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What place has grammar in the English curriculum? An analysis of ninety years' policy debate: 1921 to 2011.

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Abstract

What place has grammar in the English curriculum? An analysis of ninety years' policy debate: 1921 to 2011.

Phillip Richard Norman

Since 1921 England's governments have commissioned enquiries into English and literacy teaching, leading towards published recommendations and requirements for English grammar teaching. Governments' officially sanctioned publications represent their policy aspirations for English and literacy. Research studies have explored the subsequent challenge for schools and teachers who must integrate grammar into a subject whose wider philosophies may conflict with an explicit grammar element. My study draws on critical theory to analyse the ideological discourses of English grammar these official policy documents reveal, and how they conflict or coincide with wider ideologies of English and literacy in schools.

My study uses a two-stage analysis. First is an intertextual analysis using a corpus approach to identify the data's grammar topics through its keywords and argumentation types. Second is a qualitative critical discourse analysis (CDA) of the documents' main ideas and ideological discourses. The CDA analysis reveals three main ideological discourses of grammar, namely of 'heritage and authority', 'standards and control', and 'life chances and skills'. These discourses are constructed from both prescriptive and descriptive traditions of linguistic thinking, and draw on ideological perspectives of teaching and teachers, learning and learners, and changing philosophies of English over time.

The findings show no direct connection between the topic keywords policy authors use and the ideological positions they adopt. But there is a clear trend in argumentation approaches used to make hoped-for claims for grammar's place and benefits in subject English. The discourses found question whether teachers are sufficiently prepared for grammar teaching and whether learners are sufficiently prepared for communicating in the workplace. The policy ideologies of grammar found in the qualitative analysis are finally re-mapped against wider philosophies of subject English to identify the broad policy trends.

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

At no time during the registration for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy has the author been registered for any other University award without prior agreement of the Graduate Committee.

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Chapter 1: Introduction, rationale and theoretical framework

1.0   Introduction and research purpose

Through this study I examine how official discourse in England's English subject curriculum policy documents has developed an understanding of school grammar for professional and public readerships in the ninety years between 1921 and 2011. 1921 is a significant date because it represents subject English's first governmental report, the Newbolt Report, into the school subject of English's nature, purpose and curriculum (Board_of_Education, 1921).

Within curriculum study written practice documents such as school textbooks (Westbury, 1990; 1983) and broader policy statements (Scott, 2000) have recontextualised public and professional understandings of schooling (Apple, 2004). In English and literacy teaching official policy texts have also sustained a UK tradition of teaching individual school subjects (Ball and Goodson, 1984). Subject English's policy scholarship literature reflects a pattern of periodic and largely individual studies into grammar's purpose in the curriculum (e.g. Cameron and Bourne, 1989; Carter, 1990a; Gurrey, 1961; Hudson, 2004b; Jeffcoate, 2000; Sharples, 1999). Histories of English have examined grammar's demands, affordances and complexities in the English language curriculum (e.g. Ball, 1985; Clark, 2001; Goodson and Medway, 1990; Michael, 1987; Shayer, 1972), examining grammar's ideas and its ideological, political and social influences on the changing traditions that define England's English and literacy curricula.

Yet, since the late twentieth century the production of national curricula for English in England, through statutory orders, and a series of national literacy strategy initiatives, has proliferated a documentation of official thinking about grammar. Through a wide range of official publications that prescribe grammar in subject English much is asserted about its subject content and values for schools, teachers and learners that is again being critically documented (Locke, 2010). Reviews and studies of English language policy shifts (e.g. Andrews, 2008; Carter,

1990a; Clark, 2010; Peim, 2000a) and how they relate to language pedagogy (e.g. Carter, 1992; Gregory, 2003; Myhill, 2000) and language in social use (e.g. Carter, 1990a; Doughty, 1968; Keddie, 1971; Richmond, 1990) represent prominent areas of English language and grammar policy research. However, in grammar-specific policy analysis few longitudinal studies exist, with notable exceptions of the politics of grammar (Carter, 1996; Clark, 2001) and linguistic influences on grammar's content (Carter, 1990a; Hudson and Whalmsley, 2005) These studies inform English's professional readership about subject and pedagogic issues central to policy action and its impact, drawing in part on policy documents as their sources of data.

However, school English's policy documents in themselves are of interest for their part in policy change; not so much as historical sources but as instances of official discursive action within the process of policy change (Scott, 2000). National English grammar policy documents alone have not been analysed as a corpus, either to establish their ideological perspectives or to identify their discursive approaches in influencing policy change. To me, an English teacher whose work through the 1980s and 1990s was heavily positioned and reoriented by considerable language and grammar policy change, official documents took on an ideological and discursive significance. Official publications fuelled my own professional discussions and reoriented my two English departments' work. Their underpinning 'voice' of grammar policy, and their apparently coercive discourse in this tendentious area of English policy, was and remains largely unresearched across the full ninety years since English's first official report. So I research what ideological discourses of grammar those policy documents now provide, and through what authorial 'voice' they speak.

 As an aspect of grammar policy production their underpinning voice is worthy of closer attention for its ideological discourses and methods of argument, especially where repeated official policy documents draw on previous reports and policy output in their reframing of English and literacy policy. 'Official policy documents' in this study are taken to be governmentally initiated, approved and sanctioned materials written for the purposes of

controlling grammar policy formation and implementation in England's state schools (see Section 4.2.2, Chapter 4).

A 'voice' of official grammar policy is found through studying ways authors craft its arguments through publications, construct its realities and disseminate its decisions through officially commissioned reports, statutory curricula, directly commissioned research and advisory guidance over the ninety-year span of this study. A thematic analysis of official grammar policy ideologies, and its discourse patterns in official documentation, is this study's contribution to the grammar policy literature.

Since the late 1990s much English language and literacy education policy advisory documentation has formed part of a complex discursive mix that Scott calls a 'mosaic of ideas and concepts' (2000:8), and which (i) presents policy, (ii) addresses the public, and (iii), informs practitioners. Official documents for English specify curriculum content, teaching requirements and assessment frameworks (Ross, 2000). As a corpus of discursive data they provide an opportunity to research what official ideologies of grammar are developed, and how they are disseminated over this ninety-year period, thereby contributing a case of policy authorship to English and literacy's curriculum research literature.

1.0.1 Defining grammar for the English and literacy curriculum

For my study I refer to the term 'English grammar' as theory and use of spoken and written language elements. Hudson (2007) defines language elements as categories identified by early linguists that form 'a system of interdependent terms in which the value of each term results solely from the simultaneous presence of the others' (Saussure, 1959 cited in Hudson, 2007:1). From this broad structural definition I recognise the term 'grammar' to denote (i) systematic descriptions of language elements in use, (ii) pedagogic prescriptions of how language elements may be used, and (iii) accumulated metalinguistic knowledge of grammar's specialist terminology (Crystal, 2003).

In researching my curriculum data it is important to recognise that systematic descriptions of written language in use classify its structural patterning and in turn form the means by which language users recognise, in this case, the *English* language's

(i)   morphology, focusing particularly on inflectional shifts denoting changes in, for example, number, case, voice or tense (Crystal, 2003; 2004; Greenbaum, 1996; Huddleston and Pullum, 2002),

(ii) syntax, focusing on word arrangement at the level of the sentence, including phrase and clause structure (Langacker, 1968; Thomas, 1993; Trask, 1999:27-46; Yule, 2005:86-99), and

(iii) word orders that identify structures or generative rules, by which sentences may be made in intelligible ways (Chomsky, 1957; Crystal, 1997).

A descriptive approach recognises how writers have time to rehearse meaning and compose text. Thereby sociolinguists seek to examine the above structures in written sentences, and structures beyond sentence level, for their discourse patterns and their reflection of social relations between writer, audience, topic and context (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002; Hudson, 1992; McArthur, 1992; Thompson, 1992).

Although I note in Chapters 5-7 that my curriculum document data set refers predominantly to written, rather than spoken language, linguistic scholars do systematically describe spoken English grammar as a mode of communication that is both time- and context-bound, and often spontaneous, unlike most text in the written mode. Constrained by time and context speakers have little opportunity to rehearse and re-formulate talk, so that grammatically patterned sentences, as understood from written English, are difficult to find in spoken language (Carter and McCarthy, 2001). Therefore linguists question whether speech's short, elliptic elements are reduced versions of writing, or whether writing is an elaborated version of speech's sparse,

economical form, elaborated to compensate for less contextual support in the reader-writer

relationship. Carter *et al.* note:

> [w]hat seems . . . important is the production of adequate communicative units and the taking of turns rather than the transition from one sentence to another . . . [where] small units of communication often consisting of just single words or phrases, rather than complete sentences . . . may be separated by pauses, intakes of breath, falls and rises in pitch
>
> (Carter and McCarthy, 2006:165)

For descriptive spoken grammars the smallest unit of communication is the tone, comprising at

least one intonation contour, a rising or falling tone at its end:

> A tone unit typically coincides with a clause, hence the clause may be considered the basic unit of grammar in spoken language, but tone units can also be phrases or single words'
>
> (Carter and McCarthy, 2006:188).

By contrast with grammars of writing, systematic descriptions of spoken conversational

language classify its structural elements by the following contexts that frame and constrain its

grammatical patterning:

(i)   real-time talk contains unrehearsed, relatively unelaborated clause complexity and

   phrasal development, with probable rather than fixed recurrence patterns, and

   potential for creative or novel variations (Carter and McCarthy, 2001:55-56);

(ii) face-to-face talk, where participants' knowledge of relationship and context lessens

   interactive intensity by using politeness strategies, through using vague language,

   hedging, varied passive voice forms, historic present tense and progressive verb

   forms, deictic elements and irregular and novel placements of regular clause elements

   (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Carter and McCarthy, 2001; Crystal, 2003);

(iii) face-to-face talk also contains lengthy coordinate clauses, dislocated structures

   outside the clause, such as topicalised or fronted objects, to orient listeners

   understanding of contexts;

(iv) discoursal talk, in which grammarians look beyond the sentence level, to identify

   grammatical elements spanning several clauses and speakers, for example 'used to . .

.' clauses can provide contextual framing for subsequent 'would' clauses (McCarthy (1998), cited in Carter and McCarthy, 2001). A grammatical approach to discourse analysis here relies on recognising familiar phrasings as contextual material in order to differentiate semantic meaning from local, pragmatic meaning, and recognising larger repair and recovery strategies of interruption and overlapping speech (Crystal, 2003:291).

Although I identify differences between spoken and written grammars Carter & McCarthy (2001) and Crystal (2003) emphasise their frequently common usages. For example, fronted conjunctions 'on the other hand' or 'in my opinion' are common to both forms, 'accordingly' and 'moreover' are more common in writing but 'as I say' and 'in the end' more so in talk (Carter & McCarthy, 2001: 72). Carter and McCarthy argue how difficult it is to equate the structures of speech and writing, and how applying the same metalinguistic terms brings difficulty:

> . . . metalanguage inherited from written-based grammars brings with it its own metaphors and assumptions which can often create dissonance when applied to spoken data
>
> (Carter & McCarthy, 2001: 73).

The above open descriptive approach to defining grammatical categories contrasts with a distinctly prescriptive pedagogic tradition of setting acceptable ways language elements may, or should, be used in different situations and for differing purposes. This contrast is central in my study as it indicates a tradition of proscribing certain language use in what Leith calls the standardising tendency of codifying grammar for formal teaching (Leith, 1997:49-50). This approach privileges certain varieties of English 'that ought to be imposed on the whole of the speech community' (Crystal, 2003:366). Prescriptivism is associated with 'traditional' (sic) or 'school' grammar (Crystal, 2003; Graddol, 1994), and with 'grammars' as books of rules for improved written syntax and inflectional morphology. Prescriptivism is more ideologically associated with language use as performance, usually referring to the grammar of writing in the form of fixed sentence types and word orders based on verifiable derivations, sometimes

drawn from prestigious literary origins, and, in extremis, from Classical rhetorical and literary sources (Pope, 2002:30). This provides for Standard English being capitalised, understood as authoritative and fixed in its notions of language in use, controlled by imposed external authority on individual speakers or writers (Leith, 1997; McCrum *et al.*, 2002).

In a prescriptive tradition spoken grammar tends to confine itself to formal situations where particular usage is assumed to be of universal form and value. Looking to reference grammar according to prestige authorities implies there is a correct way of speaking, one that stands distinct from incorrect speech, and which is linguistically or culturally superior. Likewise, a high social status comes to be afforded to prestige varieties of speech, which is supported negatively by what Crystal terms the 'aggression' and 'highly charged' metaphors of condemnation in criticisms of non-standard variations and informality (Crystal, 2005).

Examples of pedagogic grammar prescription include:

(i)   a standardised orthography for written English, including unvarying spellings, uses of punctuation marks, letter forms and rules for capitalising letters;

(ii) sets of preferred syntactic structures, such as complex and compound sentence formation, phrase and clause composition that include adjectival order but eschew double negatives; and

(iii) instances of regular, infrequent and historically notable grammatical inflections, such as subject and object pronoun forms 'he' and 'him', 'who' and 'whom', concordance in gender and number, and precision in usage for grammatical function, as in 'which' and 'that'.

(From Crystal, 2004)

Related to teaching about spoken language Crystal (2003:366-7) notes that some social attitudes to spoken grammar claim that speech should be composed similarly to written style. Crystal claims this attitude is perpetuated by notions of formality, dictionaries, grammars and

soi-dissant style guides. A concept of 'Standard' spoken English grammar is therefore harboured in notional 'rules' for spoken utterances seldom if ever replicated in stretches of live talk. Criticisms of notionally errant talk focus on such elements as split infinitives, double negatives, ending sentences with prepositions, interchanging adjective and adverb forms, exchanging degrees of adjective and misusing 'who' and 'whom' as noted earlier. Modern linguistic scholars indicate that language history and stylistic selection actually account for many such 'rules'. For example, English's prescriptive rationale for rejecting the double negative, i.e. because it creates a positive, conflicts with modern French's written (i.e. correct) 'On ne mange rien'. The French spoken 'on mange rien', contains only a single negation, which French prescriptivists take to be 'sloppy' expression. In English the double negative is commonly found in the daily speech of some social and regional groups (Carter and McCarthy, 2001). Much notional 'correctness', 'standard' or 'formality' in spoken grammar is less clear when closely considered than when claimed at a distance from corpora data (Crystal, 2003; Leith, 1997).

A third part of this definition of grammar, related to my study, is the pedagogic part played by grammatical metalanguage. In a descriptive approach technical terms present classifications of language elements and their relationships as propositions about how to explain syntax, morphology and semantics; propositions open to challenge and disproof (Carter and McCarthy, 2001:73). Crystal (2003) notes that one problem for grammar books that claim to elucidate grammatical phenomena by simplifying it, is that 'the relations of grammar are abstract and at times intricate, and its terminology imposing and at times abstruse' (2003:233).

Carter further argues that one difficulty, relevant to writing pedagogical grammars for schooling, is that grammatical categories used for analysing written language do not sit well when applied to some spoken language, thereby creating much uncertainty about what is valid or unsustainable usage. The specialist nature of large corpus linguistic methods make helpful generalisations difficult to devise and complex to communicate (Carter and McCarthy,

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2001:74). As Leith notes one of the goals of standardisation is to create minimal forms of usage. Perversely for prescriptive language teaching linguistic inquiry proliferates many forms available from naturally occurring talk and writing, all of which might require plausible explanation.

Such variety in language forms requires increasingly complex metalanguage to explain it. This in turn challenges simple rule-driven pedagogic grammars to explain grammar's rules and its variations. This tension between prescriptive and descriptive objectives sets tendencies to permanently fix grammar theories in opposition to language change (Leith, 1997:49). This tension presents bifurcating objectives for grammar teaching and a proliferation of objectives in a crowded English and literacy curriculum. This is relevant to my study, where I identify characteristics of prescriptive and descriptive as conveyed through the policy discourse. From the scholars I cite on this review of grammar definitions, comes a broad, confident consensus in contemporary linguistics about the distinctions between 'descriptive' and 'prescriptive' understandings of grammar. Moreover, contemporary linguists' research methods also align with and produce deductive, descriptive grammars.

One characteristic of prescriptive grammar is making judgements about grammatical 'correctness'. In this respect prescriptivism holds to a single, autonomous model of language and literacy, one based on Standard English's written form. As noted earlier Standard English is seen by descriptivists as only one variety, one that varies and changes according to contexts that include time and location. Descriptive grammars recognise plurality and validate the many grammars found in use. I distinguish between such autonomous and context-bound approaches in my data analysis (see Chapters 5 - 7).

1.1 Grammar in England's English and literacy curriculum: the context and purpose of this study

A requirement to learn English grammar has long existed in school children's education in English and literacy (Michael, 1987), historically being one element in the group of knowledge areas that have come to be known as 'English'. However, its formally defined content and purpose date from a 1910 Board of Education report arising from twin concerns for (i) raising literacy levels in working class children, and (ii) a cultural need for 'training the mind to appreciate English literature' (Board_of_Education, 1910: para 2). Subsequent debates have, inter alia, sought coherence in English's linguistic content (Hudson and Whalmsley, 2005), its literary values and purposes (Ball, 1985), its purpose in English education (Dean, 2003; Honey, 1997; Hudson, 2001; Myhill, 2010; QCA, 1999) and social identity within the broader school subject English (e.g. Cameron, 1995; Dean, 2003; Dixon, 1975; Ellis *et al.*, 2007; Hudson and Whalmsley, 2005; Marenbon, 1987; Marshall, 2004; Peel *et al.*, 2000: 44-5; QCA, 1998).

From the late twentieth century a specific English grammar content was officially required within a national curriculum for English in England and Wales (DfE, 1995; DfEE, 2001; DfEE/QCA, 1999; DfES, 2002; 2003; QCA, 2004; 2007c; 2007b). As I note in Section 1.1, grammar's formalised content, purpose and identity have been critiqued variously as linguistic content, curriculum and pedagogic imposition, and political policy decisions (Clanchy, 1993; Cox, 1991; 1994; 1995; Dean, 2003; Wyse, 2001). Contestation over grammar's content, purpose and cultural value indicates that its linguistic models have been ideologically rather than pragmatically decided. In turn, policy decisions within national policy documentation signal wide-ranging implied values and ideological constructs in play in English curriculum policy choices (Carter, 1990a:107; Clark, 2001:120-127; Cox, 1995).

England's statutory and other curriculum documentation specifies the main English grammar content for schooling. This documentation provides a data set for analysing its discourses of

competing values and ideological constructs of English grammar. For example England's English national curriculum (QCA, 2007c; 2007b) provides a contemporary edition from which to critique what ideological constructions of English grammar currently pertain. In particular, English's national curriculum rationales and framings of its grammar content should reveal the discursive activity in ongoing debates over grammar's content, purpose and values within what may appear to be a settled curriculum. The notion of a settled place for grammar belies how official documents recognise its multiple positions, yet conceal its underlying controversies (Ross, 2000:66-71; Scott, 2000). The language of official curriculum documentation thereby conveys extant ideologies of grammar through carefully constructed discourse (Fairclough, 2001). The discourses of English grammar within official curriculum documentation may rightly become the objects of study in revealing inscribed ideological perspectives of their content.

In this context of national policy control, official curriculum policy documentation can be seen as naturally occurring text, forming a corpus of contemporary and historical linguistic data for critical analysis (Ritchie, 2003:35). This research is, however, not a critical history. It is a critical discourse analysis of a documentary data set, data drawn from ninety years of official publication for its ideological and discursive activities within the broader field of curriculum study.

1.1.1   Curriculum documentation and ideology

Viewpoints and ideological perspectives characterise policy discourses that seek to change the 'specific setting of practical action and in the process change the way policy is received by practitioners' (Scott 2000:18). Official curriculum documentation authorship seeks to secure policy outcomes; its political role is achieved by influencing the manner of policy implementation (Fairclough, 2003). This makes such documentation a powerful source of data through which to read authorial ideology. From a wider viewpoint, documentary analysis is a significant area of social research insofar as 'many . . . social situations are self-documenting, in the sense that their members are engaged in the production and circulation of various kinds

of written material. Government departments . . . generate and consume huge amounts of documentation' (Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007:121) that become a form of social action in that setting.

I therefore frame this study from a critical theoretical perspective on curriculum (Pinar *et al.*, 2002:243-7) to research ideology and values embedded in policy documentation. Official curriculum documentation in fact forms only a surrogate set of data when compared with wider policy formation processes. For example, power over policy in the form of ministerial meetings' transcripts and document editing decisions would also record ideological influences on policy. However, there is already a useful ideological-critical literature published by contemporary participants in grammar policy formation to develop the ideological contexts of much English and literacy documentation (Clanchy, 1993; Cox, 1994; Marenbon, 1987; Perera, 1994). My research is a study of the documents themselves, for their potential discursive influence on professionals' practice. This is a field in which new materials are being added with each contemporary policy change. As such the findings should contribute to studies of future policy shifts that are intended to influence grammar's place in English and literacy's curriculum.

1.1.2 Critical theory and curriculum formation

England's curriculum documents set out the officially sanctioned means by which school learners may advance in the schooling system; they present the statutory and non-statutory terms in which schools must act to achieve nationally recognised success for learners. As schools are themselves part of England's national state education system, official curriculum documentation regulates schooling's taught content, assessment, output and reputation. This documentation thereby becomes a technology that draws on the social, political and cultural traditions of school leadership and governance to maintain its control over state schooling (Michael, 1987). Curriculum research therefore looks beyond immediate policy content in order to focus on these wider influences on the processes of curriculum construction, and to reveal its theoretical perspectives and construction. In the next section I review three western

conceptions of curriculum, as both an educational construct, and as reflections of contemporary thought in the field of curriculum.

1.2   Conceptions of curriculum

I work from the assumption that what is officially spoken and written in curriculum formation draws on economic, political, social and cultural perspectives that in turn construct educational ideologies of curriculum (Kelly, 2004). Dewey recognises a dichotomy of curriculum with far-reaching implications for all forms of education when noting:

> . . . in dealing with the young . . . it is easy to ignore in our contact with them the effect of our acts upon their disposition, or to subordinate that educative effect to some external and tangible result . . . [t]he need of training is too evident; the pressure to accomplish a change in their attitude and habits is too urgent to leave these consequences wholly out of account . . . [i]f humanity has made some headway in realising that the ultimate value of every institution is its distinctively human effect – its affect upon conscious experience - we may well believe that this lesson has been learned largely through our dealings with the young.
>
> (Dewey, 1916/1966:8)

For Dewey the socially mediated curriculum privileges tangible outcomes over the intangible; curriculum theory shows this dichotomy between educating for social and individual benefits. This distinction is a central theme of conceptual theories of curriculum. In recognising this distinction I see theories of curriculum as (i) not settled, (ii) developed over time, (iii) reflecting contemporary political, social and economic concerns that periodically look to education for solutions to immediate needs, and (iv) embedded within their contemporary epistemologies of knowledge, society, culture and thought.

1.2.1   The modernist curriculum and social needs

Conceptions of curriculum since the 1910s (e.g. Bobbitt, 1918; Dewey, 1918/2004) have typically been of content knowledge, the order in which things should be learned, and individuals' accrued experience, skills and defined outcomes (Bernstein, 1999; Pinar *et al.*, 1995). Changing selections of cultural knowledge, framed and transmitted through such

curricula, are presented as generally beneficial, acculturating learners into contemporary social and cultural norms and needs. In the 1950s and 1960s Western curriculum scholars looked upon such socially derived normative curricula as personally empowering, and an egalitarian means to a more equal society, and as largely unproblematic content (Pinar *et al.*, 1995).

Curriculum in these terms can be seen as syllabus, the ordering of suitable knowledge within which to frame learning and teaching. Such framing is, however, to limit the admissible (Bernstein, 2000). Over the twentieth century a number of recurrent perspectives on what these syllabuses should contain have emerged. Bernstein identifies curricular knowledge as selections that tend towards the historical, looking for canonical authority to justify their place (Bernstein, 2000). Curzon claims that this approach presents curriculum knowledge as 'logical', framing study in the image of the past, thereby inhibiting innovation (Curzon, 1985), taking no account of wider or contemporary social needs and thereby acting against radical change (Blenkin *et al.*, 1992:23). Other framings of knowledge selection have typically been based on notions of entitlement (e.g. Arnold, 1869/2009), and subsequently elaborated in school subjects as areas of intellectual experience and challenge (Hirst and Peters, 1970) or as identifiable objective-driven goals (Tyler, 1949/1969).

Allied to Tyler's conceptualising curriculum as objectives, curriculum is also conceived as individual learners' competency outcomes, which influenced UK debates about the National Curriculum in the 1980s (Goodson, 1994; Ross, 2000). Curriculum as outcomes thereby masks the ways curriculum construction may ideologically privilege inherent social and economic purposes for state schooling. This analysis of written curriculum originates in the US curriculum theory of Bobbitt (1918) and Tyler (1949), which constructs learning as preparation for productive adult work:

> The central theory [of curriculum] is simple. [It represents] the abilities, attitudes, habits, appreciations and forms of knowledge that men need. These will be the objectives of the curriculum. They will be numerous, definite and particularized. The curriculum will then be that series of experiences which children and youth must have by way of obtaining those objectives.

