or unacceptable in the eyes of the users, but instead they convey belonging, and might even be necessary to prevent social exclusion. Given the conventialization of eBAD and the development of a culture that appraises inappropriate language there is actually a chance that the use of certain language breaches might be regarded as something positive.

I often observe in my teaching how these rapid signals and discourses constantly shape and alter the social climate in the classroom. Some are in on it, some are outsiders. During the observation of the groups in the study I saw it, too: The boys urged each other on, reinforced profanities from their classmates through approving body-language, laughter and cheers, at times almost competing in who could produce the wittiest and most ground-breaking utterances. It happened so naturally and at such a speed that it was challenging for me as the adult observer and obvious outsider to absorb all the nuances of the multiple actions and reactions occurring in some of the lessons. The boys were on home ground here, and I became the outsider; a slightly confused and misplaced spectator, struggling to keep up.

5.4 Causes of Possible Output Differences in Vocational vs. Academic Study Programmes

Given the fairly strong frequency of inappropriate output in the sample, it seems reasonable to ask the question of whether this tendency is unique for this school, or for vocational upper secondary schools - where we find practical education programmes with pupils who might have "wise hands" (Tesfaye 2013), but whose interest for and engagement in theoretical subjects are subordinate to the specific vocational skills they are training for. Based on my own experience, and that of numerous colleagues, the occurrence of poor pragmatic/sociolinguistic skills are hands down more habitual in study programmes where the professional sphere the pupils end up in after completing their education and apprenticeships allow for a more colourful use of language and less filtering than, say, more academic study programmes. However, I have not found any scientific data to back up this assumption significantly. Although it seems quite probable that Norwegian, vocational upper secondary schools display a greater degree (as well as tolerance) for the use of profanity in L2 English than schools where pupils are prepared for an academic education path, no studies have been conducted to prove that this is anything more than a belief we hold; a stereotype.

5.5 Causes of Sex and Gender

It is not entirely impossible that the problematic language outputs are partly an effect of the skewed gender balance in the groups. Out of the 29 recorded pragmatic breaches, none were uttered by the four girls in the sample of 35 pupils. Questionable linguistic utterances, at least the type that is recorded in the sample, is perhaps not as frequently uttered in environments with female learners. Grey (no date) presents an overview of numerous published guidelines on so-called appropriate language for women, with names such as "On the Instruction of a Christian Woman" or "Accidence, or first rudiments of English grammar designed for the use of young ladies", all the way from the Tudor era and up to the 1970's. According to him:

"What is interesting about these early 'handbooks' is the specific reference to women – there are no corresponding publications where men are the audience for a book on 'improving' linguistic behaviour, indeed it is men who usually do the suggesting." Thus, traditionally, women were taught to display good manners through the avoidance of seemingly improper language (while boys, on the other hand, "would be boys"), and even though today's gender expectations are different and ever changing, boys and girls are irrevocably influenced by among others their parents and grandparents, and as a result we cannot entirely escape traditional views and attitudes of gender and language – yet.

Scientists generally agree that there is a clear and irrefutable difference in the way men and women both react to – as well as produce – profanity. In 1991 Vivian de Klerk performed a study which revealed that "No matter the age, or the kind of school, the general tendency was the same. Generally speaking, boys displayed a greater tolerance vis-à-vis profanity than girls." De Klerk names this an "apparent male self confidence" (De Klerk 1991:164, as quoted in Gauthier, no date:20-21). This male confidence, as well as the use of different categories of inappropriate language (much spurred on by modern technology and developments in the media), has probably not decreased in the 26 years since De Klerk made her observation, and it was indeed easy to detect in my observations for this study.

Notwithstanding previous traditions, some researchers, particularly Gauthier (no date) observe that younger generations today are actually more egalitarian as far as gender expectations are concerned. (Gauthier, no date:128). The young women (aged 18-25) in Gauthier's study reported to swear *more* than the men, even though they professed to finding the act of using profanity more offensive than the men did, which suggests a type of egalitarian consciousness; a deliberate choice made to "even the score" with the males and not be excluded from using strong language – an arena where young people stand to gain or lose substantial amounts of social credibility. Consequently, the lack of swearing girls in this study might not be representative for the general state of things in Norwegian English L2 classrooms, and the topic certainly lends itself to exciting, highly relevant pioneer research.

