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Incorporating Ontological Reflection into Teacher Education about English for Global Learners

A Rationale and Some Guiding Principles

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1 INTRODUCTION

In English language teaching (ELT) teacher education, much more attention is paid to pedagogical knowledge and practice than to the nature of the subject to be taught (cf. Marr and English 2019). A recent review of trends in ELT teacher education (Barahona 2018), for example, refers to the importance of developing new 'teacher conceptualizations of pedagogical practice and of how a language is learnt,' but not of 'the language' itself. This imbalance is unfortunate given several decades of research in World Englishes (henceforth WE) and related approaches that have questioned conventional conceptualizations of English and have recognized the new realities of its global learning and use. Although there has been considerable attention to English teachers' language awareness or 'Knowledge about Language' (KAL; cf. Andrews 1999; Bartels 2005), the obvious connection to Global Englishes remains unmade, and it is taken for granted that knowledge about grammar means knowledge about 'the' grammar of 'Standard (native-speaker) English'. The disconnect is evident, for example, in Johnson's (2016) overview of ELT teacher education, which contains several references to 'disciplinary knowledge about language', but does not link them to the section headed 'Which English should teachers teach?'.

Sifakis and Bayyurt (2015) correctly identify teacher education (henceforth TE) as the appropriate 'intermediary' for adapting pedagogical practice to the realities of Global Englishes. Their work on TE from the perspective of 'E[nglish as a]L[ingua]F[ranca]-inspired pedagogy' (Sifakis and Bayyurt 2018) is part of a growing body of scholarly proposals for TE in what Rose and Galloway (2019) call 'Global Englishes for Language Teaching' ((GELT); see, for example, Brown (1993), Sifakis (2007), Kumaravadivelu (2012), Bayyurt and Akcan (2015), Matsuda (2017) and Marr and English (2019)). Most of these proposals focus on the importance of raising teachers' awareness of the

diversity of global Englishes and of the contexts in which they are used, emphasizing the argument that claims to ownership legitimately extend beyond native speakers. They also advocate a concentration on socially embedded communicative function over the acquisition of linguistic form. In line with the 'social turn' in second language acquisition (SLA) in the 1990s (Block 2003), they associate the latter with cognitive orientations, and view these as reinforcing monolithic, monolingual approaches in which native speaker models of Standard English (henceforth SE) are the only legitimate measures of 'ultimate attainment'.

But studies consistently report that teachers demonstrate a reluctance 'to set aside their traditional EFL practices of teaching standardised, or native English' (Sifakis and Bayyurt 2015: 472). This suggests that awareness of Global Englishes, their impact on teaching and why this matters in specific communicative contexts is not enough to effect the kind of change required (cf. also Timmis 2002; Suzuki 2011; Young et al. 2016). I argue in this chapter that there is another, more fundamental, link in the chain of issues and principles mediating theory and practice, which also needs to be addressed at the TE stage. This is the issue of *ontologies of English*—that is, beliefs about the nature of its existence. Generally, ontological analysis of language and languages has been confined to philosophy and theoretical linguistics. But since Pennycook's (2007a) penetrating critique of the 'myth of English as an International Language', the ontological status of the language has started to be addressed more explicitly, especially in work on Global Englishes and GELT. Rose and Galloway (2019), for example, rightly assert that 'GELT requires a new ontological stance, or understanding of language' (p. 91). They pinpoint the Standard Language Ideology as a major barrier to this understanding, and perceptively locate ontological stance as the key issue: 'if teachers' ideology does not match a new ontological stance, it is more likely that TESOL practitioners will reject the changes' (p. 91). I will go further in this chapter, to suggest that the ideological barrier can only be shifted, and therefore GELT fully embraced, if teaching of English to speakers of other languages (TESOL) practitioners' ontological beliefs change. Accordingly, a key step in educating teachers to understand and adopt GELT is to help them reflect on and reshape their ontologies of language and of English.

The argument can be articulated in terms of the relationship between five domains of language-focused activity. As indicated by the arrows in Figure 1.1, I see these domains as mutually informing, in a chain of interdependence. The argument goes as follows, starting with the key domain of learning and working back to linguistic theory:

1. *Learning*: Too few learners of L2 English are developing the communicative resources, strategies and ideological awareness they need to enable them to use English appropriately and effectively in the increasingly globalized and diversified contexts in which they will all, to a greater or lesser extent, be involved.

2. *Teaching*: Learners will have little opportunity and/or incentive to develop the necessary resources, strategies and awareness unless doing so is part of the curriculum and/or is facilitated deliberately, sensitively and effectively by teachers.