Curriculum thus conceived as means-to-closely-defined-ends constructs curriculum as designed outcomes, devised to serve the economic and employment needs of society. This aligns curriculum with closely defined social and economic understandings of society's immediate needs, within strict economic and social hierarchies of trades and professions in employment markets. Curriculum in this light reflects the extent to which those with social power stray towards prescribing curriculum needs. Tension remains between those with power to select, publish and assess curriculum, and alternative ideological positions on contemporary curriculum needs (Bernstein, 2000).

Early twentieth century UK curriculum saw an expansion of schooling as an industrial, scientific and technological development similar to that in other industrial European countries and North America (Apple, 2004; Whitty, 1992). In tandem with industrial development came prosperity through capital accumulation, property ownership and income growth, all signifying a belief that such prosperity sprang from a scientific, efficient and rational organisation of society (Pinar *et al.*, 2002). One key belief linked to modern industry is 'efficiency'. Efficiency is seen as a key to general prosperity in a society, and which in turn benefits the individual (Bowles and Gintis, 1976).

Hargreaves' (1994) classification of modernity identifies three main characteristics of efficiency's social impact. Its economic effect saw families separated from their work by the rational concentration of production within the factory system (Hargreaves, 1994). Its centralised political control obviated local decisions over social welfare and education (Apple, 2004:55). Its bureaucratic organisation produced large workforces formed into narrow specialisations. These three major aspects contributed to the expanded provision and enforcement of compulsory public education, as a perceived essential step in developing the UK as a modern and successful industrial country. Green argues that this was considered

essential to providing improved living standards and building a strong nation state (Green, 1990a). Expansion of public education brought considerable financial costs that were to be defrayed by tax-payers (Callahan, 1962). With a perpetually low percentage of pupils progressing beyond elementary schools in the late nineteenth century, public complaint held that schools were elitist, over-authoritarian and inefficient (de Castell and Luke, 1986). Educators and public alike were fed on scientific ideals and evolutionary theory by contemporary intellectuals whose belief in scientific management and cost-accounting was aligned with the leading contemporary business class. Educators and curriculum developers applied such scientific management principles and methods to early twentieth century schools (de Castell & Luke, 1986); their scientific principles for human behaviours were the dominant paradigm in developing curricula. Scientific efficiency theories, such as Taylor's manufacturing and productivity methods (Daft, 2007; Weisbord, 1987:50-53), Weber's 'ideal' bureaucracy theory and Fayol's administration theory (Daft, 2007) sought the ideal or single 'best way' for standardising human behaviour with the intention of maximising the productive output standard. The 'standard' (Pinar *et al.*, 2002) became the key objective that guided future processes of planning, organisation and evaluation of learning and work.

As facets of modernity these rational-functional objectives conceive curriculum as (i) goal specification, (ii) content planning, and (iii) controlled work methods. As such, schools may be regarded akin to factories where raw materials, their pupils, are manufactured into educated citizens, their teachers seen as the factory-workers or technicians in their production. Franklyn Bobbitt, one guiding mind of early curriculum development, regarded Taylor's principles of scientific management as a scientific model for curriculum development (Pinar *et al.*, 2002:96). Since the aim of education was to prepare students for adult life, the goal of the curriculum was deemed necessarily to be designed with society's economic needs as paramount. These needs were clearly identified to be industrially and economically useful knowledge, skills and capabilities (Pinar *et al.*, 2002). According to Bobbitt curriculum developers should necessarily:

1) identify which human experiences, knowledge, skills and capabilities society needed most through an analysis of its own adult activities;

2) design concrete educational goals based on these identifications;

3) use scientific methods to evaluate attainments of the goals.

(Source: Pinar *et al.*, 2002)

In this essentially modernist approach to curriculum formation the priority was to make the curriculum goals and their assessments clear, concrete and scientific. The Tyler rationale (Tyler, 1949/1969:1) is strongly representative of this scientific ideal. Tyler's rationale sets out four fundamental questions to be answered in developing any curriculum:

- What educational purposes should the school seek to attain?

- What educational experiences can be provided that are likely to attain in these purposes?

- How can the educational experiences be effectively organised?

- How can we determine whether the purposes are being attained?

Tyler's model classifies curriculum by four main components: purpose, experience, methods and evaluation (Jackson, 1992:37) which Apple (1982) suggests share a common modernist ideology in that they adopt a rational world view where proficient operations must be preceded by distinct plans and objectives. The model also assumes a structural view of curriculum components, with authoritative structures of knowledge, e.g. long-lived school subjects, fixed notions of specialist teachers and itemised and verifiable points for progress in a curriculum, all in the rational-scientific paradigm of modernity.

Tyler's rationale, in modified forms, presents distinct conceptions of the individual in relation to society's needs. For example Skinner's behaviourist theories of learning contributed to thinking about the education of the individual, as did thinking of the 'mind as a machine' and looking at personal interactions as elements in a socially efficient system (Apple, 2004; Peel *et al.*, 2000;

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Pinar *et al.*, 1995). Curriculum goals and means, efficiency and control, input and output, are pedagogical elements that Apple claims have essentially remained unchanged:

> . . . for the better part of the twentieth century educators have searched long and hard for a general set of technical procedures that would guide curriculum planning and evaluation. In large part, this has reduced itself to attempts to create the most efficient method of doing curriculum work.
>
> <div align="right">(Apple, 2000:54).</div>

Such a modernist curriculum broadly overlooks any individual or personal values intimately attached to cultural and intellectual values inherent in humanist constructs of the learner (Kelly, 2004). Modernist curriculum theories also assume that the process of curriculum planning is neutral and self-justifiable; that within its intention to provide a rationally devised single, 'best' and standard curriculum, its content and method will be suitable for all learners and all learning situations (Pinar *et al.*, 1995). Consequently, for the modernist curriculum, developing good infrastructures of technological resources becomes prominent; implementing curricula requires technical control and achievement criteria. In such 'technocratic' (Apple, 1979a), 'scientific' (Kelly, 2004) approaches school students and teachers are seen to be deterministic tools, used by external policy to pursue goals over which they themselves have little control.

In opposition to the inherent determinism of Modernist curriculum structures, Dewey argues for 'experience' in curriculum to include the lived experience of the learner, in opposition to the simplistic tracking of the learner's activity (Dewey, 1906/2007:11).

1.2.2   Critical curriculum analysis

In the UK curriculum study became more socially oriented from the 1960s and 1970s, with the growth of the 'new sociology of school knowledge' (Pinar *et al.*, 1995; Young, 1971; 1975). New critiques of curriculum recognised relationships between established curricula, the origins of their cultural knowledge and power relations within schooling, education and the society that institutes policy (Bernstein, 1971a; Pinar *et al.*, 1995; Whitty, 1992; Young, 1971; 1975). Young's application of the new sociology of knowledge drew on critical theory drawn from the

Frankfurt school and Marxist traditions of social theory. Critical curriculum theorists focus here on single social issues such as class, gender, ability, ethnicity, poverty, seeking social emancipation through active curriculum and pedagogic innovation towards greater social equality and change (Whitty, 1985; 1992).

The new sociology of knowledge drew attention to agency, social constructions of individual reality, interaction, and pupils' and educators' lived experiences, all as constructors of education knowledge (Goodson and Ball, 1984; Jackson, 1968/1990; Keddie, 1971; Kelly, 1999). This social-critical scholarship recognised wider complexities of asymmetric social opportunity, schooling and social power, and brought understandings of the curriculum as a culturally, socially and economically devised political text (Pinar *et al.*, 2002:243-4). Conceptualising curriculum as ideological, social, economic, cultural and institutional power it critiqued the influences and limitations of opportunities for access to cultural knowledge. Individuals' lives in education received the research attention of curriculum scholars through analysis of social power within official and wider social controls on curriculum. Critical curriculum scholarship distinguished conceptually between curriculum theory, with its need to clarify and question its inherent perspectives and values, and curriculum practice within teaching, with its daily need to interpret curriculum in classrooms. Both require insights and understandings of their ideology, their positioning values and resultant assumptions that position curriculum thinking and action (Keddie, 1971; Kelly, 2004). The emergent 'critical' theories of curriculum provide understandings of schooling, power and individual lived experience through which curriculum efficacy and ideology might be researched.

Critical curriculum theorists challenge hitherto dominant assumptions that schools are neutral institutions for developing meritocratic and egalitarian social orders. Rather than accepting the notion of schooling as a means of furthering democracy and social mobility, critical theories draw on Gramsci's political conception of hegemony to claim that school curricula legitimate and reproduce the ideas and values of dominant groups (Apple, 2004). In researching the

experience of the socially disempowered (Freire, 1970/1993) critical curriculum research claims to reveal imbalances of power and social control with the intention to reorient schooling and school knowledge in more socially normative directions (Hargreaves, 1994).

1.2.3   Critical curriculum and cultural knowledge

Drawing on the new sociology of knowledge, e.g. Raymond Williams' conception of cultural materialism (Williams, 1985), scholars explored cultural relationships between schooling, culture and curriculum (Whitty, 1985). Whilst there is no single or unified critical curriculum theory, there are connected themes whose perspectives challenge a dominant assumption that school knowledge is culturally neutral and serves all in the interests of democracy and social egalitarianism. Rather than accepting the notion that schooling was a vehicle of democracy and advantageous for achieving social mobility, they broadly claim that:

> . . . schools reproduce the logic of capital through the ideological and material forms of privilege and domination that structure the lives of students from various class, gender, racial, and ethnic groupings.
>
> (Giroux, 1988:128)

In this critical frame Apple argues that 'curriculum research should entail the explication of how the structuring of knowledge and symbol in our educational institutions was intimately related to the principles of social and cultural control' (Apple, 1979a:1). Similarly, Giroux asks curriculum scholarship to 'lay bare the ideological and political character of the contemporary and historical curriculum' (Giroux, 1982:7).

1.2.4   Critical curriculum: economic and social reproduction

In studying education from an economic perspective US economists Bowles and Gintis (1976) broadly took a classical Marxist economic view of schooling in society. They viewed the private ownership of production and financial resources as unequal, in turn giving control of economic activities to their owners and managers, bringing relations of dominance and subordination within the confines of such capitalist enterprises. Bowles and Gintis (1976) contend that the

powerful position of the owners and managers was not perpetually secure, therefore the long

term success of the system depended on (i) a widely accepted ideology justifying the social

order, and (ii) a set of social relationships that both validated this ideology through every day

experience and fragmented the ruled-over public into mutually indifferent or antagonistic

groups. Bowles and Gintis define the dominant aims of schooling as 'technocratic-meritocratic',

developing the highest level of intellectual capacity to get ahead economically (1976:110).

Within this ideological perspective inequalities of income, wealth and social status were

justifiable by their claim that only the 'most talented' people in society could fill the highest

positions in society. In consequence the hierarchical division of labour was an unconsciously

evolved means by which society ensured that the most important positions were

conscientiously filled by the 'best' qualified people. By so doing fairness through meritocracy

was secured by recognising individuals' personal abilities, and technical competence secured

by equal access to education. Critical of this view, on the grounds that it created an

ideologically-based false consciousness forced upon the working classes, Bowles and Gintis

(1976) claim:

> It is clear that the consciousness of the workers - belief, values, self - concepts,
> types of solidarity and fragmentation, as well as models of personal behavior and
> development - are integral to the perpetuation, validation and smooth operation of
> economic institutions. The reproduction of the social relations of production
> depends on the reproduction of consciousness.
>
> (Bowles and Gintis 1976:127)

Applying this theoretical framework to education they assert that:

> it tailors the self-concepts, aspirations, and social class identification of individuals to
> the requirements of the social division of labor.
>
> (Bowles and Gintis 1976:129).

Bowles and Gintis argue that the dominant 'technocratic-meritocratic' ideology is reproduced in

schools and operates on a correspondence principle. Their contention is that education does

not operate through the conscious intentions of teachers and education managers in their day-

to-day activities, but through a close correspondence between the social relationships which

governs personal interaction in the work place and social relationships within the education system. In particular they contend that:

> the relationships of authority and control between administrators and teachers, teachers and students, and students and their work replicated the hierarchical division of labour which dominated the work place
>
> (Bowles and Gintis1976:179).

A further strand of critical curriculum theory is its emphasis of so-called cultural 'reproduction theory' through which scholars (e.g. Bernstein, 1973: 71-112; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977), broadly argue that society's education provision reflects cultural knowledge that privileges high culture, its values and its cultural practices. These include for example, cultural forms of language, literary and media experience, theatre-going and the kinds of newspapers read through which cultural knowledge is mediated. Their analysis aligns culturally with Bernstein's theory of elaborated codes. Schooling is seen to have a tendency to legitimate and reproduce home and community cultural practices that align with school knowledge, thereby predisposing some children to successful schooling. Schools may claim to be fair and neutral transmitters of a common culture but come to be seen as active maintainers of social inequality.

Bernstein (1990) concludes that schools help to reproduce social inequality as differentiated by social class, identifying individuals' ways of knowing and being as cultural 'codes'. According to Bernstein (1990) children from dominant class families are educationally advantaged by having acquired 'the elaborated codes' by their socialisation through home and community interaction and consciousness (Bernstein 1990). Thereby schools, in turn, legitimate, transmit and reproduce 'elaborated codes' through which learners are differentially positioned in schools to succeed. For Bernstein class 'codes' operate to privilege dominant, class-based forms of social consciousness:

> . . . symbolic control is the means whereby consciousness is given a specialized form and distributed through forms of communication which relay a given distribution of power and dominant cultural categories
>
> (Bernstein 1990:134)

Bernstein's theory assumes that,

> . . . class reproducing functions would be maintained, even strengthened through the strong linkage of education, symbolic control, and the cultural field
>
> (Bernstein 1990:160)

For Bernstein curriculum theory must address differential class codes through a widening selection of school knowledge and legitimating the cultural knowledge of working class children whose more restricted codes have previously disadvantaged them from the beginning of their schooling.

Bourdieu and Passeron's definition of school knowledge as a form of 'symbolic capital' theorises as a social economy how the interests of powerful social groups are sustained (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). They claim that unequal distribution of cultural 'capital' tends to reproduce unequal distributions of economic capital, and thereby increase the overall power of elite groups. Traditionally established competencies of the elite class cultures have not only become legitimated but been transmitted unequally by schools. Bourdieu and Passeron further claim that selected curriculum knowledge perpetuates ideologies that are historically misrepresented and concealed inequalities in the structure of relationships on which social and cultural power have been based. In turn this inequality disguises the contribution of schools to the reproduction of these relations and to the power of dominant groups to influence schooling (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977:112).

1.2.5   Problematics in critical theory and curriculum

These accounts identify a deterministic aspect to the socio-cultural perspective on curriculum, schooling and society. Giroux argues that these discourses from within early critical curriculum theory write off schools, teachers and students as mere entities within a capitalist economic and social order in which the dominant maintain absolute control (Giroux, 1988). Giroux maintains that they had not identified some factors that affect educational outcomes and had

overlooked the constant struggles and resistances of all social groups. Instead Giroux views schools from a postmodern perspective, as sites of contestation, negotiation and conflict, indicating that a '. . . dominant ideology is not the determinate instance of a given mode of production, but rather a factor coded in curriculums which is subsequently mediated by the concrete actions of teachers and students in the classroom' (Giroux 1988:130).

Similarly Apple claims as simplistic the idea that sees schools reproducing the social relations of production. He claims that:

> although production certainly takes place, the concept does not do justice to the complexity of school life, and ignores the struggles and contradictions that exist in schools
>
> (Apple 1982:14)

He further argues that school students are not passive entities, able and eager to be inexorably moulded simply to fit into their socially determined place within an unequal society. Apple argues that the dominant cultural knowledge and ideology is not absorbed directly but is mediated by the class culture of the school students. Whilst Apple recognises the curriculum may be a site of constant struggle, dissonance and compromise between cultural-political forces he persists in the belief that power remains unequally distributed (Apple 1982:24).

Within these arguments underpinning early critical curriculum theory is a macro-descriptive strand of thinking about the relationship between education and cultural politics of society with a somewhat simplistic linear view of cultural and educational outcomes. Broadly, arguments within early critical curriculum theory ignore complexities of school life and those of socio-cultural life. Still more importantly they '. . . failed to develop a programmatic language in which they can theorize for schools' and consequently '. . . they have not been able to develop a theory of schooling that offers a viable possibility for counter hegemonic struggle and ideological contestation' (Giroux 1988:130-1). In this argument Apple and Giroux emphasise teachers and students' roles in resisting dominant knowledge and ideologies at classroom

level. Both Apple and Giroux argue that by recognising schools as sites of cultural and social contestation, negotiation and conflict, curriculum research could develop a critical language to describe them; a critical language that might reveal teachers and students' challenge to asymmetric power, inequality and injustice; a critical language that might produce potential empowerment of marginalized or dominated groups in schools and in society (Apple 1982:24: Giroux 1988:131).

Apple and Giroux further argue that whilst early critical curriculum theory may have provided a general framework with which to understand and analyse education as a social system, it must still research the real curricular activities in schools and the actual components of curriculum. The1980s saw critical curriculum scholars (e.g. Apple, 1982; 1988; Aronowitz and Giroux, 1986; Goodson and Ball, 1984; Luke, 1988) design studies to examine the reality of relationships between teachers and students, schooling and curriculum, curriculum and knowledge. In recognising the pessimistic determinism of early theories later researchers claim that resistance, social empowerment and emancipation are more relevant theoretical lenses (Kelly, 2004). In so doing they identify struggle and resistance as focal points for research of hope, liberation and equality. Agency, lived experience and subjectivity have become agendas of curriculum study through, for example, self-evaluation and student voice research, albeit constrained by increased political controls on schools (Kelly, 2009:169).

Critical curriculum research looks increasingly to identify ideology in official curricula, which in turn reveals imbalances of power to select what is to be politically sanctioned cultural knowledge. A conceptual analysis of the term 'ideology' is in Chapter 2; here I outline only how traditions of curriculum selection content are found to coalesce and favour particular cultural ideological interests.

1.2.6 The cultural politics of school curricula

One instance of identifying links between social power and selection of curriculum knowledge is in critical study of school subjects. School subject histories provide insights into specific cultural change and more general patterns of knowledge selection. Goodson claims 'subjects are not monolithic entities but shifting amalgamations of sub-groups and traditions . . . [that] influence and change boundaries and priorities' (Goodson, 1993:3). According to Goodson, developing into a school subject first involves a cultural or social need for the specific subject knowledge in question. Second, subjects must develop subject ethnographies, and move towards distinct ways of knowing, thinking and develop distinct pedagogic practices. For Goodson a subject's ethnography defines the subject's knowledge base and establishes it as a subject 'discipline'. From a subject knowledge base comes a subject's expert, its 'specialist' teacher, and its concomitant subject training. Third, to perpetuate subject identity its status must extend beyond the school into the academy. This requires academic examination status and university courses, which in turn provides strong cultural and professional status, bringing about its own reproduction in the form of new teachers schooled within its own traditions (Goodson, 1993; 1984). Goodson's three-part typology of school subject development and identity indicates a reclassification of cultural knowledge into evaluated and reified groupings that develop their own internally evaluated and legitimated regulatory thinking and language (Bernstein, 2000:155-70).

1.2.7 Postmodernism and curriculum theory

Slattery describes a postmodern approach to curriculum theory as one premised around Heidegger's hermeneutic circle (Couzens Hoy, 2006), in calling for a holistic, lived model of curriculum in the postmodern era that allows for natural processes and self-reflective perspectives (Slattery, 2006). From a post-structural perspective curriculum thereby loses its certainties about previously revered structures, e.g. fixed curriculum frameworks and pedagogies, reified knowledge boundaries and fixed, taken-for-granted 'truths' in

conceptualisations of terms such as 'intelligence', 'progress', 'achievement' and 'professionalism'.

Doll (1993) claims that in a postmodern paradigm of curriculum construction the teacher would no longer predict or plan for specific classroom discussion that may develop, but would relinquish pedagogic control and create situations that allow for non-linear methods of pedagogic discourse, similar to Slattery's description of pedagogy as 'possibility' and 'becoming' (2006). Pinar is among the earliest proponents of postmodern curriculum construction, defining curriculum as 'running', using its Latin origin 'currere' - to run, and seen in opposition to modernism's focus on curriculum as a fixed route, the 'racecourse' itself. Postmodern theory reconstructs curriculum as Heidegger's 'dasein', the individual's lived curriculum that is 'essentially an entity with Being-in, it can explicitly discover those entities which it encounters environmentally, it can know them' (Heidegger, 2005:84), thereby developing a dynamic, relativist ontology of knowledge and pedagogy, possibly organised around reflection (Pinar, 2004:40-43). Postmodern curricula emphasise:

  (i) open learning agendas,

  (ii) an experiential concern, in opposition to the determinism of modernist agendas, and

  (iii) an emphasis on building open relationships within learning situations.

Based on experience and reflection postmodern conceptions of curriculum highlight open pedagogies of discussion, interpretation and accommodation in which:

> . . . each new experience adds to the accumulated meaning of experience for each individual and sets the stage for present and future possibilities [and a] gestalt or heightened consciousness.
>
> (Slattery, 2006:282).

Slattery draws on the work of Pinar's autobiographical reflection, a method of 'currere' in which teachers teach through individual experience, moving on to make broader connections within the curriculum (Slattery 2006: 64). Pinar's conception of curriculum becoming a reconfigured

pedagogical perspective, leading learners to analyse their own experience and describe their own experience, becomes a curriculum of 'learning to learn' that differs from other postmodern conceptions of curriculum. Slattery emphasises pedagogy in which teachers must 'unlearn what it meant to be a teacher and to recognise how the students themselves [are] handling the process' (2006:4). Burnett uses the phrase 'equality of exchange between teacher and student as a token of a postmodern approach to combining curriculum and pedagogy (Burnett, 1999).

Contrasting postmodern and critical conceptions of curriculum Cary (2007) is sceptical of the potential of social critical curriculum perspectives that demand discussion of a hierarchical pedagogic role and learner identity issues, whilst omitting to analyse epistemological perspectives of learners and teachers in their urge to enact wider social emancipation. Cary argues that there exist big pedagogical and ethical choices which, if taken, would reveal paradoxes in classroom dialogue that in turn would help avoid teacher reliance on reductive socially constructed knowledge (Cary, 2007:131). Cary's approach may be considered critical of critical curriculum's structural critiques of power relations, because of their inherent structuralist approach to emancipation in a society with public education.

1.3   Researching grammar within the English curriculum

This review of conceptualisations of the curriculum provides structural, critical and postmodern theoretical frameworks within which to discuss discourses of grammar in England's language and literacy curriculum policy documentation.

1.3.1   Theorising English language curriculum debate

Critical research in language education has analysed cultural, social and political contexts through which language education policy has impacted on society, schooling and the individual, e.g. (Barnes D *et al.*, 1969; Carter, 1990c; Edwards and Mercer, 1987; Keddie, 1971; Myhill, 2000; Perera, 1982; Rosen, 1972). Social critical research stresses the

ideological nature of the struggle between powerful and less powerful social agents, each claiming authority to form language education policy in the combined causes of effective language use and social equality. Tollefson notes that in the context of language policies worldwide ' . . . language policies at all levels, from national authorities to the individual classroom, reflect relationships or unequal power' (Tollefson, 1995:2). Critical language study thereby questions assumptions about language as systems or as countable entities, and suggests instead that language emerges from the activities it performs as a material part of social and cultural life (Pennycook, 2010).

One of the ways in which relationships of unequal power influence or control the language curriculum is through public discourse about schooling. Cameron evaluates the power of public discourses to control the limits of the thinkable about language and grammar in a UK curriculum context (Cameron, 1995). In the development of an English national curriculum, scholars identify three related trends in debate over selection of curriculum, through the structures and quality of its content (Carter, 1990a), its implicit social evaluation of learners' potential (Sealey, 1998), and fair or democratic access to its selection into curriculum (Peim, 2003). English scholars' publications also reflect a counter-official voice of education professionals to widen the discourse of public debate on policy.

England's experience of developing an English national curriculum for England, and its subsequent elaboration in the 2000s national 'strategies' (DfEE, 1998; 2001), was not unique to England (Clark, 2001; Peel *et al.*, 2000). In selecting English curriculum content England's policy publication develops an extended discourse that privileges the standardising of school English through insisting on the study of 'Standard English', a socially constructed dialect through which linguistic uniformity in literacy, and particularly writing skills, are its foremost aims (Cameron, 1997; Carter, 1996). My study focuses on this discursive activity, on its content themes and its voices, in a search for recognisable trends and patterns in official publications that will inform further scholarship in policy discourse analysis.

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Public discourses of education have been examined from the perspective of social control of pedagogic discourse by Bernstein within his comprehensive theory of 'pedagogic discourse' (Bernstein, 2000). Bernstein's social-critical conception of policy discourse models the location of power and agency to form, distribute and evaluate education policy, the power to mediate knowledge and public consciousness (Bernstein, 2000:28-37). Curriculum scholars address the cultural, social and technical pedagogic values that underpin the educational intentions of practice and policy, and their outcomes (Kelly, 2004). It is within this framework that I position my study of ideologies of grammar in English curriculum policy documentation discourses. It is through social and cultural critical perspectives on language policy that I identify and examine their discursive approaches to forming and distributing official discourses of grammar.