5.6 Causes of First vs. Second Language Morality

I have no doubt that the threshold for using inappropriate language is significantly lower in my pupils' second language than in their mother tongue. The youth I teach are most definitely linguistically different with their English suits on than in their native Norwegian. In an elaborate study from 2014, Costa et al proved that people systematically make more utilitarian

choices when presented with a moral dilemma in a foreign language than in their native tongue. The reason for this, the researchers hypothesized, was that "a foreign language elicits less intense emotional reactions relative to a native language" (Costa et al 2014:2). Accordingly, Norwegian teenagers might feel safer and less fearful of the consequences when applying indecent language output in L2 English than in their L1 Norwegian. The foulmouthedness simply does not pack the same power when uttered in L2 English, which is verified by Costa's study:

For example, skin conductance responses as well as the perceived force of emotional phrases are reduced when presented in a foreign language compared to a native language. Additionally, heuristic biases that are driven by emotional factors, such as loss aversion, are reduced when people make decisions in a foreign language. Such reduced emotionality, we argue, promotes a more reasoned, controlled process that leads to a utilitarian choice. (Costa et al 2014:2)

I am not about to argue that the use of profanity or slang reveals an underlying lack of morality in a person's character, but from a linguistic as well as a psychological point of view it is easy to see how we can grow a thicker skin for problematic language in an L2 (where we experience less emotional reactivity and more psychological distance) than in our L1. I believe this to be a highly contributing factor to the language breaches in the study.

5.7 Other Possible Causes of the Results

There is conceivably a multitude of other possible reasons for the many occurrences of problematic English in the sample, but none of these come with scientific data to either support or dismiss them. Nevertheless, I shall mention some, in the event that someone wants to pick up this glove in the future. Firstly, there is a certain stereotype concerning the "Vulgar Northerner»; that people living in the northern parts of Norway are much more prone to profanity than in other parts of the country. So far, this prejudice only encompasses L1 use, but I suppose that it isn't entirely unthinkable that the same rule – if it were true – could also apply to the North Norwegian's L2 English.

Secondly, I observe every day how vital the influences of class-cultural trend-setters are. These characters in the classroom are established authorities within the group who by example and reinforcement set the standard code of behavior and language. Some of these

might for example have a high tolerance for and production of profanity, and thus create an environment with the same attitudes and habits. Once in a while, there emerge trend-setters who react upon profanity, speak against it, condemn it verbally. These will sometimes create the opposite effect; people clean up their language to comply with the unwritten rules. In the case of the sample, I recorded six instances where pupils displayed disapproval at the inappropriate output from their classmates (it is likely that there were more), everything from sighing loudly, exchanging looks and shaking their heads, to direct confrontation ("Do you kiss you mother with that mouth, [name of classmate]?" or "That's real (sic) charming"). I sometimes think we teachers do not realize how dependent we are of these silently appointed leaders, and what an untapped resource they are to us in our attempt to optimize the learning environment.

6 Conclusion

Norwegian EFL classrooms are today marked by a lack of consciousness regarding the informally acquired language competence the pupils possess, and how it does not meet with the standards of formal education, or even appropriate social behaviour. This lack of consciousness is a feature in pupils and teachers alike, the pupils fail to meet with the official competence aims, and the teachers are unsure about if and how to react to the language breaches. There is no reason to believe that the future sources of English will be more formal, learning-based situations, as everything points in the direction of an increasingly digital and introspective peer culture.

The findings of this study indicated frequent occurrences of language breaches among upper secondary EFL learners, represented as basic swearing, sexual innuendo, insults and parody from popular culture. I have argued that some main causes of the status quo could be, but are not restricted to, habituation of out-of-school practices, the teacher's attitudes and reactions, youth discourses and issues of identity and group-belonging, possible language differences in vocational vs. academic study programmes, sex and gender, and finally first vs. second language morality.

The data also pointed towards scarce teacher correction of the problematic output, and in addition a notable uncertainty as to how to let inappropriate language affect formal

assessment. If Gee is correct in his assumption that learning supports acquisition in terms of providing meta-knowledge, then surely this is where we must begin addressing this issue: By effectively installing a meta-consciousness concerning Discourses in our pupils in order to liberate their literacy. This is done by systematically and frequently addressing the issues of out-of-school vs. in-school practices and teaching pragmatics and sociolinguistics to pupils on all levels, as it is likely that the acquisition of and habituation to 'problematic' English occurs early.