3. *Teacher Education*: Research suggests that current attempts to incorporate awareness of Global Englishes into TE are stymied by pre- and in-service teachers' entrenched ideological and ontological beliefs about (and investment in) orientations to 'accuracy' in SE, especially at the grammatical level.
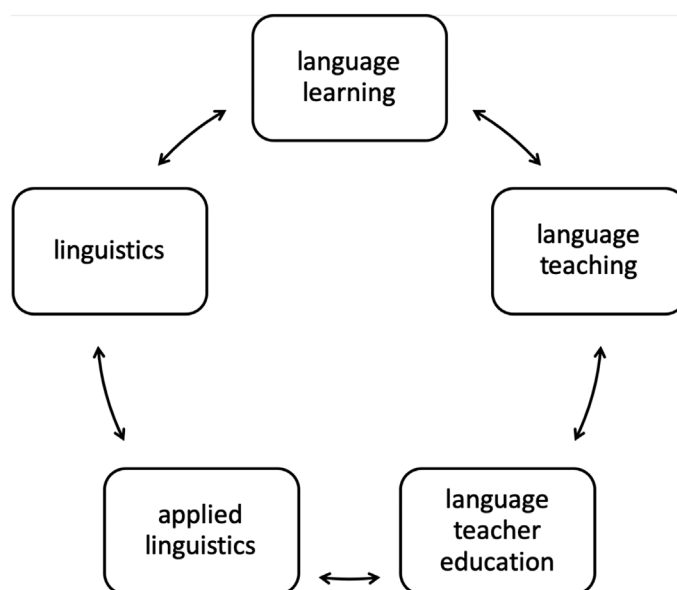
FIGURE 1.1: Chain of language-related educational domains which motivates the incorporation of language ontologies into teacher education.

4. *Applied Linguistics*: TE must inform and be informed by an applied linguistics which effectively responds to teachers' entrenched beliefs about language as normative system, by mediating conceptualizations of English which not only recognize the social and political realities of Global English *practices* but also teachers' commitment to, and learners' expectation of, the development of English as individual linguistic *resources* (especially at the grammatical level).

5. *Linguistics*: Language theorists need to theorize (ontologies of) language and (ontologies of) English more clearly, going beyond the postulation of idealized systems of forms associated with uniform native speaker or user communities, to account for the individual, flexible, dynamic, cognitive resources which L1 and L2 learners and users develop, in interaction with other linguistic and semiotic resources, through social usage. Such theory must be kept ontologically distinct from sociopolitical conceptualizations of the named monolithic system 'English'.

In this chapter, I thus call for a renewed focus in TE on the language itself, in which teachers are invited to reflect on their own conceptualizations of English and to construct their own personal ontologies of English for global learners. This requires explicit incorporation of language ontology into TE, an enterprise I will call 'Teacher education about English for global learners' (TEEGL).

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 2 presents a brief overview of work on language ontology for ELT and summarizes the framework for ontological analysis that I will be applying. Subsections address conceptualizations of English in three ontological categories: (i) as normative system (the prevailing conceptualization); (ii) as social practice (the conceptualization prioritized in current work on GELT); and (iii) as cognitive resource (a conceptualization that, I argue, requires rehabilitation). Section 3 sets out six principles to guide the design and implementation of TEEGL content and activities.

2 ONTOLOGIES OF ENGLISH FOR LANGUAGE LEARNING AND TEACHING

Until recently there has been little analysis of, or discussion about, ontological issues in applied linguistics. Makoni and Pennycook's (2007) volume, *Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages*, might in future be identified as the critical publication which initiated an eventual 'ontological turn' in applied linguistics. Their volume challenged applied linguists to interrogate the easy acceptance of conventional wisdom about the existence of named languages, highlighting their sociopolitical nature and the ways that uncritical belief in such concepts has distorted mainstream linguistic analysis and therefore helped to perpetuate global inequalities. In the same vein, Toolan (2009) presented a collection of papers addressing the pedagogical implications of Harris's (1981) Integrational Linguistics, which departs from the 'myth' that separate languages exist as fixed codes. Toolan pointed out (2009: 11) that language-teaching programmes 'are conveying . . . a powerfully general misrepresentation of the nature of the language, what is entailed in knowing it, and what the basis for projecting and maintaining a standard language is'. From another perspective, Widdowson (e.g. 2012) has highlighted the ontological challenges to conventional views of English represented by ELF research, criticizing theoretical linguistics, sociolinguistics and corpus linguistics alike for the (tacit) assumption of native speaker normativity in their accounts of language(s) and linguistic diversity. And Ortega (2018) has recently highlighted the role of different ontological commitments about language(s) in her discussion of the conceptual 'gap' between the WE and SLA paradigms. Hall and Wicaksono's (2020) edited set of papers brings ontologies of English to the foreground in approaches to the learning, teaching and testing of L1 and L2 Englishes. In a number of other publications, I have been exploring with colleagues the ontological dimensions of teachers' beliefs about English (Hall et al. 2013; Hall et al. 2017b; Hall 2018; Hall and Cunningham, under review). This work underpins an online TEEGL course, *Changing Englishes*, the second version of which is now available (Hall and Wicaksono 2019).