1.3.2 Professional influences on English language curriculum

Histories of English and literacy policy show the balance of control over English's curriculum and pedagogy changing sharply between the teaching profession and policymakers at two periods of late Twentieth Century curriculum reconstruction (Clark, 2001:111; Peel *et al.*, 2000:108). Clark shows how a tradition of consultation between policymakers and a nexus of English's subject professionals existed prior to being abandoned in favour of seeking non-professional and often adversarial advice during the formation of the national curriculum and beyond. Peel sees such professional disempowerment reflected in lowering attendances at professional conferences, and a claimed concomitant loss of teacher innovation after the inception of the National Literacy Strategy in 1998 (Peel *et al.*, 2000).

Losing policy and professional cooperation is cited as developing a divide in school English between literature and language, with awkward versions of grammar at the uncomfortable heart of English's language content (Andrews, 2005). This division of subject traditions is claimed as a separation in the subject along cultural lines, between utilitarian language and grammar as literacy and academic literature (Green, 1990b). These broad notions of grammar

and literature characterise the developing English curriculum in English departments of the post-1944 selective grammar and secondary schools (Medway, 1990:26-8; 2005). They remain the central elements of England's English national curriculum (DfEE/QCA, 1999; QCA, 2007a).

Subject English's claim for professional recognition may be seen through the actions of its teachers, its professional associations and its higher education colleagues, including teacher educators, during the 1960s and 1990s. These directions of their actions in these times are reflected in the development of (i) personal growth, and (ii) social-critical language study. Medway (1990) claims the history of English between the 1950s and the 1980s contains emancipatory convictions to bring social justice for all through the subject's potential for individualised teaching and personal growth. 'Personal growth' English identifies the individual experience with the individual's receptive and productive use of language (Dixon, 1975), in ways that foreshadow postmodern conceptions of open pedagogies and outcomes. The term 'growth' as a referent for social-emancipatory English offers imagery of individual freedom of expression, reflection and imagination, through both spoken and written language. Alongside a growth paradigm of English an allied, social-critical view of language developed in the 1960s, analysing 'real world' language in use (Doughty, 1968) and studying the classroom language of learners (Barnes D *et al.*, 1969; Keddie, 1971). The professional impact on developing the subject of English is documented in its ethnographic and critical histories (Ball, 1985; Peel *et al.*, 2000; Peim, 2000b; Pugh, 1996; Stannard and Huxford, 2004). English's professional agency is reflected in (i) a tradition of publishing classroom materials such as anthologies and textbooks, (ii) developing subject-oriented research through an academy that includes tutors in initial teacher education (e.g. Carter, 1982; 1990a; 1995; Edwards and Mercer, 1987; Marshall, 2000; Myhill, 2010), and (iii) open opportunity to discuss, research and publish through subject association conferences and journals, such as the National Association for the Teaching of English (NATE) publications 'English in Education' and 'Classroom', and United Kingdom Literacy Association (UKLA) journals 'Journal of Research in Reading' and 'Literacy'.

Professional discourses of English and literacy education developed and informed the professional voice that in turn informed policy before the late 1980s. Two histories of English identify its bifurcating subject paradigms, of content changes to include more socially diverse understandings of language in society and culture (Medway, 1990), and of English teachers' development of pluralist pedagogic approaches (Protherough and Atkinson, 1991). Their authors claim that these two movements provided prominent professional scholarship at times of considerable official discourse about a need for culturally conservative change in language and literacy teaching.

1.3.3   Official discourse and English curriculum formation

Official English national curricula and strategies for literacy teaching have, since their inception through the 1980s and 1990s, returned subject English to more modernist, structural models of curriculum as competency and performance. The structural curricular models here are evaluative, positioning certain structures of written language (e.g. simple and complex sentence construction) as the most valuable to learners' progress (DfEE, 2001). As noted earlier the certainty implied in the official policy link between grammar teaching and pupils' proficiency in writing has been one amongst many policy moves that is maintained in UK policies for literacy teaching, in spite of uncertain research evidence. Within the research we can identify here three aspects of UK literacy teaching policy change that frame (i) its understandings of literacy, (ii) its implications for teacher identity, and (iii) its implications for teacher knowledge.

UK literacy curriculum strategies (e.g. DfEE, 1998; DfES, 2001) claim grammar to be a means to empower pupils through knowing how to operate an English language of fixed text types and syntactic structures – particularly of a standard variety of English (Cameron, 1995). Officially sanctioned positions on literacy education draw on several strands of discourse about language education and social responsibility towards children's use of language. Critics of pluralist conceptions of language in curriculum (E.g. Blunkett, 2001; Honey, 1988; Phillips,

1997) locate pupils' opportunities for social advancement in their access to learning and using Standard English. Links have also been made between children's using Standard English and their learned capacity to act in socially responsible ways, understanding accepting and conforming to notional social norms (Cameron, 1995; Hilton, 2002; Honey, 1988). A former UK cabinet minister has gone as far as to cite a loss of 'good English' as a step towards crime (Tebbit 1985, cited in Carter, 1997:22). Such formidable public discourses of language and grammar education operate alongside an English system of specialist or expert policy committees that have become the means of centralising control of curriculum content and methods of teaching (Cox, 1995). Cameron suggests that in the case of England's grammar curriculum such a high degree of curriculum centralisation has been achieved in part through the strength of public discourses on standards achieved in the subject. Her analysis claims that public discourses about grammar as 'correctness' have marginalised subject experts who use the relative term 'appropriate' in evaluating grammatical usage. She calls for education professionals to become far clearer in their discourse in order to change public understanding of more relative, descriptive positions during periodic episodes of struggle and influence language education policy (Cameron, 1995).

1.3.4   Standard English and theorising curriculum formation

One significant strand of this public debate is over the identity, role and primacy of Standard English (SE) in the school curriculum. Linguists see the identify of SE as in constant flux or to be simply notional rather than absolute, being moved by contemporary influences on the language itself. English's 'standard' forms are therefore normatively derived, thereby subject to contemporary cultural and social change. Its educational role in curriculum is seen as regulatory, framing the admissible forms of language in a monolithic formation of vocabulary, syntax, morphology and genres that act to exclude regional and social diversity in what is a culturally plural UK society. Resistance of ethnic minorities to embrace and accommodate a Standard English that may be seen to reflect supremacy and appears to marginalise minority communicative varieties is recognised. The primacy of Standard English has origins in

modernity's economic, scientific, technological, cultural and social histories. Its position as required curriculum content has been debated within one particular bipolar opposition, as either: (i) challenging cultural diversity by standardising the language in daily use, or (ii) offering a Standard language that provides educational access to employment in society irrespective of social or cultural background. More detail of the identity, role and primacy of 'standard' English in the school curriculum will come in Chapter 2, in a review of language and grammar education.

From an international standpoint the writing of a fixed national content and assessment framework for English in a national curriculum identifies the UK's curriculum policy making process as a 'confined system' using Morris's (1996) analysis of policy change. For Morris policy change is retained by the centralised official authority, which holds the legal and administrative means to control curricula. In practice this has resulted in the production of official curriculum publications for schools that comprise taught content lists with allied rationales, age-specific testing to measure pupils' progress, teaching guidance and officially commissioned supportive research findings. According to Morris central control produces a highly regulated curriculum and assessment framework that is focused on a narrowed body of content knowledge and assessed through a regulated testing regime at 14+, 16+ and 18+. Access to higher levels of education is based on success within these assessments (Morris, 1996). This regime signally implements Bobbitt's (1918) means-to-end conceptualisation of curriculum, and frames its selections of cultural knowledge as both correctly chosen and as settled content. It does not represent a critical approach to curriculum construction, an approach that would question its underlying values, wider influences of schooling and the power of social equity in school pupils' success.

Moreover, concerns over young people's cultural identity moving outside mainstream culture has been linked to their non-use of standard language forms (Phillips, 1997). Some writers have framed such public concerns over young people's cultural identity as recurrent 'moral

panics' (Cameron, 1995; Carrington, 2005) that further divide popular opinion from evidence-based understandings of youth, culture, identity and language as countercultural excess (Cameron 1995; Hilton 2002). Goodson and Marsh classify such panics and consequent attempts to control school curricula as a necessary means to preserve social stability and arrest aberrant cultural change (Goodson and Marsh, 1996). Cultural critiques of language that evaluate individuals' literacy by reference to standard norms of usage, social critiques of cultural groups that marginalise non-normative social behaviours as 'problems', and political critiques of policy as guardianship of curriculum in the interests of economic development and cultural conservatism, position curriculum research as pluralist and emancipatory, and to the political left of cultural conservatism (Agger, 1999).

1.3.5 Theorising official curriculum formation

Economic, social and cultural effects of globalisation in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries are claimed to have brought about fragmentation, plurality and complexity to social life; social life that is made complex by multi-lingualism, technology and changing networks of employment and social practice (Kress, 1985; Luke, 2002:97). Taylor places literacy policy change within these tensions, between fixed and varying conceptualisations of literacy and language, culture and social cohesion. She identifies language education as a central aspect of emancipatory social change and finds the need to critique both its position and its function (Taylor, 2002; 2004). Within such changing times questions about the position and identity of the teacher are also raised. Imposed policy changes in literacy teaching have been critiqued as ideologically extreme and fundamentalist (Hilton 2002). In describing the imposition of new literacy policy she and others see its non-negotiability as incongruent with previous norms of professional engagement and liberal democratic values (Hilton, 2002; Powell and Edwards, 2005).

Powell and Edwards further explore the formation of teacher identity through conceptualising as 'surveillance' a perceived and growing culture that publically imposes beliefs, ideologies

and discourses about literacy and literacy education that condition it. Foucault's (1977) conception of the 'microphysics' of power in social relations between actors and institutions helps theorise this relationship of English teachers and policy change as one of coercive political power and social economic tension (Foucault, 1977). Granovetter interprets this complexity of relationships between policy (the state) and practice (teachers) as one of economic interdependence in socially embedded networks that constrain actors so they cannot:

> behave or decide as atoms outside a social context, nor . . . adhere slavishly to a script written for them by the intersection of social categories that they happen to occupy. Their attempts at action are embedded in concrete, on-going systems and social relations.
>
> (Granovetter, 1985:487)

Foucault's neo-Marxist conception of power relations can be seen to operate between policy-makers and teachers as surveillance within a market of interdependent interests that are governed within structures of control, exchange and surveillance (Foucault, 1977). Bernstein's (2000) development of this internalised and legitimated surveillance provides a third level of social activity, that of school subject researchers seeking to critique curriculum policy formation as state control over knowledge selection and professional identity.

1.3.6   Theorising official curriculum action

This formation and inter-relationship of three groups of actors is conceived as a system of mutually informing and controlling discourses that legitimate what may be understood as 'thinkable' about, in this case, language and grammar education (Bernstein, 2000; Cameron, 1995). This conceptualisation of interdependent, but not equal, power relations is modelled in this thesis by Bernstein's Pedagogic Device, a model that frames complexities of discursive relations at three levels of education policy formation and activity (Bernstein 1996; 2000).

Within Bernstein's framework, ideological perspectives on curriculum, in this case grammar within English and literacy can be framed as discourses between actors in an officially

sanctioned network of social relations (Foucault 1972; Williams 1977). Within this nexus Bernstein conceives ideologies of school subjects as being relayed between these three levels of thought, action and control. In Bernstein's model are specialist subject knowledges (a macro level), policy (a mezzo level) and schooling (a micro level). To this end Bernstein's conception of a pedagogic device develops a regularising framework within which power and discourse form two pivotal elements in an ongoing struggle for control over curricula. His model of the Pedagogic Device (Figure 1.1) helps explore curricular power and informs analysis of the ongoing discursive purpose of this official control.
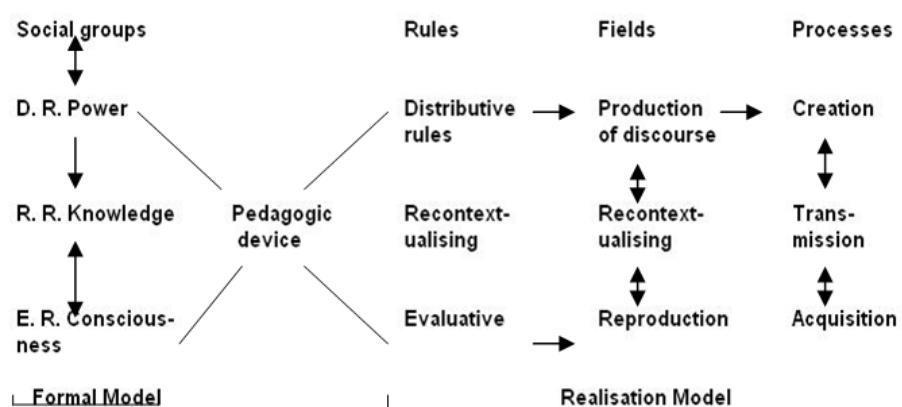
Key to 'Rules' of the Pedagogic Device
D.R. - Distributive Rules   R.R. - Recontextualising Rules
E.R. - Evaluative Rules

Figure 1.1   The Pedagogic Device (Figure 2.4 in Bernstein, 2000:37)

Essentially Bernstein's model is one of power and discourse. It frames power, hegemony and discourse that can be seen to operate coercively to produce, frame and regulate the 'think-able' and the 'do-able' within the confines of officially set policy parameters. Bernstein's model proposes that activity within the polity is regulated in four dimensions, through:

i.   social groups being afforded differentiated access to curriculum; the power to build policy, to bring policy into curriculum and to transact that curriculum remain separate, as in a theocracy the prophet, the priest and the laity form a hierarchy of insight and agency;

ii.   'rules' that operate to delimit distribution, reframing and evaluations of assumptions and ideas about curriculum legitimacy that may be held;

iii.   'rules' that control action within all 'fields' of discourse production and interpretation, to ensure ideological conformity is applied and maintained over differing fields and times;

iv.   'processes' of policy discourse that are in constant play, operating at all three levels as policy's metaphoric hierarchy of 'prophets', 'priests' and 'laity'.

Despite the heavily condensed and tightly inter-related nature of Bernstein's model it provides a comprehensive interpretation of how Foucault's combination of discourse theory and social power may be realised, and indicates that 'discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination [but is] the thing for which there is struggle. Discourse is the power to be seized' (Foucault 1984:110). In applying this conception of discourse to Bernstein's model it is possible to conceptualise and analyse official curriculum formation and action. It is through this perspective that I place 'discourse' at the heart of my research into the ideological struggle for discursive control of grammar in England's national language curriculum.

1.3.7   Official curriculum documentation as social action

English national curriculum and strategies documentation form a tightly bounded and regulated system of policy distribution over what ideologically counts as official curriculum; the 'what' and the 'how' of school subjects (Scott, 2000). As such, official English curriculum documentation conveys officially sanctioned selections of knowledge, thereby influencing the cultural and pedagogic identifies within which state schooling may officially operate.

Much critical curriculum theory identifies officially sanctioned knowledge and culture as neither neutral nor unproblematic in meeting the needs of the majority of school pupils or of the wider society (Apple, 1979b; 2000; 2004; Ball, 1990a; Bernstein, 1996; Britzman, 1999; Goodson and Ball, 1984; Hargreaves, 2001; Kelly, 2004; Pinar *et al.*, 1995). Critical policy scholarship

broadly argues that official curricula are ideological discursive systems for transmitting and reproducing dominant social and cultural values and beliefs. Official documents become representative of a selective tradition and convey official versions of what constitutes necessary knowledge from legitimate viewpoints. This highly selective version of school English is necessarily presented in documents as neutral in its cultural value but as socially beneficial; its interpretations of reality and its value judgments are given as fact. In so doing official curriculum documentation operates as a means of social control, legitimating the social relations and status of those with power to influence curriculum whilst implying that there are no alternative versions of the curriculum.

Critical research of this official discourse for its perspectives on grammar reveals (i) whose interests or versions of language cultural knowledge are included in the UK language curriculum, and (ii) how the selected cultural knowledge is legitimated within official discourses of curriculum. Researching official curriculum documentation yields a significant contribution to what we know about what constitutes official and authorised versions of grammar knowledge and language practice in language education through the twentieth century to date.

1.4   The research focus and questions for this study

My research intention is to show what ideological assumptions about grammar in the UK language curriculum have influenced policy, and thereby teacher and learner identity (Westbury, 1983; Whitty, 2002). Such implicit teacher-learner relationship identities are linked with what is a permitted space for individual agency as recognised above through Bernstein's theory of pedagogic discourse. Therefore I follow two distinct purposes in examining these official selections of cultural knowledge.

First, I interpret curriculum from the standpoint of it being an ever-emerging socio-cultural control system over public schooling and its curriculum discourses. Through an analysis of its official curriculum documentation I identify cultural epistemologies of grammar, its teachers

and its learners. In doing so I research these as problematic ideologies of curriculum and professional identities (Gee, 1990). Therefore my first research question is to identify:

'What ideological discourses of English grammar are extant within UK official English curriculum documentation since 1921?'

Second, I assume that language is used to convey and make seemingly natural the dominant cultural positions (Fairclough, 2003). For example any insistence on the dominance of Standard English as the sole variety for teaching within official documentation would be a recognisable argument, and sustained through the linguistic properties and discursive methods of a document's text. However, I supplement my interest in ideological perspectives on grammar in policy with a research need to identify exactly what linguistic properties and discursive methods are in play within this ninety year period of official publication. Therefore I investigate documents' linguistic properties and discursive methods through my second research question:

'How are official discourses constructed through official English curriculum documentation?'

One further purpose of this study is to apply critical curriculum theory to concepts of what is legitimate as 'Standard' English in England's language education debates. Research into England's language education currently divides between normative (descriptive) and positivist (prescriptive) concepts of the term 'standard' as applied to language. Researching grammar education documentation from a critical curriculum perspective illuminates official beliefs about the terms 'Standard', or lower-case, 'standard' English; a term whose structural and sociolinguistic identities are in constant flux (Cameron, 1995; Freeborn *et al.*, 1993; Graddol *et al.*, 1994; Milroy and Milroy, 1999; Thomas *et al.*, 2004). Differing perspectives on Standard English figure in my analysis, Chapters 5 – 7. These present ideological flux and pivotal arguments about (i) young people's social identity and language use (Carrington, 2005), and (ii) the necessity of maintaining a national Standard English (Crystal, 1995). It illustrates a

struggle for curriculum control over the social and cultural legitimacy of differing versions of the English language, a struggle that is very publically played out and documented in the so-called 'grammar wars' of the 1980s and 1990s in England (Clark, 2001; Peel *et al.*, 2000).

Within this struggle lies a divide over who owns the language of everyday use and the legitimacy of the cultural language knowledge constructed within the English language curriculum. Such dissonance between authoritarian views of how language should be used, and how language is used in daily life, permeates school English and literacy provision. It has the potential to disengage and estrange school learners, separating their understanding of school knowledge from their 'real' world experience. From individual learners' perspectives these 'theories of context' frame individual learner identities (Goodson, 2003), identities with which Standard English has the potential to invoke social and cultural resonance or resistance, affiliation or alienation in their language learning.

1.5   Research approach for this study

This research is about ideology and power relations, within a conceptual framework drawn from critical curriculum theory. The study investigates what discourses of grammar are exposed through an analysis of official policy documents and thereby examines how a selective tradition of certain grammar as school knowledge in language education reveals discernible ideological perspectives. As noted above I assume that cultural knowledge is generally constructed through discourse (Bernstein, 1999; Foucault, 1984) and it is appropriate here to use analytical techniques drawn from critical discourse analysis (CDA) when the analysing a curriculum documentation data set. In Chapter 3 I argue why CDA is an appropriate methodology for this study of official policy presentation.

1.6   Summary of Chapter 1

Through this chapter I have introduced the study focus on official curriculum documentation for grammar in England's English curriculum. This is documentary data that comprises a data set

from which official discourses of grammar may be read as a prominent component in the English curriculum from 1921 to 2011. I identify how curriculum scholarship conceives curriculum variously as a map of what may be learned in school subject disciplines, and how in a wider sense it relates to official policy about schooling and as a form of control over individuals' professional and social choices. I identify where previous studies of language education have focused on grammar's place in the English curriculum, and its place in changing understandings of subject English. I also identify a gap in the English curriculum research literature that this study addresses. I briefly outline how this study addresses two research questions about broad ideological discourses of grammar and how these ideological discourses are developed through their linguistic properties and approaches to argument.

Chapter 2: Curriculum, ideology and discourse: a conceptual framework for policy analysis

2.0   Introduction

In this chapter I explain why I take social critical theory as my main theoretical perspective from which to analyse ideological standpoints in curriculum documentation. I then elaborate two main conceptual terms, 'ideology' and 'discourse', as they frame this study.

2.0.1   Critical theoretical perspectives in this study

In Chapter 1 I explain how curriculum scholarship mainly develops functional, behavioural and social-critical theoretical standpoints. In Section 1.3 I particularly focus on critical curriculum theory as a major development towards understanding the curriculum as a powerful yet potentially divisive social element in educational provision. As such the curriculum is an important area of policy to control, especially for those wishing to influence its stasis or change. As my research investigates curriculum policy discourse, my analysis tracks the power exercised through its authors' propositions, arguments and ideological positions. My research draws on critical theory as its main theoretical perspective to develop an understanding of how policy texts position grammar in the English curriculum. Critical theory, in its broadest sense, provides frameworks for analysing social phenomena such as government document authorship, which construct realities that are the product of social relations, social institutions and social power.

Drawing on the work of the Frankfurt School (e.g. Habermas, 1973) critical theorists reject instrumental or scientific goal-driven social theory in favour of developing reflective understandings of how power positions individuals and groups in society. Critical theory has developed not only to critique the source and naturalisation of social power, but also to promote the social enlightenment and emancipation of individuals and groups. 'Enlightenment' is the insight that reveals hidden, asymmetric and coercive social pressures, which in turn influence individual action. 'Emancipation' is thought of as freeing individuals from coercion

through reflection and new self-knowledge so they may determine their own best interests (Geuss, 1981:55).

Within curriculum study critical theory provides ways of understanding the impact on educational thinking of socially devised concepts such as social class, ability, ethnicity and poverty. Critical theory can construct these as needful opportunities where education can enlighten and emancipate individuals and groups. Historically critical theory has claimed that education should open opportunities for self-knowledge, societal awareness, as well as teaching practical skills that help learners get on better in the world than might otherwise be the case. England's public education policies since the 1860s made public literacy a priority that lead towards the contemporary English curriculum in a move towards social change and cultural stability (Michael, 1987; Shayer, 1972). This is central to my study of ideologies of grammar within this curriculum. I see a central problematic in the ways enlightenment can be bent towards different sorts of understanding of the 'self' in relation to society. From this standpoint one may ask what priorities for individual self-awareness are to be followed in education? and who chooses those ways forward? Similarly, one may ask what emancipatory knowledge, skills and experiences should be afforded to individuals and groups as their new opportunities towards better lives?

Critical theory offers ways of seeing how tensions between the interests of individuals and their membership of social groups are balanced, and how the interests of wider society constrain all citizens. Critical theory can, however, interpret individuals or groups simplistically as victims or villains in struggles for social-awareness, social opportunities and better lives. Individuals or groups can in turn become reified ethnographically by their social class or cultural habitus, to be included or marginalised accordingly.

From this perspective for my study, critical theory offers no single or best way to view the educational interests of individuals or social groups' literacy needs. Critical theory's potential to

reify social struggle as, for example, capitalist or class struggles, shows how it can be appropriated and pressed in many directions.

Critical theory differs epistemologically from instrumental, scientific, goal-driven social theory, which objectifies social groups using, for example, typologies such as social class or cultural interests to classify individuals. Critical theory broadly provides for analysis of individuals' unique knowledge and subjectivities. Critical theorists research individuals' experiences and understandings as socially constructed realities from which to critique their positioning in society. Critical scholarship in education therefore examines individuals' social positioning and educational experience, and this is key to my analysis of the language curriculum provision England's public education provides.

One difference between critical theory and objective scientific theory may be identified in the kinds of data they analyse. Whereas scientific theory relies on observation and experiment to generate quantitative data for its outcomes to be confirmed, critical analysts study text in its widest sense to generate qualitative data as cases of social phenomena. The findings from such cases can only become cognitively acceptable through wider social reflection, by being evaluated continuously with reference to further similar cases and their historical circumstances (Agger, 1991; Geuss, 1981:56). My study draws on this approach to data collection and analysis, by forming a data set of officially sanctioned English and literacy curriculum documentation. This data is my source of ideologically driven discourses that frame and position individual learners and teachers, their schools and language use in wider society.

Flick (2009) argues that in a world where social realities are constructed largely through written text, deconstructing realities and the methods by which they are constructed textually is a major agenda for social-critical qualitative research in many fields (Flick, 2009:75). Flick's insight takes a postmodern turn, drawing on deconstruction theory to read situations as text, as

a construction of meaning based on opposing ideas or ideals as conveyed through discourses constructed in language.

My observation of the convergence of a fixed critical theory and the flexibility of postmodern discourse analysis is based on my own accommodation to reading individual and institutional documents as discourses. This means reading for the textual construction of meaning through its lexico-grammatical and rhetorical structures, as I explain in detail in Chapter 3.