For the Core and Subject Curricula of the LK06 to be even remotely relevant in the future, they must be more than words on paper; they must be adhered to in practice. The stated importance of school's role as a counterweight to the informal acquisition of out-of-school practices must receive a significantly stronger focus than it appears to have today. In addition, the teachers who are to administer knowledge of pragmatic and sociolinguistic conventions to their pupils must become systematically and extensively acquainted with this complex issue through their own training.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Receipt of approved study plan from the **Norwegian Centre for Research Data**



Institutt for lærerutdanning og pedagogikk UiT Norges arktiske universitet

9006 TROMSØ

VW date: 19,09,2017

Variet 60602737AMS

Deese date:

Decree set

TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

W viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 31.01.2017. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

The problematic lack of sociolinguistic competence in Norwegian upper secondary L2 learners of English 52622

Behandlingsansvarlig UiT Norges arktiske universitet, ved institusjonens øverste leder

Daglig ansvarlig Kristin Killie

Student Tonje Solled Johansen

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger er meldepliktig i henhold til personopplysningsloven § 31. Behandlingen tilfredsstiller kravene i personopplysningsloven.

Personvernombudets vurdering forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, ombudets kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/meldeplikt/skjema.html. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, http://pvo.nsd.no/prosjekt.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 01.07.2017, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen

Kjersti Haugstvedt

Anne-Mette Somby

Kontaktperson: Anne-Mette Somby tff: 55 58 24 10

Dokumentet er elektronisk produsert og godkjent ved NSDs rutiner for elektronisk godkjenning.

NSD - Norak senter for Krokningsdata AS — Handd Hårfagsos gate 29 — Tel: +47-35-38 21 17 NSD - Norwegian Centro for Research Data — NO-5007 Bergen, NORWAY — Falis: +47-55-58 96-50 —

mskimsdre

Org.tv. 985 321 684

Personvernombudet for forskning



Prosjektvurdering - Kommentar

Prosjektnr: 52622

Utvalget (ansatte og elever) skal informeres skriftlig om prosjektet og samtykker til deltakelse. Informasjonsskrivet er godt utformet.

Personvernombudet legger til grunn at forskere og studenter følger UiT Norges arktiske universitet sine interne rutiner for datasikkerhet. Dersom personopplysninger skal lagres på privat pc, bør opplysningene krypteres.

Forventet prosjektslutt er 01.07.2017. Ifølge prosjektmeldingen skal innsamlede opplysninger da anonymiseres. Anonymisering innebærer å bearbeide datamaterialet slik at ingen enkeltpersoner kan gjenkjennes. Det gjøres ved å:

- slette direkte personopplysninger (som navn/koblingsnøkkel)
- slette/omskrive indirekte personopplysninger (identifiserende sammenstilling av bakgrunnsopplysninger som f.eks. bosted/arbeidssted, alder og kjønn)

Appendix 2: Information letter to the sample groups

Forespørsel om deltakelse i forskningsprosjektet

A study of classroom breaches of pragmatic and sociolinguistic competence in Norwegian, upper secondary learners of L2 English

Til elever i	(sett inn klasse)
I II CICVCI I	(SCIL II II RIASSC)

Mitt navn er Tonje Sollied Johansen, og jeg er masterstudent i engelsk fagdidaktikk ved Norges Arktiske Universitet (UiT). Vårsemesteret 2017 skal jeg gjennomføre en studie om hvordan ungdom på videregående bruker muntlig engelsk i klasserommet, og denne studien skal resultere i en masteroppgave som skal være ferdig i mai 2017.

Hva innebærer deltakelse i studien?

I to uker i mars måned skal jeg være til stede i engelsktimene til klassen din. Jeg kommer ikke til å delta i undervisningen, men være en passiv observatør. Jeg kommer til å ta notater under observasjonen. Du skal ikke gjøre noe annet enn du pleier, simpelthen gjennomføre engelsktimen som vanlig.

Hva skjer med informasjonen om deg?

Alle personopplysninger vil bli behandlet konfidensielt. Det skal ikke under prosjektets gang samles inn noen form for direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger (navn etc.). De registrerte dataene (i form av muntlige ytringer notert ned for hånd) behandles kun av meg selv og ansvarlig veileder under hele prosessen.

Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes 01.07.2017., og da slettes alt av notater fra observasjonen.

Deltakere vil ikke kunne gjenkjennes i en eventuell publikasjon.

Frivillig deltakelse

Samtykke til deltakelse i studien gis muntlig. Det er frivillig å delta i studien, og du kan når som helst trekke ditt samtykke uten å oppgi noen grunn. Dersom du trekker deg, vil alle opplysninger om deg bli anonymisert. Dersom du har spørsmål til studien, ta kontakt med Tonje Sollied Johansen (studentforsker, e-post: tonje.sollied.johansen@tromsfylke.no) eller Kristin Killie (veileder, e-post: kristin.killie@uit.no) Studien er meldt til personvernombudet for forskning ved norsk senter for forskningsdata.