In parallel to this work with teachers, I have been developing a framework for distinguishing between different conceptualizations of language in general and of English in particular (2013, 2018, 2020; Hall et al. 2017a), which I will now briefly present. The eight categories (henceforth indicated in SMALL CAPITALS) are grouped into four broader ontological domains which go beyond language: the **social**, the **cognitive**, the **notional** and the **expressive**. In the social domain are grouped entities and processes which exist intersubjectively (e.g. CHORAL SINGING or NATIONHOOD). This contrasts with the cognitive domain, comprising entities and processes that develop and operate within the individual mind (e.g. EPISODIC MEMORY or MENTAL ARITHMETIC). In the expressive domain are the physical outputs of intentional mental processes which signify meaning (e.g. GESTURES or GRAFFITI). And, finally, in the notional domain are theoretical constructs, assumed to exist independently of individual minds or groups (e.g. NUMBERS or PREDICATE CALCULUS).

In this chapter, I draw on the specific framework elaborated in Hall (2020), in which the word *English* is analysed as referring to groups of entities in two ontological supra-categories (see Table 1.1). The first set, which I call 'L-ENGLISH', consists of instantiations of the resources, processes and products of the human language capacity. Within this set, English is conceptualized as resource and process in the **cognitive** and **social** domains. The sociocognitive processes in which the resources are deployed result in linguistic (ultimately physical) products in the form of spoken utterances and texts, in

TABLE 1.1 Ontological categories corresponding to senses of the word 'English'

English			
L-English		**Englishry**	
A set of instantiations of the human language capacity		Socially constructed components of English and other 'Anglophone' national identities	
I-Englishes	**Englishing**	**N-English**	**P-English**
(existing in the **cognitive domain**)	(existing in the **social domain**)	(existing in the **social domain**)	(existing in the **notional domain**)
Individual phonological, orthographic, and lexico-grammatical resources	Social acts using 1-englishes	The named, national system of regulative norms known as 'Standard (native-speaker) English'	Theorized constitutive norms of a linguistic system abstracted from the products of Englishing in the **expressive domain,** but implicitly conditioned by N-English

the **expressive** domain. The second supra-category is a set of entities which has emerged historically from deliberate contemplation of the first, filtered through the lens of English national identity—part of the (contemplated) practices, products or perceived characteristics of (originally) 'the English (people)'. I call this 'Englishry', existing in the **social** and **notional** domains.

English exists in the L-English supra-category by virtue of the existence of language as a human capacity, and is independent of our awareness of (and any words for) it. There are two dominant sub-categories here. One is that of English as cognitive resource, understood as the entrenched linguistic forms that individual users develop on the basis of, and bring to, usage events. For this sense I adapt Chomsky's (1986) term I-language (where the 'I' refers to internal, individual, idiolectal) to label the specific instantiation 'I-Englishes'. Adopting and adapting Chomsky's terminology does not imply the adoption of his narrowly innatist and monolingual perspective, however: the I-English view is, for example, completely consistent with Otheguy et al.'s (2015) idiolectal approach to translanguaging. The other sub-category of L-English is English as social practice, construed in terms of its communicative and indexical functions rather than its forms. I call this 'Englishing', as an instantiation of the concept of language widely referred to as languaging (e.g. Joseph 2002).