Social-critical scholars recognise that social critique must move beyond the individual lived experience to explain more general social realities that provide explanations of the social knowledge, or values systems, which underpin social realities. Geuss (1981) argues that to provide convincing social critiques critical theory must reflect on its analyses in the light of its own beliefs. Thereby, critical theory's claim to authenticity may only be achieved through its own 'reflective cognitive structure' (Geuss, 1981), which means explaining its own clearly elaborated theory of social activity. Marxism is one such theory, which claims to account for the different conditions of society's powerful and powerless through an interlinking of social and economic institutions. Marxism uses this premise to analyse the growth and impact of Nineteenth Century capitalism. It thereby seeks to explain how institutional and structural power frames the perceptible and possible life chances of all its individuals. Critical theory highlights the reflective power of social critique, not to predict explicit future social change resulting from its insights, but to anticipate what changes might be achieved should individuals or social institutions acknowledge alternatives and choose to act on them. Critical theory is therefore ideologically self-aware and reflexive through the ways of knowing the world it provides. Critical theory is seen by its adherents as an agent for change through its claim to provide rational analyses of social reality, which in turn inform individuals of what interests it would be rational for them to adopt. In this way the reflexive potential of critical theory is to develop discourse of both social philosophy and social campaign. That such aspects of critical

discourse are constructed through language makes my approach to analysing critical meaning

as discourse possible within the methodology I set out in Chapter 3.

Kellner (1998) argues that two problems have lead to a 'crisis' in critical theory, and stifled its

continued applicability to development in post-1950s Western social life. First is its claimed

fragmentation into may sub-interests that have lost a former coherent centre to its work, and

second is its failure to update its empirical work in the light of cultural consumerism, 'new

technologies, new developments in the media, and changes in socialization practices' (Kellner,

2010). Kellner further indicates that far from being a time-bound theoretical frame, critical

theorists should:

> . . . focus on the contradictions, conflicts, and crisis tendencies within contemporary
> capitalist societies. To the neglect of political economy and empirical research found in
> much critical theory, [critical theorists] should respond with theoretical analyses of
> developments within the capitalist economy and of changes in class stratification, the
> labor process, new technologies, the media, and politics.
>
> <div align="right">Kellner (Kellner, 2010).</div>

As I note above, in relation to my study critical theory provides for understanding how written

curriculum text constructs discourses of English teaching and grammar that cohere as a data

set to develop public and professional consciousness in this area of policy. In using critical

theory as my main theoretical perspective through which to study official, governmentally

sanctioned ideologies of grammar education, I also draw on theories of authorship, discourse

and reading as subsidiary ways to understand and interpret my text data's discursive potential.

As Gee claims, text's meanings as discourses are conveyed through:

> texts, artefacts, images, social practices, and institutions, as well as in moment-to-
> moment social interactions. In turn, they cause certain perspectives and states of
> affairs to come to seem or be taken as 'normal' or 'natural' and others to seem or be
> taken as deviant or marginal. . .
>
> <div align="right">(Gee, 1990:43)</div>

Gee's link between discourse and social critique is a main reason for my using critical theory

as the central framework for this study. Gee claims that discourses which naturalise ideology

do so by constraining individual agency and perceptions of alternative ideas. In analysing

written documents authorised by government I critique the ways in which their understandings of English grammar knowledge, learners, teachers, schooling and its social expectations of English and literacy education are framed and developed through written curriculum text. As such my study gives a social-level analysis, rather than that of any individual reader. Schütz (1962), cited in Flick (2009), refers to this social-level analysis as a 'Second-Degree construction of reality', a meta-analysis rather than individuals' 'First-Degree' intuitive understandings (Flick, 2009:77).

A 'Second-Degree' analysis of grammar policy texts is highly appropriate in my study as it frames my documentary data as an instrument used within an ideological struggle. I claim that official governmental curriculum texts are written to gain traction on English grammar teaching. These texts therefore require an ideologically-aware approach to reading the data for how they develop and project ideological meaning. To make the connection between social critique and text analysis I draw on social-constructivist theories of reading.

More specifically related to detailed text analysis of my curriculum document data set, three social-constructivist theories of reading, (i) mimesis, (ii) metaphor, and (iii) rhetoric, help develop arguments about how precisely my data addresses its readership, positions its contents and communicates its perspectives.

I explain in my methodology outline (see Chapter 3) how analysis of 'metaphor' and 'rhetoric' is key in analysing ideology in discourse. However, mimesis contributes more deeply to social-constructivist theories of reading. Mimesis conceptually draws on aesthetic and literary theory, as authors' transform realities into texts. In turn text generates individual understanding through the interaction between the text and the reader's everyday experience (Ricoeur, 1981). Ricoeur claims to model texts' transformation of reality between author and reader in three steps, or 'mimeses 1, 2 and 3': mimeses 1 is 'interpretation' mimesis, how authors conceive reality according to their own preconceptions of human activity, for example life as a

narrative; mimeses 2 is 'processing' mimesis, as how transforming human and social experience into text is framed by authorial ontology of similar experience; mimeses 3 is 'experience' mimesis, the recipients' understanding of the written reality, as filtered by their own everyday or textual experience, 'the intersection of the world of the text and the world of the hearer or reader' (Ricoeur, 1981:26).

Ricoeur's complex theory is of textual and everyday experiences that act as invisible discursive and ideological filters, and provides a helpful subordinate theory to inform my critical textual analysis in this study. My contention that one purpose of the curriculum documentation in this study's data set is to develop a naturalising web of discourse about grammar in school English, with which to convince all relevant audiences of the rightness of its policy moves. For me it is necessary to combine the critical enlightenment and emancipatory insights from critical theory with the text-ideological potential of discourse analysis, so that I may read ideological meaning and discourse construction in a thematic way that I explain in Chapter 4.

2.1   Grammar and ideology as policy discourse

The term 'ideology' frames beliefs that ascribe values and purposive meaning to understandings, about grammar in this study. For my study 'discourse' identifies communicative action within my data. These terms combine as overlapping conceptual constructs that build public belief about how school grammar should be understood, as shown in figure 2.1 below.
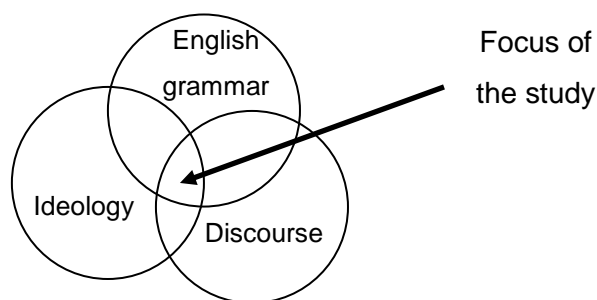
Figure 2.1   Conceptual framework for grammar discourse analysis

2.2 Defining Ideology

The term 'ideology' denotes differing conceptualisations of ideas and beliefs. Thompson (1990) notes two ambiguities in the term: (i) its having been used for nearly two centuries has inevitably extended its meaning, and (ii), as the term is currently used in social, cultural and political theories its reference to different knowledge bases reflect different perspectives and meanings. Williams defines and classifies ideology in three senses:

(i)   a system of beliefs characteristic of a particular class or group;

(ii) a system of illusory beliefs, false ideas or false consciousness, which can be contrasted with true or scientific knowledge;

(iii) the general process producing meanings and ideas.

from Williams (1977:77)

Williams contends that senses 1 and 2 are effectively combined in ideological studies from a Marxist perspective, as a critical definition, but sense 3 is merely a relative definition (Williams 1977:55). A critical definition claims ideology is a system of beliefs. In Williams' sense 2 ideologies of dominant groups may be seen as being presented as if they were the beliefs of all social groups. However, a relative definition of ideology is used to simply claim that ideology is neutral, thereby rendering 'critical' review or analysis unnecessary. Luke argues that these two definitions are used from two perspectives:

> In Marxist and Neo-Marxist social analysis, the term [ideology] specifies distorted ideational and linguistic representations of economic reality and social relations that have their sources in, and disguise, political and economic functions of class domination. In liberal social sciences and in the Western popular press, the term marks out configurations of ideas, beliefs and values ascribed to particular populaces, political formatives, and subcultures.
>
> (Luke, 1995:366)

Williams' senses 1 and 2 are 'critical' definitions, characterising phenomena as 'ideology' to indicate misleading or illusory perspectives that are open to critical analysis. On the other hand Williams' sense 3 is a neutral conception that characterises phenomena as meaningful but without implying that they are misleading, or aligned with the interests of any particular group.

50

Williams' sense 3 'ideology' is defined on the premise that anyone, or any group, may assume they have equal access, opportunity or power in the production of meanings and values. In outlining criticality in curriculum theory in Chapter 1, I adopt its approach using Williams' critical definitions as they may be applied to critical curriculum theory.

Williams' neutral definition is problematic in showing how readers' perceptions may ignore the phenomenon of dominance. In UK contemporary society's education and schooling there are undeniable power relations that are systematically asymmetrical (van Dijk 1993; Williams 1977). Social power is not equally accessible to all people or groups in the UK. Dominant social groups that create educational 'entitlements' for others, using social institutions such as curriculum and schooling, exercise considerable power that perpetuates their influence and realises their own interests. Within Williams' neutral sense of 'ideology', dominant groups are able to mask manipulated meanings.

In critical curriculum theory, ideologies, presented as discourses, are constructed and validated in what Michel Foucault calls 'regimes of truth' (Foucault, 1984:131). Foucault argues readers have an irresistible 'will to truth' that insists on establishing meanings and practices as true or false. A 'will to truth' is constructed and supported institutionally; it is also reinforced, for example, through public media, policy, and curriculum. Ideology is established as commonsense truth about a commonsense experience, e.g. football supporter behaviour being linked to public violence. Using the term 'ideology' in this neutral way is to eliminate 'asymmetric' powers, and to develop such ideas as commonsense knowledge.

Kickbusch (1986) maintains that absence of a critical perspective fosters the illusion that unequal social power relations are the products of organic, biological and an essential political necessity rather than being socially created. Taking an active political position Kichbusch believes that the study of ideology from a critical standpoint provides the hope and opportunity to undermine the reproductive force of dominant ideology (Kichbusch 1986:138-139).

'Ideology' viewed in this current study as 'a way of viewing the world, a complex of ideas, various types of social practice, rituals and representations that we tend to accept as natural and common sense' (McLaren, 1989:176). This argues for critical ideological curriculum inquiry and provides a vocabulary with which to understand and describe curriculum, schooling and society. In researching complex meanings of the curriculum, the individual and society, I analyse the nature of dominant curriculum ideologies and the official power used to communicative them.

The familiar commonsense egalitarian slogan 'Anyone can become an American president' is just one such illusory ideological statement when considered from the above critical perspective. It is the result of the intersection of meaning and power in the social world. Customs, rituals, beliefs and values easily construct individuals' conceptions of their place in the socio-cultural order. In turn this may reconcile them to that place, disguising the inequitable relations of position, power and privilege. Ideology viewed from this perspective acts as hegemony (Forgacs, 2000:189). Williams notes that

> Hegemony does not only comprise a conscious system of ideas and beliefs, but also the whole lived social process which is organised practically by specific and dominant meanings and values
>
> (Williams, 1977:10).

2.2.1 Ideology and hegemony

Hegemony constructs a conscious system of ideas and beliefs and also constructs lived social experience through which dominant meanings and values are practically organised. Such dominant meanings, and their underlying values, become practically realised through certain selective traditions as identified by Raymond Williams (1989). Unlike ideology, hegemony presupposes the exterior lived reality that most people consider as the public representations of commonsense meaning (Apple, 1990). In relation to curriculum, hegemony is the exercise of power through school subjects that legitimates school knowledge and activities as the taken-for-granted, commonsense realities of educational life (Whitty, 2002).

As identified in Chapter 1, I accept here that commonsense understandings of school English and grammar derive from policy-makers and dominant cultural elites who form what Gramsci calls 'leading groups'. Gramsci argues that leading groups try to form historic projects in the name of the nation state, to construct, legitimate and transmit the dominant cultural norms and values that serve their interests (Forgacs, 2000; Gramsci, 1971). However, in order to win the active consent of the dominated groups and maintain its own leadership and control, the leading group strategically constructs and reconstructs hegemonic discourses that legitimate and transmit the dominant norms and values as 'commonsense', i.e. as representing the interests of the wider society. In constructing of official discourse the interests of the subordinate groups are adopted. In other words, to maintain leadership and social control, leading groups take into account moral and intellectual elements of dominated groups in order to pursue historically valorised agendas represented as though it were the collective will (Bernstein, 2000).

Leading groups may reflect plural or divided positions, including universities and schools. These prominent positions provide the leading group with perceived legal rights and obligations to actively construct and promote particular worldviews and ideologies through which the nation state is organised and controlled. Williams (1989) further argues that to realise a hegemonic project a strategic selection of 'cultural tradition' is essential. Strategic selection of 'cultural tradition' involves identifying and appropriating established state privileges, traditional authorities or activities. Through a particular 'selective tradition' it is possible to generate on behalf of dominant groups the necessary hegemonic discourses, such as political, intellectual and moral principles that will subsequently regulate public minds and behaviours. Hegemonic discourses subsequently act as filtering systems through which schools legitimate and reproduce the dominant cultural knowledge and ideologies as part of, in the case of my study, the place and value of grammar in the school English curriculum.

Apple argues that three basic areas of curriculum need to be scrutinised to see the connections between curriculum and its socio-cultural contexts as constructed through dominant ideology, hegemony and a selective tradition:

(i)   Day-to-day interactions and regulations of school life that teach important norms and values related to, say, the world of work and to class, race and gender divisions in the society;

(ii) The formal corpus of school knowledge that is planned and formed within the various materials and texts and is mediated through teachers;

(iii) The fundamental perspectives, procedures and theories that educators use to plan, organize and evaluate what happens in schools.

(After Apple, 2004:61-63)

Apple's analysis claims a hegemonic influence within education, schooling and curriculum. To examine this claim in my study I make a detailed study of what ideologies, hegemony, and cultural facets are represented within the England's official English grammar curriculum documentation. Using the theoretical framework outlined above I analyse ideology and power relations embedded within official curriculum documentation.

Williams argues that hegemony is continually being renewed, re-created, defended and adapted (Williams 1977:113). This is helpful in studying a UK tradition of English language and grammar in curriculum change. A former tradition of Classical Latin and Greek study that preceded modern English grammar education, provides a tradition of cultural hegemony that has been resisted, challenged and renewed throughout the recent history of English grammar education. However, as a form of curriculum dominance it has been modified, rearticulated and reconstructed over time. I refer to this history through my data analysis in Chapters 5 to 7.

2.3   Ideology in curriculum

As I explain in Section 2.2.1 'ideology' as a concept within critical curriculum theory is enacted through language, text and discourses (Fairclough, 1992c; Wodak, 2007b). Thereby official curricula as political text are inscribed with ideology that reflects socio-cultural power. Ideology cannot become dominant without power to assert and develop its position. Apple argues that such power is achieved through hegemonic force (Apple, 1990; McLaren, 1995; Williams, 1989). Hegemony can be defined as the non-coercive distribution and exercise of power and influence through political, economic and cultural means (Giroux and McLaren, 1992).

Critical curriculum scholars (e.g. Apple, 2004; Giroux, 1989) assume that schools function to internalise and transmit ideologies as valid knowledge, beliefs and explanations. Although ideology helps to express ideals of dominant interests, it also forms misrecognition of relations within society. Ideology is conveyed and reproduced through rituals, social practices and actions that structure schools' day-to-day working. Ideology is claimed to be reproduced through a 'hidden curriculum' that refers to covert, unintended or unconscious but very real meanings of schooling. Apple (1979), drawing on Williams (1977), argues that the hidden curriculum in schools serves to reinforce basic rules surrounding the nature of social conflict when claiming that the hidden curriculum generates

> a network of assumptions that when internalised by students, establishes the boundaries of legitimacy. This process is accomplished not so much by explicit instances showing the negative value of conflict, but by nearly the total absence of instances showing the importance of intellectual and normative conflict in subject areas. The fact is that these assumptions are obligatory for the students, since at no time are the assumptions articulated or questioned. By the very fact that they are tacit, that they resided not at the roof but the root of our brains, their potency as aspects of hegemony is enlarged.
>
> (Apple, 2004:86)

In Apple's analysis of educational systems, management, objectives for behaviour, routines and rituals are seen to perform the dual roles of an effective ideology, first by giving adequate definitions of situations, and second by serving more successfully the interests of those who already possess economic and cultural capital. However, school knowledge also plays a

significant role in justifying its own dominant ideology and imposing that ideology on the student. Apple argues curriculum scholarship:

> need[s] to look at schools as aspects of the productive apparatus of a society in two ways: first, as institutions that help produce agents for positions outside of the school in economic sector of society: and second, as institutions that produce the cultural forms directly and indirectly needed by this same economic sector.
>
> (Apple, 2004:118)

The sociological conclusion drawn from this argument is that school knowledge develops as a cultural representation of a society's needs. Similarly Anyon (1979) finds within a study of the United States history textbooks that the

> whole range of curriculum selection favors the interests of wealthy and powerful. Although represented as unbiased, the historical interpretations provide ideological justification for the activities and prerogatives of their groups and do not legitimate points of view and priorities of groups that compete with these established interests for social acceptance and support.
>
> (Anyon, 1979:379)

Anyon contends that the knowledge accorded legitimacy and taught by schools actually represents 'the ideological configurations of dominant interests in society' (Apple 1982:12). The selective transmission of dominant culture expressed as common culture has the effect of silencing and excluding the cultures of marginal groups. In turn this selective tradition, together with its commonsense expression, legitimates the current social order by representing it as natural and eternal.

Williams (1977; 1989) conception of a 'selective tradition' argues that the intentionally selective transmission of knowledge, history and culture from only certain groups or classes, where it could draw on a larger universe of possible knowledge, history and culture, is central to the process of social and cultural definition and identification. For Williams a selective tradition provides historical and cultural reification of the social order. It is a vital element of hegemonic culture that pervades individual lived educational experience derived from knowledge, history and culture.

2.3.1   Ideology and selective tradition

Williams claims the major function of school curriculum is to transmit knowledge and skills, but narrowed by a particular selection from the whole available range of knowledge, and with inherent attitudes towards both learning and social relations (Williams,1989). Williams (1977) argues in his work 'Marxism and Literature':

> There is a process which I call the *selective* tradition, that which, within the terms of the effective dominant culture, is always passed off as 'the tradition', 'the significant past'. But always the selectivity is the point; the way in which from a whole possible area of past and present, certain meanings and practices are chosen for emphasis, certain other meanings and practices are neglected and excluded. Even more crucially, some of these meanings and practices are reinterpreted, diluted, or put into forms which support or at least do not contradict other elements of the dominant culture
>
> (Williams, 1977:205)

This insight argues that curriculum and schooling also serves a cultural incorporation. Knowledge effectively selected into curriculum and classrooms implicitly presupposes some purpose and use in the broader interests of dominant groups. For example in UK Medieval grammar education the Christian church's use of Latin scriptural text required substantial Latin scholarship to be reproduced in schools to serve the church's need for Latin literate boy scholars for entry into the priesthood (Michael, 1987). Later, and for aesthetic reasons, Latin and Greek literary examples were drawn upon to build analytical frameworks and terms for the production of school grammars, citing textual examples drawn from a canon of written literature in vernacular English that could be shown to fit a Latin-derived grammatical analytical framework. Thus, reference to Classical Latin and Greek was selected as a dominant knowledge and taught throughout the English Medieval and early modern periods. It served the narrow interests of established church and scholarly traditions, exclusive cultural interests and selective schooling.

Subsequently, in the Eighteenth Century a growing secular rediscovery of, and fashion for, Classical Greek artefacts and ideas initiated a resurgent interest in grammar in schools that emphasised English's supposed links with Classical languages (Michael, 1987). During this period many so-called grammar 'rules' were devised to maintain forms of English usage in line with claimed Latin or Greek origins of English. In the Nineteenth Century an expansion of

publicly funded schooling coincided with a growing European interest in analysing English grammar using Germanic frameworks. There followed a simplification of grammar topics analysed so as to make simpler literacy in English more accessible to children from less literate backgrounds. This was to provide a more populous literate workforce within a UK national economy serving a fast-growing British Empire. These three changed positions on grammar and schooling provoked the reselection of grammatical knowledge in order to change gender bias and cultural meanings inherent in the curriculum and that served the interests of changing national circumstances and dominant cultural groups. Drawing further on Williams' argument it is possible to infer that curriculum models are changed or adapted to suit changing interests within the dominant culture.

Seen in this way, at any particular time in a history of national education and its specialist school subjects, the selection of knowledge, competency requirements and practices for transmission in school curricula is an ideologically driven process. This process serves the interests of particular classes and/or forms of social organisation. However the resultant corpus of curriculum knowledge cannot be taken as a simple mirror reflection of a ruling class's ideas and imposed coercively and unmediated. Cultural knowledge selection and legitimacy are dynamic activities, reflecting contemporary continuities and contradictions of that dominant cultural knowledge and the continual re-recognition, remaking and renegotiation of the cultural beliefs and values that underlie any given curriculum.

In broadly recognising the form and content of curriculum to be ideological in nature Giroux argues that the process of transmitting ideology through schooling is mediated by the cultural field of the classroom (Giroux, 1982:15). For Giroux this is the way that individual educators engage in educational practice and to further mediate what is taught. Giroux argues that ideology itself is not the determining factor in framing educative outcomes, but rather a factor coded within curriculum that is subsequently mediated by the practical educative actions of teachers and students in classrooms. Giroux thereby sees schools to be sites of struggle for

and against dominant interests, struggles between teachers and students to resist dominant ideology. Similarly Goodson argues that in searching for sources in curriculum study scholars should address the ways 'institutionalised and structured pattern of state schooling' intersect with the 'individual lives and biographies' of those they affect (Goodson, 1995:59).

Giroux and Goodson alike argue that through such struggle there is the potential for a language to be developed, recognised and promoted in the field of curriculum, a language to accommodate differences in terms of class, race, gender rather than interests of any particular dominant group or interest (Giroux 1982:142; Goodson 1995:59-60). In so arguing Giroux places two responsibilities on curriculum scholarship. First is to 'lay bare the ideological and political character of contemporary and historical curriculum' (Giroux, 1982:7). Secondly he, like Kelly (2004:16), proposes that critical educators act as 'transformative intellectuals' rather than 'skilful technicians' in promoting 'emancipatory' changes in curriculum consistent with a broad vision of a just society (Giroux 1982: 7).

The above examples of partial and ideologically framed curriculum choices and activities align with Bernstein's conception of power and ideological framing in his Pedagogic Device (Bernstein, 2000). In this model of pedagogic discourse he claims one particular understanding of how the contexts within which ideas become bounded and controlled and regulated by official discourses. In this he identifies a set of 'Rules of Recontextualisation' as a means of framing and limiting society's ways of seeing, the terms within which any given educational debate may be argued (Bernstein, 2000), similar to Fairclough's 'Orders of Discourse' that govern debates' through language forms and ideology (Fairclough, 2001).

2.4   Discourse

At a general level discourse refers to talk and writing, the modes in which people account for their experience. Discourse analysis is a sociolinguistic methodology originating from the 1960s but rooted in the Greek Classical study of rhetoric (Leach, 2000:208-9; Thompson,

1990). Leach identifies how 'rhetoric' may be used as a helpful term in identifying 'a worldview about the persuasive power of discourse' (Leach, 2000:205), acknowledging its more common use as a referent to understanding the tropes and devices of language, the rhetorical resources of language. Therefore 'discourse' may be conceived and defined here both as (i) the socially constructed thought conveyed within language, and as (ii) language-in-use that conveys thought. These two perspectives underpin my two research questions (Chapter 4). Similarly van Dijk argues that discourse and its analysis deals with talk and text in context, noting that contexts include a far wider array of linguistic and social phenomena that includes modes of thought and analysis (van Dijk, 1977a Vol 1:3). Similarly Gee (2005) classifies language-in-use as performing two closely related social functions:

- a means of supporting 'the performance of social activities and social identities', and

- a means of supporting 'human affiliation within cultures, social groups, and institutions.' (Gee, 2005:1)

Discourse, as a socially purposive medium, aligns with Foucault's (1972) conception of discourse as a linguistic practice that structures the world, identifying how the world comes to be known and recognised, and therefore has the potential to change the contents and recognition of that worldview.