In the second supra-category, Englishry, English exists by virtue of the existence of a group of people perceiving themselves as a nation, 'the English', and people who trace a cultural lineage with this group (members of the other 'Anglophone nations'). The dominant sub-category here is the social one of English as the collective property of its native speakers, originally indexing national identity, and identified with the 'standard' variety. This is what I have dubbed 'N-English', an instance of 'N-language', with the 'N' standing for named, normed, national, and native (Hall 2013). A second sub-category in this set, which I claim emerged from the first, is the notional one of English as an abstract, fixed system of symbolic units and rules, independent of its users and learners. This is essentially what Chomsky (1986) called P-language, where the 'P' stands for 'Platonic', in

the sense of 'Platonic ideal'. The essential difference between N-LANGUAGE and P-LANGUAGE reflects the distinction Searle (1969: 33–7) made between 'regulative' and 'constitutive' norms. But on the basis of linguistic descriptions of abstract P-LANGUAGE, users and learners' knowledge and performance can be judged as 'correct' or 'accurate' when it coincides with the descriptions, and 'incorrect' or 'inaccurate' when it does not; hence, P-LANGUAGE easily leads to (implicit or unintended) regulative normativity. Accordingly, we can talk about 'P-ENGLISH' in educational contexts, even when regulative prescription is not being explicitly legitimized.

The ontological categories of ENGLISHRY capture conceptualizations of English which prevail in linguistics (both general and applied), in language teaching practice, and also in lay discourse. Those of the latter have not been subjected to much empirical enquiry, although Preston (2002) has explored 'folk theories' of language. Quine (1968) talked about 'ontological relativity' in the context of scientific theory formation, but less well understood is such relativity operating in lay individuals' general belief systems. The little research that has been conducted on this issue with teachers has demonstrated that they can entertain multiple ontological commitments, surfacing in different contexts, with a particular mismatch observed between those activated in teaching and non-teaching arenas (cf. Schraw 2013). Such disjunction in ontological commitments correlating with classroom and non-classroom contexts has been found specifically for English teachers by Young and Walsh (2010) and Hall et al. (2013, 2017b). Inter-individual variation in EAL educators' ontological stances and how these interact with their ideological beliefs is explored in depth in Hall and Cunningham (under review). Of particular relevance for the present chapter is Hall et al.'s (2013) finding that ontological stances could be shifted through TEEGL activities. I now outline the reasoning behind such activities in some detail.

2.1 English as normative system

The conceptualization that many English teachers around the world will orient to most is evidently N-ENGLISH, dominant in most public discourse due to two potent and tenacious ideologies: the Standard Language Ideology and the One Nation, One Language Ideology (Piller 2015). Yet this ontological stance is, of course, incongruent with the global diversity of the language which is now such an urgent challenge for learners and teachers around the world. Accounts of initiatives to incorporate GELT into TE have consistently reported the resistance of many teachers to the idea of delinking English learning and teaching from native speaker norms. They have also indicated that even in cases where teachers show heightened awareness of global diversity of forms and uses, there is a reluctance to translate that awareness into new classroom practices.

This conservatism can be accounted for in part by the way the normative nature of the dominant N-LANGUAGE conceptualization serves to render the 'messy' reality of language amenable to description, and therefore instruction, through a historical process of idealization. A consequence of the emergence of N-ENGLISH as national identity marker in the late medieval period was the gradual construal of English as a fixed code, independent of actual speakers, that is, as P-ENGLISH in the notional domain. This process, paralleled in other countries in Europe (Barbour and Carmichael 2000) and in Asia (Simpson 2007), gave rise to notions of correctness, especially from the eighteenth century on for English. Modern linguistics since Saussure has been subject to what Harris (1981) called the 'language-as-fixed-code fallacy', according to which linguistic communication

works because community members have internalized the same phonological and lexico-grammatical system, which maps meanings the same way. With some exceptions, linguists have sought to characterize this system independently of its social functions and individual instantiations, in other words as an idealized abstraction (P-LANGUAGE). The practice of linguistic description through the use of grammaticality judgements has also been unconsciously filtered by the Standard Language Ideology (Harris 1987; Makoni and Pennycook 2007). Even for corpus-based grammars, SE is generally presupposed as the natural instantiation of 'the' English language, leading to the conclusion that most linguistic accounts of 'the language' are in fact accounts of 'P-ENGLISH', that is, part of ENGLISHRY rather than L-ENGLISH (Hall 2020).

The P-ENGLISH conceptualization of English is thus the primary one for many teachers for two reasons. One is that this is the way they have been taught to think about the forms of language(s), in their own general education as well as their training as teachers (Dewey 2015). Another is that as teachers they may view English as a subject like other school subjects (Hall and Wicaksono 2019, Unit 4), a body of knowledge that can be assessed in tests and which therefore involves correct or incorrect answers. Teachers, especially those for whom English is not their L1, have often invested a great deal of time and effort to become models of the 'correct' code and often also metalinguistic experts on how 'the system' works, relying ultimately on linguistics for this knowledge.

Applied linguists working on GELT have all understood the ontological challenge posed by the tenacity of monolithic understandings of English as fixed system. Almost all have proposed that teachers can best confront these deeply held convictions by conceptualizing English also as a form of social practice, a position to which we now turn.

2.2 English as social practice

Using the concepts and tools of sociolinguistics, contact linguistics and corpus linguistics, WE and related approaches (particularly ELF) have provoked re-examination of how English should be conceived for pedagogy. From a variationist perspective, scholars have decentred English away from the native speaker monolingual 'Anglosphere' and reconceptualized it as a set of 'pluricentric' varieties with local norms and practices, in an attempt to 'de-hegemonize' SE (cf. Parakrama 1995). This has led to questions in ELT about the appropriate models and targets for learning and teaching (e.g. Kachru 1992; Kirkpatrick 2006). Drawing on contact linguistics (cf. Onysko 2016), they have explored how these new varieties are forged in large part by the multilingualism of the individuals and communities in which they develop. Elsewhere, from an interactional perspective, scholars have shifted the focus from variation in the forms of English to the ways in which global users make meaning in social interaction, and especially how they use their language to construct new transcultural identities and index localized sociocultural functions (Pennycook 2007b; Blommaert 2010).

The ontological implication drawn from much of this work has been that the very existence of English as a linguistic system is challenged. English and other named languages are revealed as sociopolitical inventions (Makoni and Pennycook 2007), with linguistic systems existing only as emergent properties, or artefacts, of locally realized social practice (Canagarajah 2013). Makoni and Pennycook (2007), for example, distinguish their own approach from that of mainstream applied and general linguistics, which they associate (unfavourably) with '[the] positing of languages as systems that exist outside and beyond communicative acts [and the] location of language within the heads

of people' (p. 35). Pennycook (2010) articulates a position according to which '[t]he notion of language as a system is challenged in favour of a view of language as doing' (p. 2). Similarly, Canagarajah (2013) argues that 'we have to treat meaning-making as a social practice . . . Though there are implications for cognition, I define this form of competence in fundamentally social and practice-based terms' (p. 10).

It is this conceptualization of English as social practice (i.e. Englishing) that has gained most traction in GELT. This is especially the case for teaching inspired by ELF, which after early ontological ambiguity is now generally understood as a context of Englishing rather than any kind of linguistic system or resource. Blair (2015: 90), for example, asserts that an ELF perspective 'logically suggests a greater focus on process than product, involving central roles for accommodation strategies, intercultural and pragmatic competence, flexibility and tolerance of variation'. Similarly, Dewey (2015: 133) advocates the promotion in TE of a theory of language and communication 'that is less concerned with language as an abstracted system and more in line with a notion of language as "local practice"'.

This substantial ontological shift in applied linguistics has not, however, had correspondingly significant uptake in ELT practice. Twenty years ago, Seidlhofer (1999: 234–5) observed that teachers 'are . . . faced with fiercely competing discourses: that of inclusive claims made at a fairly abstract level, and that of native-speaker centred, exclusive forces prevailing in reality'. For many teachers, the ontological 'reality' is reflected in an ideology underpinned by 'exclusive' N-English and an approach to learning and teaching which relies on the P-English fixed code descriptions of linguists, even if lip service is paid to 'inclusive' Englishing in communicatively oriented syllabuses. The main obstacle for teachers appears to be the perceived ontological incompatibility between a view of English as Englishing and the more familiar view of English as P-English system determined by ideologically framed N-English. In other words, they expect and are expected (by learners, parents, authorities, materials, tests and much TE) to teach English as system (grammar, lexis, pronunciation), but are being told by applied linguists that in fact English only exists as dynamic, variable, social practice. The denial of teachers' perceived 'reality' of fixed accuracy in forms, and the advocacy of a reorientation to a more 'abstract' notion of contingent fluency in functions, is at the heart of the teacher's dilemma.

In the following subsection I suggest a way in which the dilemma can be addressed, focusing on the ontological status of grammar. My argument is essentially the following: if we can engage teachers in TE with reflection on the nature of grammar as local, inclusive *regularities* serving effective communication, rather than as distal, exclusive *regulations* serving social convention, then perhaps we can achieve greater leverage in the process of facilitating ontological awareness and potential transformation. To do this, we inevitably have to engage with English as cognitive resource as well as social practice.