2.4.1   Discourse and meaning

In part, this conception also accords with Saussure's division of language between its simultaneous use, the (i) 'langue' – a language made of constituent parts, and (ii) 'parole' – individuals' choices of language parts that convey invisible yet active symbolic understandings. Consequently words, grammatical constructions and whole text-types can be seen to form an environment of communication recognisable as the elements of language-in-use. Symbolic meaning provides for analysis of how language conveys implicit ideological perspectives, such as that visible within apparently innocent choices of identifiers such as 'a', 'the', 'their' or 'our'

when applied to the term 'belief' in specific social settings. In developing this framework for

analysing curriculum text, In Figure 2.2 below I model the uses of language at three levels:

- at a text level, within which all the resources of language convey ideological

  perspectives, whether intended, concealed or overtly,

- at the level of discourse within and through which rhetoric provides expressive force,

- at the level of ideology, the recognisable yet implicit perspectives through which the

  resources of critical curriculum analysis may be seen to operate.
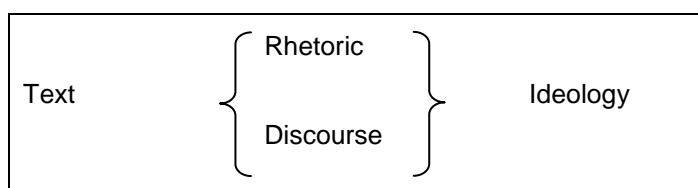
Figure 2.2 Discourse - text, rhetoric, ideology

The term 'belief' informs two central objects within my conception of ideology from which my

study's findings come. The first is 'belief' within discourse that may be hidden, linguistically

disguised within its language:

> structure [where it] inserts itself into, or twists the routine discourses of business and
> domestic life to repress, inhibit, cover over or subliminally suggest something other
> than what is apparently being presented
>
> <div align="right">(Schostak, 1993).</div>

My second object of interest is drawn from Foucault's conception of 'forbidden discourse'

(1981). Foucault claims this is a means of controlling discourse itself, similar to Bernstein's

'pedagogic discourse'; the ways that control of meaning becomes discourse:

> discourse is . . . the object of desire; and since, as history constantly teaches us,
> discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but is
> the thing for which and by which there is struggle, discourse is the power which is to be
> seized.
>
> <div align="right">(Foucault 1981:52-3)</div>

Foucault defines 'discourse' as ways spoken and written language convey appearances of

naturalness in social situations (Foucault 1972). In this conception of 'naturalness', or

'unquestioned continuities', Foucault identifies two forms of 'continuity': (i) the implication in

texts and speech that situations or ideas have always existed, yet their origins are lost in time; and (ii) that 'discourse is secretly based on an *already-said*' and therefore never questioned ideological premise (Foucault 1972:4). Critical discourse analysis enquires into how apparently neutral language conveys implicit ideological perspectives in official communication (Wodak, 2001). Critical theory offers means of understanding how discourses reveal their 'unquestioned continuities', their hidden premises that have the effect of marginalising readers, ideas and questions (Scott, 2000).

Where Foucault's concept of discourse introduces ways of thinking about how ideology functions in culture, society and ourselves, it proves itself an even more flexible concept than ideology. As Kress identifies:

> Discourses are systematically organised sets of statements that give expression to the meanings and values of an institution. Beyond that they define, describe and delimit what it is possible to say and not possible to say (and by extension-what it is possible to do or not to do) with respect to the area of concern of that institution, whether marginally or centrally. A discourse provides a set of possible statements about a given area, and organises and gives structure to the manner in which a particular topic, object, process is to be talked about. In that it provides descriptions, rules, permissions and prohibitions of social and individual actions.
>
> (Kress, 1985:6-7)

Kress develops here levels at which discourses dictate how individuals, objects or activities are defined, what values are ascribed to them and the particular sets of options that might apply to them in a specific situation. In part, discourse theory suggests that much of our experience of organisational activity has already been preordained. In effect individuals in specific situations will already be locked into specific courses of action that are already in part predetermined if they comply with the available discourses. As a consequence, Kress implies, the individual is actively involved in a form of collective and unacknowledged blindness to entire courses of alternative action. By extension this collective blindness is inscribed in the discourses that circulate within specific organizational situations, predisposing but not determining, what constitutes appropriate societal behaviour. In such terms discourses do not directly operate on individuals but are deemed to inform societal texts, which in turn are 'read' by individuals or

groups in specific societal contexts. It follows that discourses must therefore, have participants in order to function.

Discourses are thereby inescapable, operating within organisational, institutional and societal discursive practice. Curriculum policy formation and dissemination is no exception. Understanding curriculum policy discourse and its communication must rely on models of language broad enough to accommodate not only the written and spoken word but also to account for the social impact of policy communication in the varied organisational, institutional and societal contexts in which it is formed. Modes of language, and power in communicative contexts, both matter when analysing the impact of policy text in given situations. I deal with power in language in Chapter 3 in developing Critical Discourse Analytical as a methodology for this study. Here however, it is necessary to explain briefly the conceptual frame in which I intend to locate the linguistic elements I will study in my analysis in Chapters 5 - 7.

2.4.2   Discourse, language and semiotics

In brief I make the assumption that language is a broad term that reflects many forms of communication (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001) beyond the formations of only spoken and written words used to construct discourse (Lemke, 1995b:6). Accordingly, from this perspective language is inevitably multimodal, where different modes such as visual representations, diagrams and cross-referencing are used to convey meaning (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006; Lemke, 1999; O'Halloran, 2004). In that sense publication of official reports, curriculum and guidance, etc., are forms of social action, exercising power and producing discourse using different modes of presentation. Different modes have different meaning potentials, albeit that each may contribute to the broad construction of meaning and discourse on any given topic. Their combined deployment therefore develops 'unified' meanings (Lemke 1999; Kress and van Leeuwen 2006).

This brief definition is based on consideration of the production of text rather than the more dialectic notion of the production of meaning that would closely befit my research into official curriculum discourse. A further helpful theoretical perspective on interaction that combines multi-modal textual interaction with social action and power comes from social semiotics, and offers a process driven model of communication. Van Leeuwen (2005) offers a critique of social semiotic research that provides for three levels of analysis of meaning in multimodal text:

(i)   systematic cataloguing of semiotic resources, the elements of meaning construction;

(ii)   investigate the historical, cultural and institutional uses of these resources;

(iii)   contribute to discovery and development of new semiotic resources, and new uses of existing resources.

Based on Halliday's concept of grammar as a 'resource for making meaning' (Halliday, 1978:192) van Leeuwen characterises 'social semiotic resources' as:

> signifiers, observable actions and objects that have been drawn into the domain of social communication and that have a *theoretical* potential constituted by their past uses and all their potential uses and an *actual* semiotic potential constituted by those past uses that are known to and considered relevant by the users on the basis of their specific needs and interests.
>
> <div align="right">(van Leeuwen, 2005:4)</div>

In this wide socio-cultural interpretation of language as 'social semiotic resources' a statement such as 'it makes sense' begs two vital conceptual and methodological considerations in the context of my research:

(i)   that the theoretical convergence here leads towards the proposition that 'sense' is not inherent in text itself, but rather is 'constructed' through historical, cultural and institutional knowledge of uses of semiotic resources presented to us, and subsequent attribution of sense to those which we perceive; and

(ii)   that understandings of curriculum, language and grammar will only be constructed through the deployment of identifiable semiotic resources extant within official curriculum documentation.

The primary concern of linguistics is with the processes of sense construction through language (Pinker, 2004). This has become more recognisable in public policy analysis (Fairclough, 2001) and in media content analysis (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001; 2006), and in deconstructing commercial advertising.

In a seminal study on the understanding of advertising Pateman analyses of the semiotic, social, cultural and multi-modal linguistic knowledge required to recognise and interpret an individual advertisement (Pateman, 1983). His finding that discrete knowledge of a language or a culture, are insufficient to even recognising or understanding an advertisement noted that recognising the *purpose* of a given text or image was essential to understanding that a text or image was an advertisement. Advertising is recognised only when associated with, and precisely assigned to, the activity type of advertising, rather than by any language or visual form of communication, such as characterises much genre theory.

Genre theorists argue that a text or image must possess certain 'formal' properties in order to count as belonging to a particular genre, such as haiku or a limerick. However, even if they are necessary such formal properties are not of themselves sufficient to classify a text in any particular activity, for one can have 'accidental' haikus and limericks, and the formal properties of a text may in fact be mapped into a genre regardless of authorial intention or activity type, as in poetical pastiche. Moreover it may be argued that it is only because of the idea of genres that we pick out certain formal properties as relevant, and use these deterministically to confirm or contradict our initial genre assignment.

2.4.3 Discourse in curriculum

As I explain in this chapter, critical discourse theory informs ways of seeing official ideologies as rooted in text that conveys education's social and political institutions. In turn these themselves are controlled by, and responsive to, changes in political, economic and social

values (Whitty, 2002:15-17). Policy text thereby responds to national change that is itself prey to the vicissitudes of unpredictable events and long-lived traditions. Consequently curriculum policy is negotiated constantly between cultural, social, economic and political forces that in combination will decide its direction (Goodson, 1994; Miller, 2000; Pinar *et al.*, 1995; Whitty, 2002). A critical theory of curriculum identifies these contexts, within which curriculum is negotiated and enacted. Some critical curriculum theory looks to the role and power of language in negotiating and enacting curriculum in its public policy, and the means by which its meanings are ideologically constructed and conveyed through distinct and purposive discourses (Scott 2000:19).

In defining discourse for this study I draw particularly on theory of public discursive practice that seeks to both state and conceal ideological positions (Scott 2000; Gee 2005). This places English language and grammar curriculum policy text in the ideological milieu within which it is written (Fairclough 2001). Such text forms part of a public discursive process that proposes and mediates understandings of policy ideal, belief and objectives. Discourses within the resultant language policy documentation can thus be understood as textual influence over:

> (i) public perceptions of the language and grammar policy agenda, in relation to the setting of practical action proposed and change in the ways policy is perceived by practitioners (Scott 2000:39-40), and

> (ii) 'forbidden discourse' - the means of controlling the official discourse itself (Foucault, 1981) and what lies outside the 'thinkable' (Bernstein, 2000).

This discursive combination of ways of knowing and ways of concealing ideological stance within text can be seen as

> . . . statements which provide a language for talking about a topic and a way of producing a particular kind of knowledge about a topic. Thus the term refers both to the production of knowledge through language and representation and the way that knowledge is institutionalized, shaping social practices and setting new practices into play.
>
> *(du Gay, 1996:43)*

2.5   Official discourse, curriculum and constructions of English

The above theories of discourse present a socially coercive and essentially structural view of

discourse in curriculum, one where individual agency is obviated. Fairclough however, from a

post-structural, sociolinguistic perspective shows three dimensions to discourse where

individuals are constructed within discourse:

- their social identities and subject ideologies,

- relationships between participants, and

- the regimes of knowledge and their inherent truths.

<div align="right">(drawn from Fairclough, 1995:64-65)</div>

Fairclough's three dimensions of discourse show a way to analyse curriculum text as voices

within discourses of grammar in subject English. Here policy documents may show textual

potential to (i) construct school, teacher and learner identities and agency (ii) develop these

identities in relation to the curriculum and wider educational power, and (iii) reveal or conceal

the subject knowledge bases, and wider subject perspectives, vested in grammar policy.

As part of a discursive analysis of society curriculum documentation reflects the social

constructive capacities of Fairclough's three capacities of discourse. Discourse thereby

becomes a pivotal element in the political-ideological task of maintaining any part of a

nationally controlled curriculum. Fairclough's critique helps identify:

(i) the subject curriculum as a social order with its own distinct discourse types,

(ii) the purpose of these discourse types within the social order that frames authority structures

and allowed within that social order, and

(iii) how these discourse types frame and constrain school subject elements, including

grammar, thereby ensuring the maintenance of this order of beliefs and its practices.

2.6   Curriculum policy documentation: ideology and discourse

Thompson observes how ideology conveys meaning operating in the interests of power (Thompson 1990), which according to Fairclough are 'dominant discourses'. Dominant meanings over time are formed through Williams' conception of 'selective tradition' (Williams 1977, 1989). Education and schooling, as agents within this selective tradition, may be seen to legitimate and transmit the selected meanings as official knowledge through both hidden and written curricula. They do so in part through school curriculum subjects, whose documents include syllabuses, textbooks, etc. These documents become tangible archives of those educational intentions alongside the professional and public consciousness of what school subjects come to mean over time. These archives are the written curricula that '. . . represent a veritable treasure trove. For those seeking to understand the purposes and agendas of state schooling, these 'archives' provide a series of what Goodson calls 'statements of intent' (Goodson 1995:6). They represent the process of subject reproduction, the persistence of subject positions that reflect Foucault's conception of the subject as 'discipline', a phrase that frames the two meanings in 'knowledge and power' (Foucault and Rainbow, 1991).

Curriculum documents can thereby be seen as important curriculum artefacts and linguistic data, inscribed with and projecting a dominant contemporary curriculum ideology. They form an official means to control classrooms, what for Giroux are sites of struggle for and against dominant interests, fought by teachers and students to resist dominant ideology (Giroux 1982:15). Goodson sees such struggles from a perspective of official policy implementation, and describes them as:

> . . . a central mode by which external agencies from the state downwards have sought over time to penetrate and control the 'licence' of the individual classroom. Historically, the written curriculum was partially modelled for this purpose as a result; it is a valuable source for understanding certain external intentions and agendas as they impinge on schooling.
>
> (Goodson, 1995:6)

Goodson's argument sees curriculum documentation as a historical source for critical research. For Goodson curriculum documentation is ideological in nature and written to legitimate and transmit dominant cultural meaning as official knowledge. This belief has led to investigations into how the formal and informal knowledge presented in schools contribute to the formation of values, worldviews and beliefs indicative of extant inequalities in social systems (Ball, 2006). Furthermore, Goodson notes that to 'broaden our study of state schooling it is partly through studying curriculum at this level [of its documentation] that we might gain glimpses of the relationship between internal and external agency' (Goodson, 1995). In these terms policy documentation may be seen as the resultant data of political, economic and cultural battles and compromises (Goodson, 1995; Fairclough, 2001:33-4; Scott, 2000:18-20; Fairclough, 2001) . From this standpoint I conceptualise official national written curricula as evidence of power struggles for control of directions for education and schooling that are particularly pertinent to twentieth century changes in England's English language curriculum. I also assume that as written 'text', official curriculum documentation has been subject to processes of text production that in themselves are the sites of debate, influence and change (Goodson, 1985; Scott, 2000).

2.6.1 Policy documentation: authors, publishers and readers

Critical analysis of education policy texts has revealed power relations within discourses of, for example, accountability that argue for target setting, national inspection and published school assessments (Scott, 2000; Shaw, 2000). Study of authorial voice within policy texts has helped to characterise the degrees of authority and neutrality adopted by documents' single and multiple writers (Maw, 1998). The closeness or distance of texts from their readership emerges from studies of textual style, for example, in Cohen's research that draws on genre theory from a time when much curriculum and policy documentation was a relatively new phenomenon (Cohen 1986). Cohen describes the processes by which policy texts may be grouped by recognisable textual characteristics, rather than as predetermined categories:

> Genres are open categories. Each member alters the genre by adding, contradicting, or changing constituents, especially those of members most closely related to it. The process by which genres are established always involves the human need for distinction and interrelation. Since the purposes of critics who establish genres vary, it is self-evident that the same texts can belong to different groupings of genres and serve different generic purposes.
>
> (Cohen, 1986:204)

The means by which policy texts adopt, flex and reproduce genres have also been analysed for their textual forms and audience awareness (Maw 1998). Maw identifies how readers recognise and reject certain familiar genres showing how genres recognition affects reader perceptions of the neutrality and veracity of content and authorial voice. Drawing on reader response theory (Rosenblatt, 1994), Cherryholmes (1988) identifies dialogues established between readers and texts, many focused on recreations of:

> prior understandings, experiences, codes, beliefs and knowledge brought to a text [that] necessarily condition and mediate what one makes of it.
>
> (Cherryholmes, 1988:4).

Studying classroom textbooks Cherryholmes uncovered students' recognition of, and resistance to, perceived ideologies inscribed within text, indicating how readers develop social intuitions and sensitivities over time. Other studies have established how policy texts themselves then develop histories, including patterns of intertextual meaning and resonance that can only be understood when read in conjunction with other related texts (Fairclough, 2001; Gee, 2005; Goodson, 1995). Scott (2000) proposes a framework of textual positioning devices that identify power and ideological relationships between readers and texts, citing in particular the writer's choice of breadth or narrowness in focus as a device to appeal to broad issues of general concern, knowledge or belief (Fairclough, 1995; Gee, 2005; van Dijk, 1977c).

Scott's policy text analysis examines ideological position, authoritative stance and level of specificity. He frames these perspectives through (i) the multiplicity of authorial voices perceptible in texts, (ii) the nature of the text's printed form, be it visual, diagrammatic or written, (iii) the degree to which texts reference other texts in support of their meaning, and (iv)

whether texts stand alone coherently or depend on other publications for their veracity (Scott, 2000:18-21). These broad orienting directions for policy text study identify a rising tradition within curriculum study of cultural, social and political-ideological critiques of educational policy.

Luke identifies text production as a complex process involving writing, editing, adoption, decision making and production. For Luke this process is simultaneously

> a cultural and [an] economic activity: human subjects are engaged actively in the process of conceiving, designing and authorising texts, within the economic constraint of the commerce of text publishing and the politics of text adoption
>
> (Luke 1988:28).

Apple and Christian-Smith (1991) view the social organisation of text production as instrumental in explaining how texts come to inscribe ideology. Policy documentation read as text not only contains deliberately chosen ideological content but also conveys latent ideological perspectives on policy ownership, policy intention and its implementation (Scott 2000:18-20; Gee 2005).

A distinction between explicit ideological content and latent ideological perspectives is made by Codd when separating between 'technical-empiricist approach to policy analysis in . . . official documents' from 'analysis of policy documents . . . based on theories of discourse' (Codd, 1988). This distinction indicates a research agenda for the analysis of policy documents in the form of text deconstruction. This approach to policy document analysis stems from changing understandings of the power of language to conceal and reveal authorial intentions. Codd outlines how critical discourse-oriented linguistic analysis can provide insights into policy ownership and intention:

> . . . some policy documents legitimate the power of the state and contribute fundamentally to the 'engineering' of consent. Such texts contain divergent meanings, contradictions and structured omissions, so that different effects are produced on different readers. An important task for policy analysis is to examine those effects and expose the ideological processes which lie behind the production of the text.
>
> (Codd, 1988:235)

71

Berkhout and Wielemans frame policy documentation as reflecting '. . . the historically developed relationship between the state and the citizen (or the organizations of civil society)' (Berkhout and Wielemans, 1999:408). This relationship is seen as constructed within policy text along a bi-polar continuum from an absolute autocracy to an ideal absolute democratic state. This historical tension between the citizen and the state underlies the arguments over who, within this bi-polar relationship, has or properly should have the power to frame the ideals suitable for national education policy.

2.6.2   Curriculum documentation: models of policy formation

This question over policy agency is addressed from a historical perspective by Neave, who proposes three ideal-typical models that indicate the way this individual and state power relationship develops over time (Neave, 1995:5-7). Based on an analysis of the state's role in education in Western Europe his first model, the 'Jacobean state', identifies a tight, centrally located power to assure and regulate the equality of education. Power in the 'Jacobean state' is legitimated by the state's duty to guarantee the ideological-religious neutrality of education. Fundamental to this form of power distribution is the existence of a unitary nation, judicial equality for all citizens, justice and uniformity in administrative structures, and the centrally controlled equality of education.

Neave's second model outlines a centralized state that accommodates a variety of initiatives and as such this model acknowledges the state's responsibility for equity. In accepting a plurality of ethical-religious contentions within education, this conception of power distribution can equitably subsidize public schools, and fund private schools that conform to democratically agreed requirements.

The third model, named a 'modest facilitative state', accepts minimum regulation by the central state and maximum local responsibility. The state's power to enforce its will, through

promulgation of legislation, bureaucratic regulation or other mechanisms of state apparatus, is seen as acting increasingly in the interest of capital. Consequently its power to act is strongly circumscribed by social, economic, cultural, and ideological contextualising forces, and by more covert manifestations of power, particularly by spheres of meaning and dominant patterns of discourse. Likewise it is concurrently argued that citizens' ability to influence education policy is constrained, whether by their limited access to resources, their exclusion by dint of their being voiceless groups, the dominance of discursive practices that set educational policy agendas, or by other means.

UK curriculum policy text analysis has developed from two traditions of public policy study from the 1960s and 1970s onwards: (i) policy evaluation, and (ii) critical policy research (Chitty, 2004; Codd, 1988; Kelly, 2004:154-5). Policy evaluation has sought to research the effectiveness of official policy by means of analysing, for example, its budgetary efficacy and its risk control (Wildavsky, 1979). Its methods involved comparative analyses of stated policy intentions and policy outcomes for different social groups and policy stakeholders (Radin, 2000). Central to early policy analysis was that it was conducted within policy 'think tanks', governments themselves and governmental satellite quasi-autonomous official organisations. Wildavsky (1995) has developed this research to include studies of political judgement, thereby opening up the potential for critical analysis of policy's social and political ideologies. Wildavsky advocates analysis of official policy as being provisional, to be tried and adapted in the light of experience rather than over-certain and impractical in the light of unforeseen change (Wildavsky, 1995). Despite opening policy analysis up to wider social inquiry, policy evaluation remains distinctly functional and purposive, limited to seeking the most efficient answers to specific problems:

> Trial and error is a device for courting small dangers in order to avoid or lessen the damage from big ones. . . An advantage of trial and error, therefore, is that it renders visible hitherto unforeseen errors. Because it is a discovery process that discloses latent errors so we can learn how to deal with them, trial and error also lowers risk by reducing the scope of unforeseen dangers. Trial and error samples the world of as yet

unknown risks; by learning to cope with risks that become evident as the result of small-scale trial and error. . .

<div align="right">(Wildavsky, 1988)</div>

Despite Wildavsky's influence policy evaluation retains an insider perspective, looking at policy's functionality. Educational policy evaluation focuses on policy solutions that might most effectively solve specific educational problems within discrete circumstances, crucially without critical reference to wider social, political or economic considerations that might be their underlying influences (Nagel, 1999).

More recent strands of UK and US policy analysis come from critical literacy, applied linguistics and discourse theory (Fairclough, 1995). Here policy text is conceived as published materials whose principal aim is to influence public and professional perceptions of policy intentions and efficacy. Critical linguistic policy research has a number of origins and approaches (Alford, 2005; Ball, 2006; Codd, 1988; Cohen, 2002; Fairclough, 2001; Gee, 2005; Peim, 2000b; Schwartz, 2006; Scott, 2000; 2006; Whitty, 2002). I explain its methods in detail in Chapter 3. Its social critical stance and methodological approach broadly seek to identify how official policy operates as ideological 'text'. Critical policy research identifies how textual features such as authorial voices, uses of genres and how lexical and grammatical constructions create identifiable official discourses. David Scott (2000) proposes a critique of policy text analysis that sets research agendas to identify:

- how official documentation positions the author, publisher and reader within its nexus of social power relations;
- how policy documentation reveals insights that help build models of the policy formation process;
- what textual analytic frameworks are helpful when studying official documentation.

<div align="right">(Scott 2000:18-28)</div>

Broadly Scott's critique frames much post-1980s study of official education policy documents, and provides insights into how official documentation has been researched in the era of England's curriculum policy development since the inception of a national curriculum.

Therefore in the final section of this chapter I explain how this recent curriculum policy document research aligns with Scott's critique.

2.6.3 Curriculum documentation: models of policy function

Policy text analysis provides insight into the formation and function of rapidly changing education policy in response to national and international imperatives. Ilon (1994) identifies textual evidence of educational instrumentalism and technocratic rationality, where policy formation draws on such terms as 'vocationalism', 'skills formation', 'privatisation', 'commoditisation' and 'managerialism'. In representing education and curriculum in these terms Ilon claims that education is simultaneously blamed for economic difficulties yet is correspondingly held out to be the potential source of national economic salvation, so long as narrowed objectives and mechanistic reforms are adopted. On a global scale Ilon argues that reform, or 'structural adjustment', operates to bring about:

> . . . policies [that] center around four primary structural shifts: liberalization, deregulation, privatization and stabilization. Together they comprise critical elements of the 'structure' of the economy which affects its external relationship . . . What makes it (a) 'structural adjustment' . . . is that the process is one whereby the national economy is adjusting to a global market . . . so a country cannot afford to veer too far from an equilibrium established by the global capital and free markets.
>
> <div align="right">(Ilon, 1994:96)</div>

Ilon here presents an agenda of global pressures for consideration when studying local curriculum policy in an era of global economic change. During economic turbulence of the 1990s Ilon claims that falls in schools' funding produced socially differentiated formations of state education:

> Changes . . . felt at the national and community levels permeate directly to the schools . . . [here] differential types and qualities of education [are] offered . . . Globally, the poor will continue to be served by public schools of decreasing quality . . . As the notion that public schools serve a broadly defined national population gives way to the reality that students come from discrete backgrounds and face differential opportunities and problems, a structuring of school curriculum and learning strategies aimed at specific populations will occur . . . For the few that will be educationally equipped for employment at a global level, school curricula will become similar worldwide . . . emphasizing information gathering, manipulation, management and creation . . . [However a majority will face] . . . global competition . . . people with limited and low-level skills . . . [must compete] on a world market of others with similar backgrounds. In

order to attract businesses which need these types of workers, nations will still have to provide a minimum level of public education, but that education need not go much further than literacy, numeracy and the discipline and tolerance that comes with being in a structured environment,

(Ilon, 1994:99)

Ilon claims a significant shift in the balance of policy focus, from curricular improvement that empowers individual learners towards curriculum change to supply qualified individuals who will benefit the wider national economy. This claimed shift would indicate a changing policy emphasis from creating a more educated population, towards the better control of education by focusing school performance onto national economic development through an explicit emphasis on vocationalism. In identifying this change in ideology Ilon cites a paralleled change in the discourse of schooling. In Ilon's analysis 'students' become 'customers', 'teachers' become 'producers' and 'learning' becomes 'outcomes'. The language reveals a policy formation driven by the ideals of human capital theory (Schultz, 1963). UK policy moves towards recentralising control over education through such instruments as national curricula, age-related testing, teacher appraisal, national pedagogic strategies and regimes of school inspection. These instruments provide images of education being quality controlled and reformed for the better. The work of teaching is presented as 'delivery' of knowledge, testing of learning and technically adroit operation of recognised pedagogies within discourses of technicism, proficiency and managerial efficiency (Lawton, 2005).