2.3 *English as cognitive resource*

Despite the appeal of socially oriented perspectives for applied linguists, many global teachers remain firmly committed to (and invested in) beliefs about English as a linguistic system, independently learnable and teachable, governed by norms against which accuracy can be measured. I have argued (Hall 2013) that by distancing or divorcing language from cognition (what goes on 'in the heads of people'), applied linguists position ELT in a way that is incompatible with the ideological beliefs, philosophical assumptions and perceived practical realities of many teachers around the world. Although they may not

construe their professional identities in psychological terms, such teachers orient towards views of learning as mental activity: adding to or changing what is in people's heads. Yet GELT proposals generally follow the critical theorists in rejecting or de-emphasizing the cognitive element of ELT. Blair (2015: 90), for example, advocates from an ELF perspective that '[l]anguage competence can . . . be reframed in social terms, as being located somewhere *between* speakers in communicative interaction (as opposed to solely inside one person's mind)'.

As we have seen, English teachers are inevitably invested in knowledge of 'the language'—of the subject they teach—and this often tends to be conceived in terms of its formal resources. Due to the N-LANGUAGE-filtered distillation of actual Englishes into a monolithic P-ENGLISH, the subject matter is rendered as a teachable, learnable, and testable object with measurable dimensions of correctness, that is, accuracy, especially at the level of grammar. It is grammar, rather than other aspects of language like lexis and pronunciation, which appears to be the main sticking point preventing individual teachers from fully adopting GELT. Sifakis and Bayyurt (2015), for example, report transformative experiences as a result of their 'ELF-aware' TE programme, but it is variation in pronunciation, rather than grammar, that teachers felt most comfortable with (p. 479ff). Similarly, the teachers in Hall et al.'s (2017b) study identify P-ENGLISH ontological beliefs solely with grammar. As Widdowson pointed out (1994: 381), grammar is a shibboleth: because grammatical features are often redundant in communication, they have come to index sharply dichotomous social identities. Unlike accent and vocabulary, which are widely seen as legitimately variable, grammar is perceived as either right or wrong, and you are either in the group that knows the rules or you are not. Most English teachers feel they need to be in the former group, however open they are to GELT on other levels.

Developments in cognitively oriented Usage-Based Linguistics (UBL) are not well known in ELT, but are strikingly relevant here. They provide a potentially fruitful way forward for teachers, by rejecting monolithic P-LANGUAGE but preserving a focus on grammar which divorces it from notions of correctness and accuracy. In one major strand of UBL (Goldberg 1995; Eskildsen 2008; Ellis et al. 2013), grammar is theorized as a network of *constructions*, mentally represented pairings of meaning and form, from which abstract patterns (regularities) emerge on the basis of input frequency and generalization from situated usage events. Construction Grammar constitutes one way of formalizing commonalities in these patterns across communities of speakers (e.g. Hilpert 2014). But the constructional framework also allows us to understand grammar as individual learners' and users' diverse linguistic resources, rather than equating it with target or community norms. Such an idiolectal approach has been used to characterize the grammatical resources of individual English L1 users (e.g. Barlow 2013), L2 learners (e.g. Eskildsen, 2008) and L2 users (Hall et al., 2017a; Vetchinnikova, 2017). All these accounts are intrinsically sociocognitive in approach, in that they forefront the entrenchment of form on the basis of analysis of the social interactions that learners and users are involved in, without taking the pre-established rules and categories of 'the' grammar of English as points of departure. In so doing, they provide insights into the 'plurilithic' (Pennycook, 2009) nature of actual non-native I-ENGLISHES, which develop independently of the P-ENGLISH models embedded in most teaching resources and activities.

The promise of introducing a usage-based, constructionist account of grammar in TEEGL is that it makes clear how the view of English as social practice predominating in GELT does not require teachers to dispense with concern for grammar learning. It does this by demonstrating that grammar is constituted by I-LANGUAGES constructed internally as a result

of LANGUAGING, rather than the traditional teacher view of grammar as regulative P-LANGUAGE norms existing externally and which must be internalized through deliberate study. Although the cognitive usage-based view might seem potentially daunting to teachers when viewed from the theoretical perspective of SLA, there are ways to make the fundamental premise quite accessible. One such way, adopted in the online course for teachers *Changing Englishes* (Hall and Wicaksono, 2019) uses the ambiguity of the word *rule* as a springboard. Course participants are introduced to two partial synonyms of the word, the etymological cousins *regulation* and *regularity* (all three from Latin *regula*). Using a random concordance of the word *rule*, they work out that in one sense ('regulation') a rule is 'an explicitly stated limit on your behaviour, the way something should or must be done, set by an authority or by mutual agreement', whereas in the other sense ('regularity') a rule is 'a recurrent/frequent pattern in the way something happens, is done, or is arranged'. From this they are able to understand that their learners are indeed learning grammar rules through ENGLISHING (as regularities), even if they are not always the grammar rules sanctioned by native speaker norms (i.e. 'regulations'). This approach essentially distinguishes between what we might call 'I-GRAMMAR' from 'N-' or 'P-GRAMMAR'.

The distinction between rule as regularity versus regulation is further elucidated in the *Changing Englishes* course through a usage-based account of how infants develop unstandardized varieties of English as L1, thus taking up Suzuki's (2011) recommendation to introduce 'non-standard' native Englishes into TE courses: 'By being exposed to these, student teachers would learn that non-standard English is not necessarily spoken [only] by L2 speakers, and this may lead them to recast their views of standard English' (p. 152). To enable teachers to understand that this is not just a theoretical issue, but a practical reality, the course then draws on the Declarative/Procedural Model of SLA (cf. Ullman 2015), showing how learners are automatically constructing their own I-ENGLISHES in procedural memory on the basis of the range of 'unstandardized' forms to which they are inevitably exposed, and which they use unconsciously to communicate with in unmonitored interaction. Course users realize that these Englishes also involve grammar rules, but in the form of acquired regularities which are usage-determined and independent of the 'regulations' in declarative memory learnt from teachers, textbooks and tests. In ways such as this, we can help teachers fulfill Canagarajah's (2014: 773) recommendation that 'language awareness can be cultivated in classrooms, if teachers don't impose the grammar of specific English varieties as correct and inflexible. Students can be encouraged to look beyond specific grammars to treat them as examples of how grammars in general work in communication'.

3 GUIDING PRINCIPLES FOR TEEGL

Having made my case for engaging TE participants in ontological reflection about English, and having suggested a specific direction in which this might proceed, I present in this section a set of principles to guide the design and implementation of such a programme, and in so doing anticipate and address some of the major challenges involved.

Principle 1: Regard for teachers' beliefs about English as a
discrete language system and curricular subject.

As we have seen, teachers have strong convictions about SE and its role as a model and target in instructional settings. Although the prevailing beliefs are inconsistent with a

plurilithic ontology and also with an egalitarian ideology, they are hard to overcome, even for teachers who are most open to change. TEEGL must have adequate regard for this. Kohn's (2011) essentially usage-based (constructivist) 'My English' condition provides a useful perspective here, as it acknowledges learners' agency in determining their own orientations to SE. Also helpful is Canagarajah's (2014) recognition that some learners will need SE as part of a communicative repertoire, and that an orientation towards language as social practice will prepare learners for this: 'My expectation is that students who develop a complex language awareness, rhetorical sensitivity, and negotiation strategies will not only recognize the contexts where they can be creative but also the contexts where they have to be observant of established norms' (p. 782). The research findings referred to in the Section 'Ontologies of English for language learning and teaching', regarding teachers' ability to entertain multiple ontological commitments according to context, suggest that nuanced conceptualizations may be achievable when the contexts are clearly defined. Accordingly, TEEGL must emphasize the heightening of teachers' awareness of both the inequalities intrinsic in the positioning of SE as uniquely 'correct' and desirable and learners' real aspirations for, and others' requirements of, SE in many contexts.

Principle 2: Regard for the local and historical contexts in which English is taught.

This principle is related to the previous one. Many learners and teachers will find the concept of SE and classroom practices and the discourses which promote it familiar from standard language ideologies operating in their own cultural contexts, some of them even more deeply entrenched than in Anglophone cultures. In China, for example, a single N-language (first Classical Chinese, now Standard Mandarin) has been officially promoted for over 2,000 years (Liang 2015). Several scholars have recognized that this will shape teachers' attitudes to diversity and norms in English (e.g. Hall et al. 2017b; Marr and English 2019). TEEGL programmes must, then, acknowledge (or, better, emerge from) local communities of practice and encounters between them, possibly resulting in the emergence of new ones (Canagarajah 2012). To do so, they will need to engage teachers not only with reflection on the ontological status of English, but also other languages (including those of teachers' and learners' own multilingual repertoires and those used in the broader educational context), as well as language as a general phenomenon. It will be important also to encourage teachers to reflect on the difference between the resources of English they help learners develop (I-Englishes) and the Englishing purposes for which they encourage learners to use them. These purposes should include articulation of their own local issues and concerns, rather than exclusively those of 'Anglosphere cultures' or global ELF communication.

Principle 3: Recognition of the top-down constraints
within which teachers must operate.