Policy researchers studying education policy formations, changing formations of educational governance and their associated discourses provide more closely focused examples of central control through instruments such as setting performance targets, agglomerating school performance within national league tables and providing special funding for specific and target-related projects. From studying uses of 'target setting' in the early stages of the Western schooling reforms Neave (1988) argues that centralised education authorities' control is concealed though its adopting an apparently evaluative role within policy changes that include monitoring progress and maintaining the system. Neave argues that 'targets' have been used

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increasingly to create measures 'against which the performance of particular areas of the national economy may be placed and the allocation of resources undertaken' (Neave, 1988:8), and further:

> . . . evaluation seeks to elicit how far goals have been met, not by setting the prior conditions but by ascertaining the extent to which overall targets have been reached through the evaluation of 'product'
>
> (Neave, 1988:9)

For Neave the 'focus is not upon the linking of product to objectives through resources, but rather on the *assumption* [my emphasis] that targets are more likely to be reached if resource allocation is made subsequent to and dependent upon the degree to which an establishment has fulfilled specified criteria' (1988:9-10). This kind of evaluation '. . . works through control *of product,* not through control *of process'* (1988:10) and moves the evaluative focus away from input thereby bringing about three discernible ideological effects:

(i) it diverts attention for concerns with access, equity and social justice;

(ii) it reframes the purposes of 'national priorities' and education in market terms; and

(iii) public policy can thereby reach down to individual institutional level in order to 'regulate responses' (1988:10).

Within this climate a client-provider relationship has developed, through which individual institutions student relationship becomes substantially redefined. Institutions move from providing for the individual needs of their students to '. . . keeping with the perceived needs of the "market" ' (1988:10). The discourse accompanying these changes, Neave claims, offers two quite contradictory meanings:

(i)   by 'maintaining central control over the framing of targets' (1988:11) institutions become increasingly reliant on centrally devised curricula, pedagogical and managerial frameworks, guidelines, policies, etc.;

(ii)   'whilst at the same time giving greater latitude at institutional level to choose which course is best suited to the specific institutional circumstances' institutions are told, at least rhetorically, they are antonymous, devolved, self-directed, and have choice, diversity and self-management.

(Neave, 1988:11)

In this section I have outlined how critical curriculum and policy analys conceptualise ideological and discursive stances on curriculum as a relationship between school knowledge and social values. Policy analysts characterise this relationship as dialectical rather than objective. Critical curriculum scholars understand that the corpus of school knowledge does not simply reflect the ideas of the socially powerful, knowledge that is imposed in an unmediated and coercive way. Instead it reflects the ways in which '. . . processes of cultural incorporation are dynamic, reflecting both continuities and contradictions of that dominant culture and the continual remaking and re-legitimation of that culture's plausibility system' (Luke 1988:24).

Beneath my conceptual argument that a dominant culture continually orders, reorders and re-legitimates its own plausibility is the assumption that there are constantly changing conflicts and negotiations in the selective tradition. These, I argue above, emerge in conflicts and negotiations over what knowledge and perspectives, particularly of the less powerful, have been or can be incorporated into the official corpus of school knowledge. However, that incorporation is under an umbrella of the discourse of dominant groups (Apple, 2004:21).

2.7   Policy text analytic frameworks and themes

One further implication of Williams' argument above is that the dominant discourse can be recognised, demonstrated and 'cracked', where its social origins lie contextualised within identifiable historical ideologies and practices. Luke argues that inherent ideological curricula are revealed most notably at times of political strife:

> . . . because of the social protests of African Americans, women, and others and the growth of socially critical curriculum scholarship, it has become more and more difficult to see the knowledge that is taught in schools - and the process by which it gets there - as necessarily neutral. The selection of knowledge is exactly that, a selection from a much wider universe of possible 'thats,' 'hows,' and 'tos.' As recognition of how the curriculum is part of a selective tradition has increased, so too has our sophistication in understanding the politics of school knowledge. A new vocabulary has entered the lexicon of the curriculum field and of educational scholarship in general. Ideology, hegemony, selective tradition, cultural production and reproduction - words that seemed so odd in the overly-psychologized vocabulary of curriculum research a generation ago - have now taken root as a new generation of scholars and politically active curriculum developers and teachers seeks to understand . . .

Critical curriculum and policy theorists try to recognise and deconstruct dominant discourses, and by doing so argue for a more equitable society and schooling. If so, critical curriculum scholarship's focus on ideology in curriculum implies that policy texts do not overtly convey their primary value and belief systems. Instead they conjure up a worldview replete with versions of right reasoning, action and thinking to the teachers and parents and school students who may read them (Luke, 1988:24). Analysis of ideology in curriculum documents can thus be regarded as necessary research, integral to a broader concern with directly understanding the characteristics of their forms of power and domination, the nature of social structure, social reproduction and social change rather than an narrow analysis of specifically useful knowledge as set out in curriculum documentation.

Despite the significant findings noted above, ideological studies of curriculum policy documentation remain limited in two respects. First is their widespread focus on educational policy change, rather than on school subjects and the nature of the cultural selection inherent in their provision. Second is the research approach used, which in many studies draw on content analysis. Often studies are simple frequency counts of age, gender, class and ethnic references linked to notation of stereotyping based on this data.

Luke finds an interpretive tendency to aggregate childhood experiences of reading and the texts read into a notional 'natural unitary childhood' (Luke, 1991:109) irrespective of perspectives on their social class, gender, ethnicity or culture. Similarly, Cawkwell's study of linguistic constructions of 'the literate child' within official English teaching documentation in New Zealand's schooling context reveals that tendencies towards stereotypical classifications in official documentation:

> . . . handbooks and curriculum materials available to teachers constructed the child of the welfare state as "innocent" and "natural", as developing in stages when the conditions were "right". "Reading" itself was constructed as a pleasurable, independent

activity where reading programmes were child-centred and children learnt to read by reading.

<div align="right">(Cawkwell, 2002:80)</div>

Identifying the origins of such discourses she recognises how ideals of childhood that become mediated in different ways, '. . . through childcare handbooks, through the arts and the various popular media, through biographies, and by word of mouth, which remains as popular as ever. And it is not only parents, teachers and educational researchers who fall heir to the latest perceptions – for children themselves hold sets of ideas about their own childhoods'

<div align="right">(Cleverley, 1986:146)</div>

Luke and Cawkwell's studies indicate that although the straightforward content analysis does identify the transparent meanings of dominance or bias in the official documentation it does not reveal covert meanings or ideologies embedded in the hidden structures of language forms and their semantics. As noted earlier this is in part a result of an 'idealist' conception of language underlying content analysis. By this I mean language conceived solely as a fixed transparent system for the transmission of information, thoughts and values. However, discourse theories have developed from within a 'materialist' conception of language (Codd, 1988). They suggest that language provides methods of analysis that deconstruct its composition to reveal its manipulation of the author-audience relationship itself. It is for this reason, I contend, that without access to actual analysis of discourse orders, textuality and lexico-grammar of the linguistic data, the analysis of ideology cannot be said to be complete; especially within this study that is concerned within documentation about the contentious UK English grammar curriculum. So I now need to look further at textual analytic frameworks that support studying official documentation.

Similarly Stillar identifies text as a practice in social activity, citing its place in repertoires of exchange that serve to construct individuals' identity and power in any given situation. He identifies three dimensions to considering text as action: discoursal, rhetorical and social, considering discourse to be 'an integral part of the complex goings-on that make up social life' (Stillar, 1998:5). Stillar draws on Lemke's conception of discourse as 'active' in its

renegotiations of social relations and related patterns of behaviour (Lemke, 1995c:20). Stillar also identifies discourse in text as reliant on rhetorical action for the 'major means through which we link ourselves to one another and to social environments of which we are a part' (Stillar, 1998). In arguing this notion of discourse being 'active' - in the sense of acting as a semiotic agent - he cites Burke on the function of rhetoric in language use:

> . . . a function that is wholly realistic, and is continually born anew, the use of language as a symbolic means of inducing cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols .
>
> (Burke, 1969:43)

Consequently, I follow Stillar's conception of the relationships between textual meaning as 'potential', and that meaning constructed is contingent on discourses built through rhetoric discernible in textual features in given historical situations.

Identifying textual analytic features and their broader theoretical frameworks has led to revealing how linguistic forms, semantics and textual expression convey particular ideological messages and create particular ideological effects, within a 'materialist' conception of language. To do this a sophisticated methodological approach, critical discourse analysis (CDA), has been developed within the field of critical linguistics. CDA provides methods of:

> 'analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language.'
>
> (Wodak, 2001:2)

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) aims to investigate critically social inequality as it may be expressed, signaled, constructed and legitimized by use of language or within discourse. It has come to be considered one of the most influential tools in social research, and therefore is widely used in studies of, inter alia, politics, culture, education and sociology (Fairclough, 2001; Wodak, 2001). Because this study uses CDA as a research method I will outline its formal methods of analysis in Chapter 3, and there define its major concepts, categories and analytical techniques in relation to this present study.

Because my thesis contends there to be (a) a number of voices within the curriculum documentation, that (b) have emerged within a post-1989 historical time frame, this study takes a situated discourse-historical approach (Wodak and Meyer 2001:63-5). By this I mean that I adopt the stance of recognising discourses that assert national intentions based on perceived national demands and pressures. Further I recognise that national demands and pressures are constantly in play in the formation of curricula, yet they will change over time according to historically changing external pressure. My approach is to interrogate discourses in this documentation using CDA precisely because it offers a method of textual analysis with the capacity and functionality to systematically read external ideology pressure and intention inscribed within written and spoken text (Fairclough 1995; Wodak and Meyer 2001; Gee 2005).

Focusing on discourses in a specific time-frame allows two histiographic forms of discourse analysis from the same data:

(i) specific cases of English grammar discourse situated within curriculum debate at a single time, and

(ii) changing discourses of English grammar over time.

This approach also follows my presupposition that many discourses, some mutually contradictory and some concordant, are in play in English and literacy curriculum documentation, an area where homogeneity is not clear (Wodak and Meyer 2001) and where ideological dilemmas abound (Billig, 1991). CDA's capacity for multi-textual and multi-discursive analyses provides for the complexities of meaning and ideology likely to be latent within this data.

Discourse-historical approaches provide for analysis of textual data at three levels that include reading data as (a) genres, (b) as forms of language, and (c) as discourses (Fairclough 1995;

Wodak and Meyer 2001; Gee 2005). CDA provides for systematic analysis within single texts and multiple texts, within the contemporary situations in which they are written.

2.8   Summary of Chapter 2

In this chapter I review changing conceptual understandings of two terms central to my thesis: 'ideology' and 'discourse'. Through understanding 'ideology' we see how curriculum policy formation is never neutral, but partial selections of knowledge that reflect those whose interests curriculum provision serves. I identify conceptions of 'discourse' that illuminate ways that ideological meanings may be conveyed through curriculum policy texts. Finally, through reviewing trends of curriculum policy document research in the UK, I establish major themes and perspectives on curriculum to which my own data set may relate.

Chapter 3   Research Methodology: A Critical Discourse Analysis

3.0   Introduction

In Chapter 2 I established my conceptual framework for analysing discourses of grammar in England's English and Literacy curriculum documents. The concept of 'ideology' is central to understanding how curricula comprise highly partial choices of cultural knowledge. The social power that operates to choose curriculum content also operates to author and publish curriculum documents, thereby perpetuating a selective tradition within curriculum policy formation. 'Discourse' conceptualises the communication analysed to reveal the social power within curriculum documents. This conceptual framework indicates that critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a suitable methodology in this study. In this chapter I explain this choice and its application when analysing ideology and discourse in curriculum documentary data.

3.1   CDA and criticality: an interpretive approach

What is 'critical' about critical discourse analysis?

> A central feature of both linguistics and much social science in the twentieth century has been a rejection of normative approaches, in favour of an exclusive concern with factual inquiry. This was a key element of the modernist rejection of natural law theory, and has been taken by many to be essential to a scientific approach. Thus, modern linguists opposed the prescriptivism of the older grammarians, who declared the superiority or inferiority of particular languages or variants within languages, speculated about linguistic decline etc.
>
> (Hammersley, 1997)

'Factual inquiry' for Hammersley involves taking text as a source of both explicit and implicit meaning. The explicit meanings I seek in this study are the broad areas of common interest in the data, the implicit meanings I seek are ideologies of school grammar that explain grammar's linguistic and social contestation within its policy documentation. Language is an inherently social entity and thereby all meaning is socially constructed (Halliday, 1978). As I establish in Chapter 2, meaning is linked to belief systems, as a source of social discourse that frame social behaviour. Language is thereby (i) a social behaviour, and (ii) instrumental in developing

social behaviour through building every-day, commonsense and 'taken-for-granted' assumptions through which ideology penetrates consciousness (Fairclough, 2001:2). Fairclough's conception of text analysis looks to identify ideology as it influences social behaviour (Fairclough, 2001:72-3). The discursive purpose of English curriculum policy documentation is therefore understood to be to frame, reframe and develop social constructions of school grammar.

My research approach explores ideological positions in single texts, and across texts. Over time curriculum policy adapts to new situations and reframes its reference points (Ball, 1990b; Peel *et al.*, 2000). My interpretations of 'grammar' are therefore located within two contexts, the linguistic (Quirk, 1952), and the social (Ball and Goodson, 1984); both have meaning-changing potential (Ball, 2008; Carter, 1990a; Clark, 2010; Locke, 2010; Peim, 2000b). I analyse continuities and changes in school grammar from the 1921 to 2011 for the ways official discourse positions its learners, its teaching and its place in the English and literacy curriculum.

Scott and Usher (2010) and Mason (2002) advise that making sense of historical texts means understanding the researcher's action and stance in the research. This means the 'truths' individual researchers find are their best interpretations. Researchers' findings are therefore 'contingent rather than determinate' (Scott and Usher, 2010:28-29), and researchers must develop a trustworthiness for the interpretations. Mason advises interpretive readings of texts should be developed 'reflexively' in order to place the researcher's perspectives in the interpretation, and show the researcher's part in 'the process of generation and interpretation of data' (Mason, 2002:110). In Mason's view the findings of interpretive analysis necessarily remain provisional, contingent on new knowledge and alternative interpretations. I give fuller consideration to this need to account for my stance in my study's findings in Section 3.9.

3.2   Policy documentation analysis as ideological interpretation

Fairclough claims some policy analysis research methods are confined to content analysis (Fairclough, 2001). Content analysis identifies the topic and its structuring within policy text, however CDA researchers (e.g. Fairclough, 2003; Wodak, 2007b) claim that policy documents inform the political process, extending their textual activity beyond disseminating neutral information. My study investigates how curriculum documentation for school grammar becomes part of a policy process itself (Fairclough, 2001; Scott, 2000), projecting rationales, debates and discussion, and resolving debates from within it own terms. Discursive power thereby lies in authorial and textual capacity to legitimate policy authors' selections of grammar knowledge and its policy needs.

This aspect of discourse draws on two traditions of discourse study, (i) the constituents of rhetoric (Burke, 1969; Stillar, 1998), and (ii) analysis of linguistic features of linguistic action, 'speech act theory' (Garfinkel, 1964/1972; Huang, 2006:25). CDA draws on 'speech act theory' (Searle, 1971), cooperative conversation principles (Grice, 1969) and politeness principles (Brown, 1993; Brown and Precious, 1968). Through this second tradition analysts identify discourse strategies that control meaning and audience, and, how social agency is constructed. Social contexts such as setting, time and space are regarded only as factors governing the selection of the necessary linguistic resources for communication within discourse. They make little claim to identify social power at work within text (Huang, 2006), focusing first on the decontextualised language elements being used to construct rhetoric, and second, on the extra-linguistic social conditions that legitimate speech acts.

If subtle projections of ideological intention and power are at work in curriculum documentation, then that power to persuade lies latent in the language used, its grammar and semantics and its social semiotic referents (Pateman, 1983). This requires a social analytical approach to analysis of text as a social action, an approach to researching policy text that entails 'reading society and social behaviour like a complex text' (Scott and Usher, 2010:29).

Fairclough sees text as inextricably linked to discourse as a mode of social action (2001: 19), making his approach suitable for policy text research.

Fairclough's analytical methods rely on close textual analysis to connect linguistic features to social and ideological discourses drawn on within text. Seen from this perspective his analytical methods align with that of critical linguistics in its intention of 'recovering the social meanings expressed in discourse by analysing the linguistic structure in the light of their interactional and wider contexts' (Fowler *et al.*, 1979: 195-6).

3.2.1 Critical discourse analysis - broad assumptions

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) sees discourse as 'a form as social practice' (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997:258), sees the contexts of language use as pivotal to discourse (van Dijk, 2001). CDA focuses particularly on relations between language use and power, recognising that use of text promotes, in the case of this study, a rightness of policy (Fairclough, 2001; Scott, 2000). In Chapter 2 I argued for an analytical approach and tools appropriate to revealing underlying ideologies and social power that spur on policy discourse and persuasion. Drawing on notions of the social critic, CDA provides ways to analyse the specific situations and contexts that condition text from a critical studies perspective, as argued by Wodak:

> For Habermas 'critical' means not taking things for granted, opening up complexity, challenging reductionism, dogmatism and dichotomies, being self-reflective in research, and through these critical processes, making opaque structures of power relations and ideologies visible. 'Critical', thus, does not imply the common sense meaning of 'being negative', rather it means being 'sceptical' of propositions; proposing alternatives is part of being 'critical'
>
> (Wodak, 2007a)

CDA provides analytical tools for systematically researching visible content, hidden ideology and social power latent within text (Fairclough, 1989; Gee, 2005; Scott, 2000; van Dijk, 1977c; 2001). Researching power relations problematises the notion of fixed relationships between the word and its referred object; it contends that objects and their contexts become social constructs, formed from ideological viewpoints. To CDA such constructions become open to

critique (Gill, 2000; Stillar, 1998). CDA sees language in text as an ideological contestation, requiring researchers to uncover texts' authorial voices (Fairclough, 1989; Foucault, 1972). CDA examines discourse structures and thereby ideological voice and power within social contexts, drawing on critical literacy it offers a methodology for critical readings of text, arguments and cultural ideological contexts (Luke, 2002).

In this post-structural frame, language is less a process of representative communication, more an active element in the process of representing worldviews; language is a system of rhetorical performance rather than a neutral system of signs for describing a universal world. For curriculum analysis CDA claims the capacity to demonstrate how educational policy discourses do not stand apart from their wider social contexts of cultural knowledge, ideology, power and a selective tradition. Kress sets out five conceptual desiderata for critical analysis:

- language is a social phenomenon;
- not only individuals but also institutions and social groupings have specific meanings and values, that are expressed in language in systematic ways;
- texts are relevant units of language in communication;
- readers/hearers are not passive recipients in their relationship to texts;
- there are similarities between the language of science and the language of institutions

(Kress, 1989)

CDA aligns with the 'critical' underpinnings of interpretive research approaches that 'takes everyday experience and ordinary life as its subject matter and asks how meaning is constructed and social interaction is negotiated in social practices' (Scott and Usher, 2010: 29). CDA therefore has the potential to research curriculum intentions through textual data, but is subject to interpretive limitations. Its limitations are ontological, in that its purpose rests on the interpretive frames that its researchers construct; its knowledge of its subjects, and how its critical perspectives are bound by its research questions. CDA's interpretive constructions of social reality are thereby themselves constructed by human interaction (Scott and Usher, 2010:29).

3.2.2　　　　　Critical discourse analysis: principles

Fairclough and Wodak's offer six principles to guide critical text analysis research design. Their first principle is to see CDA as addressing social problems thereby aiming to bring light into situations about which the researcher wishes to influence change. This 'enlightenment' in critical documentary research becomes in itself a form of social action. Therefore CDA is a socially committed paradigm with intention to bring about policy reconsideration and change (Fairclough and Wodak 1997).

Their second principle is that power relations are discursive. CDA, they claim, explains how social relations of power operate and negotiate positions within and through discourse (Fairclough and Wodak 1997). The third principle is that discourse 'constitutes' society and culture. CDA scholars claim that every instance of language use makes a contribution to reproducing and transforming society and culture, including changing relations of power (Fairclough and Wodak 1997).

A fourth principle is that discourse is ideologically active in producing or sustaining ideology through language in use. 'Discourse does ideological work: representing and constructing society by reproducing unequal relations of power.' (Fairclough and Wodak 1997:). To understand how ideology is produced within discursive practice, text analysis alone is insufficient; how texts are interpreted, received and what is their social effect must be concurrently considered (Fairclough and Wodak 1997:262-4).

A fifth principle sees text both as an artefact of society and being about society. CDA analysts therefore analyse how text is woven into the social fabric on the one hand, and the properties of that text on the other (Fairclough and Wodak 1997; Wodak 2001). However, CDA does not see this relationship as simply deterministic. It draws on ideas of mediation (Fairclough, 1992a). For Fairclough this 'mediated' relationship between text and society can be studied by looking at what Fairclough terms 'orders of discourse' (Fairclough, 1992c).

The sixth principle is that CDA is intentionally explanatory (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; van Dijk, 2001). Its interpretations and explanations are dynamic and open, open to new readings and informed by new or changing contextual information. This process is recognised by Meyer (2001) as a hermeneutic process that requires detailed documentation such as an explicit linguistic analysis of texts. This argument indicates that the analytical procedures necessary to develop theories of textual and intertextual patterning must combine deductive and iterative analysis.

3.3   Critical discourse analysis: discourse, ideology and power

Related to these principles are the three concepts central to this study 'discourse', 'ideology' and 'power'. As outlined in Section 3.2 CDA's claimed potential to reveal power as exercised through language in the pursuit of ideological positioning requires clear concepts of how language relates to these three terms. In this next section I relate each term to CDA theories and demonstrate how closely they align and become appropriate for my study.

3.3.1   Critical discourse analysis and discourse

The term 'discourse' as opposed to 'language' focuses on the dialectic aspects of linguistic engagements, where intention influences audiences' knowledge and experience of the topic at hand. Thus discourse forms an ideologically powerful language engagement.

Discourse identifies self-expression; discourse encodes ways of knowing, valuing, and experiencing the everyday world (Foucault, 1980). Discourses can assert power and knowledge to resist and, or, critique other discourses. For Foucault the prevalence of discourse in everyday contexts helps build power and knowledge, it helps regulate and normalise communication in given contexts. Discourse helps develop new knowledge and secure power in social relationships. Discourse facilitates hegemony through the power,

influence or authority of language in use. Gramsci sees the role and voice of political text as situated discourse:

> the mode of being of the new intellectual can no longer consist in eloquence . . . but in active participation in practical life, as constructor, organiser, "permanent persuader" and not just a simple orator
>
> (Gramsci, 1971:10).

Gee, following van Leeuwen (1993), argues that discourse is more rooted in the relationship between linguistic form and function (Gee, 2005). Discourse is, however, not a conceptually stable term as Gee identifies (Gee, 2000). For Gee the lowercase 'd' term 'discourse' reflects the use of language in a social context to actuate activities and identities. Applied linguists (e.g. McCarthy, 1994) consider this term to denote language above sentence level, in order to focus analysis on, for example, word and phrase structures to reveal implications of lexical and grammatical usage. Observable uses of pronouns such as 'our' and 'their' when used to pre-modify the noun 'ideas' and thereby foreground the approved topic under discussion and marginalise alternative viewpoints. Gee also notes language's power in social contexts where language is accompanied by other semiotics, e.g. gesture, dress and symbols, imbued with context-bound values, attitudes, beliefs and ideologies. Gee focuses on these extra- and para-linguistic elements when distinguishing uppercase 'Discourse' - a proper noun - as an affirmative action, arguing the importance of the micro-activities of discourse within reified Discourses:

> Discourses are characteristic . . . ways of talking and writing about, as well as acting with and toward, people and things. These ways are circulated and sustained within various texts, artefacts, images, social practices, and institutions, as well as in moment-to-moment social interactions. In turn, they cause certain perspectives and states of affairs to come to seem or be taken as 'normal' or 'natural' and others to seem or be taken as 'deviant' or 'marginal'
>
> (Gee, 2000 Online source)

3.3.2 Critical discourse analysis and ideology

CDA scholars view text as inscribed with ideology from its socio-political and socio-historic contexts. CDA analysts assume that 'ideology' is pivotal to critical text analysis. Giddens' defines ideology as '. . . shared ideas or beliefs which serve to justify the interests of dominant

groups' (Giddens, 1997:583) and by linking the terms 'ideas' and 'beliefs' to group 'interests'

helps identify an assumption that, in Foucaultian theory of discourse, society is constantly in a

state of contestation for the knowledge, status and material resources available to assert

power and knowledge (Foucault, 1972; 1980). Conversely Eagleton argues that understanding

how 'ideology' operates involves understanding theories of the relationship between thought

and social reality, thus historicising situations in which '. . . there are specific historical reasons

why people come to feel, reason, desire, and imagine as they do' (Eagleton, 1994:15).