Teachers participating in in-service TE programmes will be continuously assessing the new ideas they are being asked to reflect on against the external considerations that constrain what they are able to do in the classroom. Such considerations include mandated curriculum content and activities, institutional policy and ethos, examination requirements, and parents' expectations. All of these considerations are, as we have seen, based on the ontological categories of Englishry, and so their role should be explicitly addressed. TEEGL programmes must avoid offering easy solutions to local constraints

from afar, instead reminding teachers of their own agency (Ng and Boucher-Yip 2016) and capacity to effect change from the bottom-up (Hall and Wicaksono 2019, Unit 5). Hult (2018), for example, suggests a practical way of achieving pre-service teachers' engagement with policymaking and implementation, using role play.

Principle 4: Recognition of the role played by language(s) in broader issues of identity and social justice.

I have argued in this chapter that dominant conceptualizations of 'the English language' are associated explicitly with, or implicitly filtered through the lens of, national identity (as N-ENGLISH in the first case and P-ENGLISH in the second). This may help teachers appreciate how the inherently multilingual and intercultural contexts of L2 teaching, learning and assessment inevitably enmesh English in broader issues of ideology, identity, values, power and social justice (cf. Hawkins 2011). Sharpe (1974) recognized that ideologies have two components: an ontology and a set of values. TEEGL programmes cannot, then, ignore the cultural and moral values associated with teachers' different ontological beliefs, and must engage them in critical reflection on the origins, and possible transformation, of these beliefs, as appropriate to their assessment of local context. In line with this, Kubanyiova and Crookes (2016) advocate the (re-)affirmation of a moral dimension to teacher identities in twenty-first-century TE, acknowledging that 'values are rarely engaged within language teacher education' (p. 126).

Principle 5: Reconciliation between conceptualizations of English as (cognitive and conventional) system and as (social) practice.

This principle guides the key proposal for effective TEEGL that I have advanced in this chapter. Having rejected the monolithic 'N-ENGLISH' conceptualization of the language and acknowledged the P-ENGLISH-inspired shortcomings of the traditional 'cognitivist' view of SLA, I argue that it is imperative for TEEGL to rehabilitate the notion of Englishes as (socio-)cognitive systems and to demonstrate how such a view is compatible with an ontology of Englishes as social practice (see 2.3). There have been rare calls for greater balance and reconciliation between cognitive and social approaches to Global Englishes (Sridhar and Sridhar 1992; Hall 2013; Ortega 2018), but they have yet to be heeded beyond isolated attempts such as the *Changing Englishes* course (Hall and Wicaksono 2019).

Principle 6: Representation of language ontologies in an accessible form.

Hall et al. (2013: 5) suggest that many teachers are put off by the 'abstruse nature' of much of the discourse of Critical Applied Linguistics which now underpins most contemporary GELT thinking. But equally the technical language of ontological analysis I have introduced here for English and language(s) in general would be at best off-putting and at worst impenetrable if incorporated directly into TEEGL. I have given earlier one example of how the ambiguous ontological status of grammar can be presented more accessibly (rule as 'regularity' vs 'regulation'). In Hall and Cunningham (under review), we present a series of propositions reflecting the ontological commitments of EAL educators in Northern England using both the terminology of the Hall (2020) framework and more colloquial phrasing, precisely to make the findings of the study more useable in TE settings. And ontological reflection in TE can also take less technical

forms. Coffey (2015), for example, profitably engaged TE participants in ontological reflexivity regarding their perceptions of language(s) through the drawing of 'language portraits'. The use of metaphor, both linguistic and visual, could provide a useful means for incorporating ontological reflection into TEEGL.

4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have presented a case for incorporating ontological reflection into teacher education for ELT. The proposal is motivated by the new global realities of English documented and critiqued by WE and associated socially oriented approaches. It highlights the formidable strength of the ontological and ideological challenges these new realities bring with them, which many teachers are struggling to acknowledge and confront. I argue that a cognitively oriented usage-based understanding of language can help bridge the conceptual gap, and I provide a set of principles for guiding the process.

I imagine that the intellectual affiliations of a significant number of applied linguists reading this chapter will make them sceptical about embracing the rehabilitation of the cognitive that it espouses. But equally I predict that many practising teachers around the world would welcome its efforts to acknowledge and account for their concern with English as formal system, rather than seeing this dismissed or its existence denied. I believe that, if handled carefully, the adoption of TEEGL has the potential to lead to beneficial developments in both theory and practice. If nothing else, I hope the proposal presented here provokes further discussion of ontological matters in WE-informed teacher education.

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