In a wider context Luke defines 'social contexts' as sites of unequal control of ideology, where

CDA analyses relative ideological positioning that includes:

> . . . conflictual face-to-face exchanges in institutional settings, political speeches, and
> parliamentary proceedings, advertising and mass media texts of all types, textbooks
> and other official pedagogic texts, different views of the political and economic
> dimensions of clinical, legal and service encounters, and, more recently, analysis of
> digitalised communications including online exchanges, mobile phone exchanges and
> webpages.
>
> (Luke, 2002:5)

Early examples of relating CDA to inherent ideology in social contexts (Fairclough, 1989;

Hodge and Kress, 1979) are based on Michael Halliday's theory of language as social

semiotic. This dialectical model of semiotic representation claims that 'social reality is shaped,

constrained and modified' by social semiotics' (Halliday, 1978:126). Analysis of ideology here

is to be reached by Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), using Halliday's three metafunctions

of language: (i) 'ideational' – the topic content, (ii) 'interpersonal' – the discourse relationship

with an audience, and (iii) 'textual' – the forms of text used, and analysed through their

communicative field (topic), tenor (register) and mode (language form) (Thompson, 2004).

Luke acknowledges the contribution of SFL to CDA and claims that ideology can be seen by

researching the textual selections of 'transitivity', 'agency', 'nominalisation', 'mood' and

'information flow' among other features. (Luke, 2002:6)

CDA scholars (e.g. Fairclough, 1992a; Hodge and Kress, 1979; Kress, 1985; van Dijk, 1993) share the common assumption that varied tools of linguistic, semiotic and literary analysis must be used to analyse the social formation, institution, and power relations that texts identify and (re)construct.

3.3.3   Critical discourse analysis and power

CDA's theories of language recognise that social functions are characterised by relations of power on the basis of, inter alia, class, gender and cultural groups. Giddens' sees 'ideas' or 'beliefs' asserted as though 'shared' throughout society, being projected through discourses that form legitimating frameworks of reference within recognisable features of familiar daily life (Gee, 2005; van Dijk, 2001). CDA thereby claims to help reveal and recognise implied or concealed social inequality, ideology and power relations that are thus communicated through text in daily life. CDA scholars strive to explore how these non-transparent relationships become factors in securing power.

At the Macro level CDA has become associated with deconstructing power in institutional discourses in particular. These come from, the media (Talbot, 2007), policy (Gee and Lankshear, 1997), gender and race (van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999; Wodak, 2009), and are examples of political and social hegemony. For my study Fairclough's identifies the helpful notion of discourse 'naturalisation' of particular representations as 'common sense', becoming 'common sense'. This includes hiding underlying and implicit assumptions, which become no longer questionable, reified as a simple matter of fact (Fairclough, 2001). Thus naturalised discourse loses its ideological visibility; it appears as neutral and develops its own logic, narrative past and status as truth. Once so reified it implies that learning this discourse only requires learning its set of terms, skills and methods. As an object of research interest in itself, or as a means of highlighting ideological positioning, Fairclough's notion of 'naturalisation' of discourse (Fairclough 2001) identifies a sufficiently dominant ideological objective in suppressing or marginalising alternative interpretations.

3.4   Critical discourse analysis as a methodology

Work to systematise CDA as a practical research method for this study is guided by CDA

scholars Luke, (1990) Fairclough (2001) and Gee (2011). They vary in technical approach yet

share common strategies, as Luke notes:

> CDA involves a principled and transparent shunting back and forth between the
> microanalysis of texts using varied tools of linguistics, semiotic, and literary analysis
> and the macro-analysis of social formations, institutions, and power relations that these
> texts index and construct
>
> (Luke, 2002:100)

Work to systematise CDA draws on (i) theories and models of text analysis, and (ii) on

contemporary political and socio-cultural theories. Some approaches follow a linguistic

analysis of text, using especially Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (SFL), for example

(Halliday, 1978; Halliday and Hasan, 1991) An SFL understanding of language requires:

(i) systematic analysis of lexical resources,

(ii) analysis of syntactic functions, and

(iii) analysis of genre and text metafunction.

Others have developed 'toolkits' that are less focused on lexico-syntactic features of text, but

more focused on cultural and social resources and contexts e.g. van Dijk (1997) and Gee

(1999; 2005). Van Dijk uses four categories: (i) action, (ii) context, (iii) power and (iv) ideology

(van Dijk, 1997), whilst Gee's methodological heuristic approach uses six categories: (i)

semiotic building, (ii) world building, (iii) activity building, (iv) identity and relationship building,

(v) political building, and (vi) connection building (Gee, 1999; 2005).

There is no single CDA analytical approach or procedural sequence, as Luke notes:

> . . . a linguistic and text analytic metalanguage, no matter how comprehensive, cannot
> 'do' CDA in and of itself. It requires the overlay of a social theoretic discourse for
> explaining and explicating the social; contexts, concomitants, contingencies and
> consequences of any given text or discourse.
>
> (Luke, 2002:101)

CDA approaches to macro-analyses try to move beyond text structure analysis towards the critical analysis of the visible practices of text use and interpretation. First is a linguistic approach as seen in Fairclough's work. This approach involves detailed textual analyses. The second approach is shown in van Dijk and Gee's work, where the focus is on social variables that include 'action', 'context', 'power' and 'ideology'. My study is based largely on the first, linguistic approach, and adopts methods from Fairclough and Wodak's work as the basis for the analytical framework. Next is a brief summary of the approaches to CDA taken by Fairclough and Wodak.

3.4.1 Critical discourse analysis: Fairclough's text analytic approach

Six pivotal terms are central to the CDA approach adopted by Fairclough (1992; 1992a; 2001; 2003): 'text', 'genre', 'discourse', 'discursive event', 'orders of discourse', and 'dialectic'.

For Fairclough's 'text' refers to 'the written or spoken language produced in a discursive event' (Fairclough 1993:138). This definition emphasises a multi-semiotic characteristic of text. Using the specific example of television language Fairclough includes visual images and sound (i.e. multi-modal communication) as representative of other semiotic forms that operate simultaneously within text, see (Fairclough, 1995).

'Genre' refers to Fairclough's definition of a 'use of language associated with a particular social activity' (Fairclough, 1993b:138). Fairclough argues that various genres are the 'different means of production of a specifically textual sort, different resources for texturing' (Fairclough, 2000). 'Genre' also means a method of text structuring and a set of relatively stable text conventions that are both creative but conservative in nature. 'Genre' is thereby seen to be a relatively stable object yet simultaneously open to change over time and situation.

Fairclough uses the term 'discourse' as an abstract noun. He defines it as 'language use conceived as social practice' (Fairclough, 1993b:193). But where discourse is used as a count noun, it indicates a method of outlining or 'signifying experience from a particular perspective' (Fairclough, 1993b:193). Further, Fairclough also argues that:

> the question of discourse is the question of how text figure (in relation to other moments) in how people represent the world, including themselves and their productive activities. Different discourses are different ways of representing associated with different positions
>
> (Fairclough, 2000:170)

'Discourse', used as an abstract noun, is both an understanding of language in use, and a deeply pervasive, frequently transparent set of values, beliefs and ideas in a given social situation, as identified in Chapter 2.

For Fairclough a 'discursive event', is an 'instance of language use, analysed as text, discursive practice, social practice' (Fairclough, 1993b:193). In this light 'discursive event' denotes all of: (i) 'text' itself, (ii) 'discursive practice' (production and interpretation of text), and (iii) social practice (e.g. situated, institutional and social practice).

'Orders of discourse' refers to a 'totality of discursive practices of an institution and relationship between them' (Fairclough, 1993b:193). 'Orders of discourse' broadly equate to language in use within or around particular institutions or domains of social life. There are particular 'orders of discourse' associated with, e.g schools, local government and advertising. When describing 'orders of discourse' analysts are concerned with specifying the 'discourse' types that govern or control the thinkable within a specific domain, and identifying the relationships between each 'discursive practice'.

'Dialectical', in Fairclough's CDA, means analysing the relationship between language and society. To Fairclough this relationship is conversational, in the way that language is influenced by society, and simultaneously understandings of society are shaped by language, through

discourse. So, in describing 'discourse' as social practice means that in everyday life language and society form a bi-directional 'dialectical' relationship. 'Discourse' therefore frames and shapes society's situations; it recognises legitimate knowledge, and personal identity, for example by occupation, ethnicity, interests or gender. In this way 'discourse' frames and shapes what is taken for 'reality' or 'commonsense' understandings; it signifies 'normality'. Yet 'discourse' itself is simultaneously shaped by prevailing societal situations.

Fairclough uses the term 'mediation' to describe the relation between language use and society. By 'mediation' Fairclough means we should see links between one single specific 'communicative event', for example publishing a subject specific curriculum requirement, and the total structure of an order of discourse, as well as modifications to that order of discourse, and its constituents, genres and discourses (Fairclough 1995). Because CDA scholars by definition look to unmask hidden meaning or invisible ideological perspectives that may project powerful discourses, CDA has attracted criticism for its socially open or disruptive approach. Criticisms of CDA are identified in Section 3.7.

These theoretical considerations can be put into analytic practice through Fairclough's analytical framework (Fairclough, 1995). This framework draws on the concepts of 'intertextuality' (the relationship between texts' 'before' and 'since'), 'interdiscursivity' (the combination of genres and discourses within single texts) and 'hegemony'. Fairclough applies these three concepts to each discursive event. Accordingly, a discursive event is simultaneously seen as (i) text, (ii) discursive practice, which includes text production, and (iii) interpretation of textual social practice.

3.4.2   Fairclough's text analytic procedures

Fairclough proposes an analytic procedure as helpful to frame three stages of analysis based on: (i) description, (ii) interpretation, and (iii) explanation. Consequently Fairclough advises research attention should focus on the:

- linguistic properties of texts are described - a text analysis;
- relationship between the productive and interpretative processes of discursive practice, on the one hand, and the particular texts themselves, on the other hand, is interpreted – a discursive analysis;
- relationships between discursive practice and social practice are explained - an interdiscursive analysis.

<div align="right">(Fairclough, 1995)</div>

By following this schema Fairclough establishes a systematic method for exploring the relationship between text and its social context. The concepts on which this method is based, the 'dimensions of discourse and critical discourse analysis' are shown in Figure 3.1 below (see Fairclough, 1992c:73).
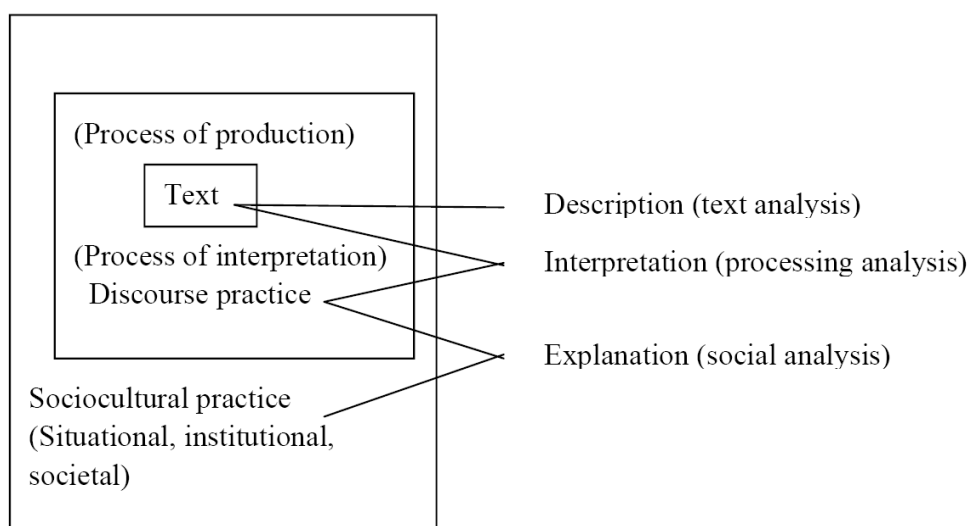
Figure 3.1   Dimensions of Discourse (after Titscher *et al.*, 2000:152).

Fairclough's analytical framework informs this study's methodological approach by providing theoretical frames for:

(i) a multi-layered analysis that incorporates text features, interpreting text and interpreting social contexts;

(ii) placing text is at the heart of the analysis - text being analysed for linguistic evidence for findings and claims originating in the discourse analytical work.

My study of policy requires a methodology that not only accounts for the potentialities of language to yield understandings of specific educational policy in single instances, but also the

means to classify acts of discourse in the context of discourse as a more widely seen practice. CDA scholars recognise this interdependence of texts in constructing discourse as 'intertextuality'.

3.4.3   Critical discourse analysis and intertextuality

For CDA to be an appropriate methodology to present discourse across a large data set its theoretical framework and interpretive potential must address the cumulative impact multiple texts have on their combined meaning. Cumulative references to aspects of grammar that develop concordant or asymmetric ideational meanings must be accounted for intertextually. Intertextuality is the reading and writing of texts in the light of their interactions with prior texts, writers, notional readers and textual conventions. Thibault (1994) clarifies this perspective thus: 'all texts, spoken and written, are constructed and have the meanings which text-users assign to them in and through their relations with other texts in some social formation' (Thibault, 1994).

The term 'intertextuality' originates from Kristeva's (1935/1981) literary and cultural scholarship and draws on Bakhtin's (1935/1981) work on everyday language and the dialogic nature of text. As Weber explains, any given text is:

> a permutation of texts, an intertextuality: in the space of a given text, several utterances, taken from other texts, intersect and neutralize one other'
> (Weber, 1917/1949)

Kristeva argues the complex and heterogeneous nature of discursive materials, materials that cross and weave through identifiable forms of text production such as 'genres'. For Kristeva text is a form of 'productivity', one in which various semiotic codes, genres, and meaning relations are combined and thereby transformed. Kristeva models this relationship within texts as two intersecting axes: a horizontal axis connecting the author to the reader, and a vertical axis that connects the text to other texts (Kristeva, 1980:69). Kristeva, similarly to Bakhtin (1935/1981), sees all texts as being constituted out of, and understood in relation to, other

texts in the same social formation (Thibault, 1994). This perspective does identify textual relationships and interconnectedness, in effect weakening long-held literary values such as 'originality', 'singularity' and 'autonomy' (Allen, 2000).

As a theoretical concept 'intertextuality' has been associated with post-modernism, but, as a linguistic means of strengthening new writing through association with the past, biblical scholars recognise this device in New Testament passages that quote from the Old Testament books to diachronically build ideas and authority (Porter, 1997). Similarly, literary critics look on an interconnected body of literature synchronically. This view sees texts as cumulative receivers of ideas; as an interconnected body that extends over other cultural art including sculpture, music, painting, etc. that chain references in, for example, literary intertextuality. If understood diachronically it reinterprets former work, as in Shakespeare's 'Romeo and Juliet' reinterpreting the Roman legend 'Thisbe and Pyramus', Steinbeck's 'East of Eden' (1952/2000) a retelling of the Genesis story, and Joyce's 'Ulysses' (Joyce, 1922/2008) a version of Homer's 'Odyssey'.

The term 'intertextuality' derives from both discourse analysis (DA) and critical discourse analysis (CDA), (Bazerman, 2003; Fairclough, 2003; Lemke, 2004; White, 2005). Intertextuality refers to close-focused non-literary text analysis of (i), ways that texts are ideationally interrelated, and (ii) as a social practice that is significant of, and itself signifies, socially regulated ways of producing and interpreting discourse as one voice.

So, no single approach is taken to analysing intertextuality; it is a complex phenomenon of text production and interpretation. However, I recognise here three useful approaches in this study that will help analyse:

(i) ideational meanings that help develop official ideologies of grammar,

(ii) linguistic conventions that signify traits of discursive action , and

(iii) argumentation strategies that develop social conventions or genres (Lemke, 1995a).

3.4.4   Approaches to analysing intertextuality

Bazerman proposes four straightforward concepts of intertextuality:

(i)   levels of intertextuality,
(ii)   techniques of intertextual representation,
(ii)   intertextual distance, i.e. reach, and
(iv)   translation across contexts, i.e. recontextualisation.

<div align="right">(from Bazerman, 2003)</div>

Bazerman's concepts may be applied to developing a procedure for analysis in the following

way, to:

(a) identify the main research purpose in doing intertextual analysis, and identify the

questions this research should answer by doing it;

(b) identify the specific texts to be examined, i.e., identify the corpus clearly;

(c) identify traces of other texts by examining explicit or covert references to other

authors;

(d) begin making observations and interpretations by analysing the reference in relation

to the 'context' of what the author is saying;

(e) look closely for more subtle clues to pursue for your analytical purpose;

(f) look for patterns, and from these start developing conclusions.

<div align="right"><i>after</i> (Bazerman, 2003)</div>

Bazerman further argues that:

> intertextuality is not just a matter of which other texts you refer to, but how you use
> them, what you use them for, and ultimately how you position yourself as a writer to
> them to make your own statement.

<div align="right">(Bazerman, 2003:94)</div>

Similarly, Lemke's formulation of studying intertextuality is

> concerned with the recurrent discourse and activity patterns of the community and how
> they are constituted by, instanced in, and interconnected or disjoined through,
> particular texts

<div align="right">(Lemke, 1995a:86)</div>

Lemke further proposes that through intertextuality a text becomes an instance of its cultural context. So, intertextual analysis becomes essential to finding the meaning of a single text. However, the central importance here is that all texts gain their meaning not only intra-textually, but more fundamentally, intertextually. Intertextual relations go beyond the context of immediate situations by depending on their wider cultural context (Hasan, 1985).

As a concept, and an analytical approach, 'intertextuality' provides a strong theoretical connection between single texts, text corpora and their contexts. For this study 'intertextuality' is a crucial concept to understanding how discourse patterns in single texts related to text genres and their use of linguistic resources. Through intertextual analysis a 'bigger picture' of a text became visible, revealing (i) implicit or intensified meanings at the textual level, realised through lexico-grammatical means (see Section 3.5), and (ii) how meanings relate to the reader at the social level and attempt textually to build writer-reader relationships within which to frame beliefs or ideologies. In this way intertextuality provides ways to make visible socially established patterns of meaning, and meaning making, redolent of the background of official policy text activity.

3.4.5   Analysing intertextuality for argumentation strategies

Policy texts are written in anticipation of a readership that is anticipated solely by their author(s). Systemic functional linguistics' 'register theory' (Thompson, 2004:30-41) identifies how social situations are reflected in, and shaped by, authors' patterned choices of interpersonal (author-reader), ideational (topic content) and textual (lexico-grammatical) meaning. Register accounts for all three functions, but for this study's analysis the interpersonal dimension is taken to be central to the constitution of policy discourses on school grammar.

In looking for a framework that is relevant to my intertextual analysis of argumentation Bakhtin's conceptualisation of 'text' (which for Bakhtin is 'language') as heteroglossic, is profoundly helpful in theorising the discursive relationship between writer and reader. For my study Bakhtin's 'heteroglossia' claims two simultaneous conceptions of the textual authorial voice (i) the 'qualities' of language as realised through its lexico-grammatical forms, and (ii) the quality of language at any one point in time, which may be compared with language forms used across time and texts (Vice, 1997:18).

White's approach to discourse identifies two broad categories of linguistic resource (White, 2002):

(i)   'intra-vocalisation', a concern with the internal voice of the writer or speaker, a voice that proclaims or disclaims a discourse, i.e. Bakhtin's heteroglossia, and
(ii)   'extra-vocalisation', a concern with external voices, the language resources explicitly echoed in the text, e.g. intertextual voices, authorities or perspectives.

White considers 'extra-vocalisation' to include quoting or referencing from external sources, what Droga & Humphrey refer to as linguistic resources from sources outside or beyond the text (Droga and Humphrey, 2002). Thus 'extra-vocalisation' contrasts with 'intra-vocalisation', where internal authorial voices align linguistically and ideologically with other, external contextual voices. White recognises intra-vocalisation through uses of linguistic resources such as 'modality, proclaims and disclaims' and which I include in my analytical design for this study in Chapter 4.

My analysis also needed to recognise how whole texts developed longer, staged and developmental arguments. I was interested to develop a framework of argumentation to classify (i) the argumentation strategies single texts' authors used, and (ii) the range of argumentation types used across the data set to develop discourse. Here I used Martin and Rose's (2003) formulation of micro-genre analysis, that draws on new rhetoric theory for its analysis of argumentation structures. 'New rhetoric' is developed from Burke's (1969) conception of rhetoric that moved away from classical rhetoric's elaboration of the forms of

speech to be appreciated as the art of persuasion (Richards, 2008:176). Burke's 'new' rhetoric develops a sociological focus on the interactive nature of argument to appeal to an audience's sensitivities and questions how argument, as social interaction, influences others' thinking. Burke's conception of argument is therefore:

> . . . rooted in an essential function of language itself, a function that is wholly realistic, and is continually born anew; the use of language as a symbolic means of inducing cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols.
>
> Burke (1969:43).

New rhetoric develops from the second canon of classical rhetoric, the arrangement (dispositio) of discourse that prescribes the inclusion of an 'introduction', 'statement of fact' and 'conclusion', as logically structured steps to bringing others round to one's own position. New rhetoric moves from the sole purpose of 'persuasion', as an prescribed elegant art of bringing an audience towards the speaker, to engagement with audience using 'identification' as a key term for the speaker-listener relationship.

From this conception of the arrangement of argument I see the elements of genres being drawn. According to Martin (2000) text 'genres', identified by Biber as 'text types' (Biber, 1989), are formed from typical components or sections of argumentation that become strategic steps in a text's major arguments.

For Martin such strategic steps are instrumental in devising a taxonomy of argumentation types, which he calls 'micro-genres'. Martin's 'micro-genres' analysis provides a method to identify single texts' rhetorical structures and thereby deduce their micro-genres. Micro-genres characterise text through its rhetorical functions such as 'exposition', 'proposition', 'discussion' and 'problem-solution' (see Chapter 5, Fig. 5.1). This broadly sets 'micro-genre' features within larger-scale genres, genres that form broad discursive devices at both whole textual and intertextual levels (Martin, 2000). Micro-genres reveal textual patterns that provide evidence of

discourse types. They do so by (i) identifying specific micro-generic structures of the texts, and (ii) exploring steps by which these structures are deployed to achieve rhetorical functions.

My introducing a rhetorical structure analysis into this CDA research requires a corpus analytical approach and procedure. This approach creates an analytical system that Heubeck calls an 'integrative approach' to analysing the construction of texts. My integration of the resources of 'new rhetoric' 'combin[es] the strengths of . . . individual analytic traditions' (Heubeck, 2009:1) i.e. lexico-grammatical, and thematic discourse analysis, with new rhetoric theory, is a novel approach to using CDA.

3.4.6   A corpus linguistic approach to argumentation analysis

My intention to identify distinct discursive patterns in the data, including patterns of argumentation, reflects my observation in Chapter 1, Section 1.0, that curriculum text argumentation is little represented in policy research. Analysing argumentation across my very mixed data set requires a single manageable stretch of text from each document that provides what Crystal calls 'a selection of material . . . [that] can stand as a reasonably representative sample of the language as a whole' (Crystal, 2003:438). Whilst recognising that Crystal's definition may not account for diverse authorship in single texts' language, I follow Crystal's principle of selecting a 'representative sample' from each document to make (i) an overall keyword analysis count, and (ii) a comparative rhetorical structure analysis. Making a selected subset of the full data set creates a corpus from which I take keyword frequency to be indicative of a hierarchy of topics referred to in the data. I argue in Section 4.4.1 that a rhetorical structure analysis provides an intertextual overview of the dominance and distribution of argumentation approaches in the data. Both are content analyses, and as such offer no critical analytical outcomes. However, I argue that these two small scale, representative corpus analyses do find:

(i)   keywords to help me speculate on what initial dominant ideas may help initiate my

            critical analysis in Chapters 5-7, and

(ii)   argumentation patterns which classify possible dominant rhetorical approaches for

documents in all or different document groups.

I accept the need for caution in over-reading or skewing qualitative findings with potentially

erroneous statistical findings from a corpus linguistic approach. Therefore I draw on Conrad's

outline of three characteristics of analysis that corpus approaches afford:

> (a) they are based on principled collections of naturally occurring texts (the corpus), (b) they use computers for both automatic and interactive analyses, and (c) they include both quantitative analyses and functional interpretations in order to describe patterns in language features.
>
> (Conrad, 1996:300)

In the case of this study Conrad's three characteristics may be seen to be addressed in the

following ways, by:

(i) making a distinct selection of corpus document samples for comparative analysis, as

explained in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.2;

(ii) making a quantitative electronic lexical word content analysis, to guide my initial mapping

of the data's ideational direction, despite the limitations of this approach for the purpose of

conducting critical analysis;

(iii) using the corpus to make a qualitative analysis of authors' argumentation approaches in

their ideological positioning of grammar in the English and literacy curriculum.

I recognise that of my three analytical methods used in this study, the two statistical analyses

are the more limited in their potential to yield ideological patterning useful to my overall

purpose. However, a corpus approach leads to (i) a replicable identification of a corpus

extracts' keyword hierarchy, and (ii) a transparent and replicable intertextual argumentation

analysis. These two analyses therefore do provide insights into how the overall ideological

analysis is informed, and augment my wider reading across the full data set by sophisticating

my insights into what authorial voices help develop these ideological discourses.

In the next section I explain my use of CDA's more familiar lexico-grammatical language resources through the lens of Fairclough's (1989) desiderata for discourse analysis.

3.5 Fairclough's text analytic questions for intertextual analysis

In this section I draw on ten questions Fairclough raises in intertextual analysis of authorial choices of language resources to construct discourses of grammar in subject English. Fairclough defines discourse as 'language as social practice' (Fairclough, 1989:20) and raises questions for text analysis that form my analytical framework:

Choices of vocabulary
- rewording and overwording
- meaning relations (e.g. synonymy, hyponymy, antonymy)
- formal or informal words
- metaphors

Choices of grammar
- transitive and intransitive
- active or passive voice
- nominalization
- mood and modality

Choices of textual devices
- ways of message organization
- cohesive devices
- information focus

(After Fairclough, 1989:110-111)

Fairclough's 'lexical', 'grammatical' and 'textual' features are each considered to have (i) experiential; (ii) relational; (iii) expressive value, when analyzed from a functional grammar perspective (Thompson, 2004). These classifications draw on SFL's ideational, textual and interpersonal meanings (Eggins, 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). According to Fairclough, these three types of meaning are traces of the ways in which, what he calls 'structural effects' in text, denote knowledge and beliefs, social relations and social identities (Fairclough, 1989).

In retaining the narrow focus of this study I do not use them all, thereby avoiding a cloud of too much detail and loss of broader overview of intertextual and textual analysis. I examine whichever of these features is prominent in the corpus texts, as the analysis demands (Meyer, 2001:28). I now explain the relevance of 'lexical', 'grammatical' and 'textual' communicative devices to my study (Fairclough, 1995).

3.5.1   Lexical choices

Authorial choice of words is important and provides readers with cues in interpreting texts, and in so doing defines how the ideas, actions, events and intentions of texts are perceived and how they become realized within the process of reading.

Lexical choice imbues text with meanings and messages that the producers of text intend to be received. Within this study lexical choice is therefore a reliable clue to curriculum documentation's textual perspectives and orientations. These terms 'perspective' and 'orientation' therefore imply that choice of words is not neutral, but rather involves naming or wording the social and natural world. This is part of the authorial framing of the social and natural world, building an appropriate vocabulary suitable for defining discursive purposes, interests and intentions. My first analytical step is to make a word-frequency count to find recurrent lexical words, keywords that identify concepts that may signify prominent ideological perspectives on grammar.

I examine these perspectives and intentions that frame particular socio-cultural ideologies (Fairclough, 1992a). In my two-stage analysis (see Fig 4.1 in Section 4.3.1) I broadly examine lexical choice for its (i) 'overwording', (ii) 'semantic relations' in terms of their 'synonymy', 'hyponymy' and 'antonymy', and (iii) the uses of 'pronouns' and 'metaphor'.

I particularly look for ideological intent through uses of 'metaphor' in the forms of metonymy (associated terms e.g. 'head count' rather than population census), synecdoche (narrowed or

generalized terms e.g. 'hand' for sailor or 'law' for police) and personification. Fairclough claims that metaphor is a way of depicting one facet of an experience in the light of another, and authorial choice of metaphor develops different ideological connotations (Fairclough, 1992a). In a general sense metaphor may be used to create commonality between people with the effect of hiding their differences. or to particularise groups of people in a 'collective singular' such as 'young hoodies', 'honest' or 'dishonest' traders, or 'the British way of life'. Used more narrowly metaphor may means 'contentment', as in possessing material things; 'climate change' may be portrayed as 'human actions' that bring about the problem; 'animals' may be personified to take their own human-like, anthropomorphised activities. The term 'metaphor' literally stands in for and thereby hides other words. Use of metaphor may hide discursive and ideological intention. Therefore analyzing this group of lexical choices presents the ideological positioning of both the topic in question and the text relationship with the reader.

3.5.2   Grammatical choices

Grammatical choice presents a more complicated picture to examine than lexical choice. Grammatical categories, or a system of 'metalanguage' as used in SFL, are numerous and complicated. Similarly CDA has numerous and complicated categories from which to describe both language form and meaning. It is both unnecessary and impossible to examine all the possibilities of grammatical choices in a study of this scale. Therefore my study focus here is limited to analyzing a small but significant group of grammatical choices that mainly recognize (i) 'patterns of transitivity', (ii) the use of the 'active' and 'passive voice' and (iii) choices of 'modality'.

'Transitivity' in SFL (Halliday, 1967; 1994) is a tool in the analysis of physical actions, or 'material process' meanings expressed in clauses. It is concerned with meanings of who acts in what ways to or with other actors, and how they are realised within the elements of clauses (Thompson, 2004:90-91). The representations revealed through the SFL transitivity model can signal bias, context manipulation and implicit ideology in discourse.

'Transitivity' also has a narrower, formal grammatical meaning, identifying whether verbs act upon a direct object, e.g. 'dog bites woman's leg' (transitive) as opposed to 'dogs bite' (intransitive). Considering 'transitivity' invites questions over whether the subject of a clause – the dog - had agency in the action the verb denotes, in this case the biting. Transitive verbs act upon a direct object – the woman's leg - but intransitive verbs do not, so 'bite' is used here in both ways. When a verb is transitive the action of the verb extends to another entity and suggests agency, in this example the dog's deliberate action. However, Halliday's SFL conception of 'transitivity' takes this indication of agency further, identifying it as action that is realized through the syntax of the clause. His central insight is that transitivity is a formal model of representation; it identifies how the clause is used to represent events and situations of different types.

As noted above when considering the formal definition of transitivity the question is whether or not a process is brought on by 'agency'.

'Modality' is a further important grammatical element in my analysis. The term 'modality' identifies a small range of syntactic and morphological verb phrase devices that includes: modal auxiliary verbs, for example 'can', 'could', 'must', 'might', 'may', 'should'; adverbial hedges, for example 'allegedly', 'definitely', 'convincingly', 'possibly', 'probably', 'a little'; tenses, for example 'simple present', 'simple past'. Modality devices provide for an analysis of linguistic choices made to distance the author from, or associate the author with, the ideas in a text in specific ways. More specifically, choices of modality devices enable certain texts to (i) present an extent to which the reality of the world is being revealed and, or, concealed; evaluated and or categorized, and to (ii) establish certain relationships or authority of one participant in relation to others. Fairclough outlines these separate roles of modality as 'expressive' and 'relational' modalities (Fairclough, 1992a).

According to Fairclough modality tends towards a continuum that separates strong or high modality words such as 'must' and 'should' at one end, through to soft or low modality including 'may', 'could', 'possibly' at the other. Authorial choice of high modality allows text to emphasize particular meanings, making deliberate interpretation of the world sound imperative. Low modality on the other hand appears to express some authorial distancing from the meaning through tentativeness towards certain meanings, expressing vagueness or indirectness.

3.5.3   Textual choices

Text-wide choices refer to genre and micro-genre types that build arguments. This is an extremely wide and heterogeneous field, even within linguistics (Fairclough, 1992a; 2001; Lemke, 1995c; Martin, 2005). My need to develop a model of how my document data set constructs ideologies of school grammar means that I draw on both genre and micro-genre types. These two textual choices are the structuring devices I use for my two-stage analysis of the documents.

The first direction is to categorise texts into genres by their internal textual features. This first direction focuses on the schematic structures recognised as operating within texts, for example descriptive, narrative, expositive and argumentative structures. These can be identified as texts' constituent micro-generic features that construct their means of argumentation (White, 2005) and is outlined in Section 3.4.5 above. I set out in Chapter 4 my method of identifying the micro-genres of all texts in the corpus, by analysing a sample section of each text, using a method of argumentation structure analysis.

3.6   Critical discourse analysis: a discourse-historical approach

One challenge of analysing ideological meaning of documents from a ninety-year period is that their contemporary circumstances change across both time and context. The dialectic between

text and context requires a suitable method of identifying both time-bound and context-bound meanings and influences. Asking notional questions such as 'what is grammar?' or 'what is English?' can be contextualised by models of English, e.g. 'personal growth' or 'adult needs' as described by Cox (DES, 1989). Ball classifies such models as 'versions' of English that he relates to two positions: (i) the subject as post-structural 'authenticity' or 'authority' in the Foucaultian sense of control, and (ii) in relation to the needs of the individual learner, whom Ball models as the 'self' (Ball *et al.*, 1990a:76). Ball identifies here shifting epistemologies of English that focus on the subject's literature and language knowledge bases and as descriptive or prescriptive learner identities. He notes that '[e]ach produces different kinds of students with different kinds of abilities and relationships with peers. In each version the root paradigm of meanings with and about English differs and conflicts' (Ball *et al.*, 1990a:80) producing divergent ideological discourses of subject English and literacy across time.

3.7   Criticisms of critical discourse analysis

CDA has attracted criticism as a methodology and as a set of analytical methods. As noted in Section 3.4.1, criticisms of CDA derive from epistemological questions of the subjective basis of (i) the subjects being researched, (ii) the researcher's perspectives, (iii) data selection, and (iv) interpretation of findings. Hammersley (1997) concedes that researchers' political and personal perspectives will always influence research to some extent, and therefore rejects the idea that they should be its main focus or ultimate purpose. Fairclough sees political commitment as acceptably compatible with rational, evidence-based research, but emphasises the importance of openness and clarity of both the researcher's position and presentation of evidence (Fairclough, 2001:4). For van Djik full commitment to unmasking misuse of power is essential to CDA research if clear perspectives are to be identified and ideology critiqued (van Dijk, 1990).

CDA requires a close analysis of linguistic elements within large data corpora, which becomes problematic when claiming generalisations (Gee, 2005). For this study I consider my

compilation of keywords is a helpful first step in developing a speculative map of grammatical

positions that would lay out firm ground for my argumentation analysis and discursive

interpretations. These may then be related to historical contexts that would help reframe their

discursive perspectives. They would also allow me to refer them back to my speculative map

of grammatical positions (see Chapter 4), and reflect on the differences found.

CDA is criticised for being determinist, as is critical theory itself, through its implication that if

individuals' social cognisance of the world is so conditioned by events and discourse then CDA

scholars construct them as lacking in freewill or agency. However, postmodern readings of

discourse identify more nuanced and less formal patterns of discursive impact, as I note in

Chapter 2. Such patterning has lessened singular readings of social struggle in critical social

science where more recognition of historical struggle, resistance and transformation is evident

(Gee, 2008:135-8).

Criticism of CDA comes also from structural linguists, for its apparent vagueness; its breaking

from requiring the strictures of tight definition of terms and units of analysis. Conversation

analysis (CA) scholars' uneasiness with CDA is characterised by Schegloff, who asks 'Whose

text? Whose context?' and argues that CDA often uses over-detailed, systematic or methodical

analytical procedures for text or talk. This is contrasted with more structured methods often

used in conversation analysis (CA):

> . . . critical discourse analysts have a different project, and are addressed to different
> issues, and not to the local co-construction of interaction. If, however, they mean the
> issues of power, domination, and the like to connect up with discursive material, it
> should be a serious rendering of that material . . . [o]therwise the critical analysis will
> not 'bind' to the data, and risks ending up merely ideological
>
> (Schlegloff, 1997:169)

Similarly (Wetherell, 1998) argues that although CA scholars produce good analyses of talk in

interaction, their work does not provide for post-structural accounts of talk's social and cultural

critical contexts. She finds CA and CDA not in conflict but incompatible in their aims. Some

CDA-oriented research investigates conversation as data and analyses it at least partly from a CA perspective. Concomitantly some good CA research on talk addresses social, political and critical contextual issues. Although CDA is concerned to study social issues – conversation is a social phenomenon by its nature - it is concerned with structures in the organisation of conversation. Wetherell argues that these may be regarded as complementary rather than contradictory differences.

From a broader perspective linguist Henry Widdowson (1995; 1998) has criticised the nature and definition of the term 'discourse' as used in CDA, through a claimed

> failure to distinguish between text and discourse . . . [and a] tendency to equate social and linguistic theory with political commitment which raises the question of the relationship between analysis and interpretation . . . this confusion makes suspect some of the principles and practices of critical discourse analysis
>
> (Widdowson, 1995:157)

He further claims that CDA is too vague and fashionable:

> . . . discourse is something everybody is talking about but without knowing with any certainty just what it is: in vogue and vague
>
> (Widdowson, 1995:158)

Widdowson also criticises a perceived lack of clear demarcation between the terms 'text' and 'discourse' in CDA. He further argues that CDA is an ideological interpretation and therefore not an analysis of text itself. He takes the term 'critical discourse analysis' to be a methodological contradiction in terms, saying that 'CDA is, in a dual sense, a biased interpretation: in the first place it is prejudiced on the basis of some ideological commitment, and then it selects for analysis such texts as will support the preferred interpretation' (Widdowson, 1995:169). Analysis, he argues, ought to mean the examination of several interpretations and, in the case of CDA, this is not possible because of prior judgments. Answering this criticism (Fairclough, 1996) draws attention to the open-endedness of many analyses produced in CDA studies. However Widdowson does acknowledge that CDA, unlike

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other approaches, is inherently explicit about its own motivation, perspective, position and commitment.

However, one criticism of CDA relates to how analysts may know whether their analysis is finding theories within text or imposing theory on it. Jäger's (2001) approach to this question lies in an understanding of how past discourses establish and change meaning in new 'text', as realised through, for example, text's changing etymologies and syntax forms. Jäger considers that successive historical readings of particular texts over time re-frame the meaning and messaging of texts. He sees that if CDA analysts recognise how older or former meanings influence or contrast with new meanings, they can assert their own analysis as being a valid, historicised analytical readings (Jäger, 2001:42-3).

Stubbs (1997) points to similar criticisms of CDA's conceptualisation of key terms, including its methods of data collection and text analysis. However, he further proposes eleven 'essential questions' to 'rescue' CDA from the circularity of theory (1997). He argues that CDA provides no systematic contrast or comparison between texts studied and norms in the language, claiming that 'language and thought can only be related if one has data and theory pertinent to both: otherwise the theory is circular' (Stubbs, 1997:100). In saying this, he argues that if language use influences individuals' grasp of reality there must be other non-linguistic evidence of how beliefs and behaviour are patterned that support this claim. Without other independent evidence for claiming links between language and thought, and rest on simple inference of beliefs and language use, then this CDA theory remains only circular. This criticism is pertinent to my study, in which I am mindful of locating texts within changing historical and social conditions.

3.8   Critical discourse analysis and ethical treatment of textual sources

As a particularly context-sensitive approach to the analysis of social and cultural structures, and power relations within text, CDA researchers claim a means of 'taking an ethical stance on

social issues with the aim of transforming society - an approach or attitude rather than a step by step method' (Huckin, 1997:78). In this light CDA claims to take an ethical stance in addressing power imbalances, inequities, and following social justice agendas to spur readers into resistant and 'corrective' social action.

Goodson's demand for historicised curriculum study to capture temporally and culturally situated perspectives (Goodson, 1995:50-56) provides one vital ethical implication of text and discourse analysis, that of contextualising discourse equitably. Drawing on Greek rhetoric terms 'kairos' - timeliness, and 'phrenesis' – proportionate (Leach, 2000:212), I note three aspects of ethical care inherent in this study's analytic approach. First, in being respectful of authorial constraints, where statements made in response to given situations must be fairly reported as emanating from the recognisable exegesis that prompted them. Second, in fairly treating the impact of authors' statements on others it seems essential to comment on their fairness through accounting for timeliness of comment (kairos) and proportionate towards others (phrenesis). Third, much CDA work has been situated in highly tendentious historical settings. My study offers little heightened contemporary interests, but my analysis inherently informs my argument. I therefore draw on Weber's distinction between value-relevance and value-freedom to clarify my political position as a motivation for this research (see thesis introduction). In researching my subject I began from a values-laden position that intrinsically motivated my inquiry (see Chapter 1). For Weber '[w]ithout the investigator's evaluative ideas, there would be no principle of selection of subject matter and no meaningful knowledge of the concrete reality. Without the investigator's conviction regarding the significance of particular cultural facts, every attempt to analyse concrete reality is absolutely meaningless' (Weber, 1917/1949:33). This stance is echoed by Hammersley who claims:

> the central feature of critical research is not that researchers can have political commitments and still pursue scientific research (who would deny this?), but that the latter can and ought to be geared to serve the former.
>
> (Hammersley, 1997:139)

With this purposive notion of researcher standpoint and fairness in representing my findings in Chapters 5-8 through a reflexive approach to analysis, using contextual referencing to develop a values-free stance, in line with Weber's insistence that researchers present the general principles that govern a social phenomenon as a value-neutral frame. That the presentation of findings is in Weber's terms 'values-free' does not mean a deliberate elimination from the findings on the grounds of 'desirability' or 'undesirability' for readers whose own positions on school grammar may lead them to complaint. Weber warns against such extrinsic controls on research 'truths'; his concern being only to 'unconditionally separate the establishment of empirical facts . . . and his own evaluations' (Weber, 1917/1949:11).

3.8.1   Code of Ethics for this study

Ethics in CDA research can be considered to be the degree to which the researcher conforms to moral positions, of professional, legal and social accountability. Documentary enquiry is largely dependent on the 'participation' (White, 2005) of individuals and organisations, societies and cultures cited within a carefully selected text corpus, in order that a particular phenomenon may be fairly visualised. As with all research 'participants', harm and exploitation to 'text participants' is avoided by

(i) acknowledging all sources of texts,

(ii) restricting attribution of texts to their publication's authoring organisations or institutions rather than an identifiable individual, and

(iii) ensuring that all texts included are relevant to the topic being studied by constructing robust inclusion criteria for the data corpus, see Chapter 4.

In the data selection, analysis and presentation of my findings, I adopt Christian's (2000) principles of avoiding 'deception' and achieving 'accuracy'. By avoiding 'deception' I refer to (i) deliberate document extracts in order to achieve representation of source data, and (ii) avoid misrepresentation by omission (2000:139-40). By achieving 'accuracy' I refer to simple typographical accuracy, especially relevant to this study where electronic copies of paper-

based texts have been made in order to do electronic analyses using QSR NVivo. I also attest to my best efforts to maintain the accuracy of the data sources quoted in Chapters 5-7, and in the full corpus listing in Appendix A.

3.9   Critical discourse analysis: trustworthiness of CDA findings

Qualitative research findings have long been questioned about their validity when placed in bi-polar opposition to quantitative claims for the factual certainty (Fairclough, 1989; Gee, 2005; Hammersley, 1997; Kress and Hodge, 1979; van Dijk, 1997; Wodak, 2001). In this debate qualitative research is called into question because:

> . . . it now seems established beyond objection that theories and facts are quite interdependent – that is, the facts are facts only within some theoretical framework. Thus a fundamental assumption of the received view is exposed as dubious, If hypotheses and observations are not independent, "facts" can be viewed only through a theoretical "window" and objectivity of undermined.
> <div align="right">(Guba and Lincoln, 1994:107)</div>

CDA, as a qualitative research approach, cannot of its nature provide proofs of its findings in the positivist tradition of much quantitative research, whose three concepts of 'reliability', 'validity' and 'generalisability' provide frameworks for evaluating findings.

Hammersley (1992) sees positivist concepts as not entirely inconsistent with qualitative research through difficulties of verifying findings. He looks for ways to authenticate its approaches and findings through considering whether its findings have 'plausibility', 'credibility' and 'relevance' as they relate to its topic and field of research (Hammersley, 1992). Hammersley argues that analyses should be evaluated for their plausibility in both their internal arguments and their reference to the expert field they are researching. Establishing the credibility of findings requires asking for sufficient evidence to be offered to support the findings? Is the study relevant in the sense of offering important new information or contributing to the literature? Hammersley also notes that these criteria should be applied

proportionately to need; adjusted in intensity in line with the expertise of the intended audience.

Hammersley develops the idea of 'subtle realism' to conceptualise the way all research involves some subjective perceptions and observations. Hammersley claims that subjective perceptions and observations do not preclude the existence of alternative interpretations, and that objects, including texts, may be reliably studied where researchers construct plausible theoretical and pragmatic frameworks for their research. Therefore Hammersley's 'subtle realist position' epistemology is compatible with:

(i) CDA as a methodology,

(ii) research that draws on critical theory for its ontological underpinnings, and

(iii) the practice of combining research methodologies, where required.

To identify a pragmatic framework for the trustworthiness of my research I look to Lincoln and Guba's (1985) criteria for 'naturalistic' research, which I cross-reference with Hammersley's notion of 'subtle realism'. Following Hammersley's practical prescripts for some parallels of authenticity between the trustworthiness of qualitative and quantitative research findings, I draw on (Denzin *et al.*, 2011) to tabulate a schema of basic beliefs or metaphysics of positivist and relativist research paradigms. This is to align the critical theoretical framework for my study within the differing ontological and epistemological positions with these broad research paradigms.

Item	Positivism	Postpositivism	Critical theory	Constructivism
Ontology	Naïve realism-'real' reality but apprehendible	Critical realism-"real" reality but only imperfectly and probabilistically apprehendible	Historical realism – virtual reality shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, and gender values; crystallized over time	Realism – local and specific constructed and co-constructed realities
Epistem-ology	Dualist/objectivist findings, true	Modified dualist/objectivist; critical tradition/community; findings probably true	Transactional/subjectivist; value-mediated findings	Transactional/subjectivist; created findings
Method-ology	Experiential/manipulative; verification of hypotheses; chiefly	Modified experiential/manipulative; critical multiplism;	Dialogical/dialectical	Hermeneutical/dialectical

	quantitative methods	falsification of hypotheses; may include qualitative methods		

Table 3.1   **The metaphysics of alternative inquiry paradigms (Source: Lincoln *et al.*, 2011:98)**

3.9.1   Reaffirming CDA's credentials for this study

Lincoln *et al.'s* (2011) framework helps summarise summary common theoretical reasons for doing a CDA analysis in this study. From my initial motivations from critical theory to reveal asymmetric power perspectives on grammar, I use an interpretive approach to help contextualise my emergent findings. This process of analysis reveals perspectives better seen as rich description than of setting, activity and language in some CDA studies use (e.g. Fairclough, 1993b). Therefore my emergent methodology mix finds theoretical shape, using the schema set out in Table 3.1.

My research's ontological position is that official interpretations of school grammar have become over time an ideological project whose authority is currently bereft of linguistic certainty. I maintain that its values reflect notions of social cohesion, authority in language and its use, and standardising tendencies over language culture that are in part defined by social and political power. Critical theory is the dominant lens through which to identify an emergent tradition of official discursive and ideological action as revealed through my data.

My dominant epistemology is that a mixture of subjective and values-laden discourses of grammar may be revealed through critical analysis of official curriculum documents. That these discourses are developed reflexively and iteratively may be seen in the three major discourses and their overarching structure that I explain in Chapters 5 to 7. By creating a discourse structure, I construct an assemblage of school grammar and curricular values that frames the data's stories as I see them.

My methodological approach is both reflexive and dialogical, from a critical position. However I draw together a set of discourses that is structured through the development of broad ideas about who teaches grammar, about how they are positioned by school-level circumstances that are themselves positioned more broadly within a a general theory of pedagogic discourse (Bernstein, 2000). These are discourses that both draw on and develop a larger picture of grammar in curriculum. This picture still further informs a mixed hermeneutic approach to making sense of what grammar in the English and literacy curriculum has come to mean over the ninety years of the data.

3.10   Summary of Chapter 3

This chapter has outlined a methodological framework that identifies Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a suitable methodology for my study. Critical theory and intertextuality are two central concepts in designing this study. I draw on Fairclough's three-layer model of CDA, and Bazerman and White's models for analysing intertextuality. Further, this chapter reviews theoretical principles of CDA and outlines conceptual criticisms of CDA as a research methodology and as a scientific procedure. It ends by clarifying two resources of intertextuality, 'textual' and 'contextual' analysis, that allow close analysis to be seen in the light of social and cultural influences on text production. My explanations of how CDA relates to this study are widened to account for its place in qualitative social research and text analysis. These explanations close with my placing CDA within the range of qualitative and quantitative methodologies, and outlining my ethical considerations for handling and analysing government policy documentary data.

Chapter 4   Research design and analytical procedure

4.1   Introduction

In this chapter I explain in detail how my two research questions are addressed by (i) my data set composition, (ii) my research design, (iii) the analytical procedures I adopt, and (iv), three ideological positions on grammar I initially use to frame my analysis. I explain first how I constructed the data set.

4.2   The corpus design and data collection

The research data is a set of English and literacy curriculum documents drawn from England's national government publications about its grammar content. The data set design is defined by its grammar topic content, and by my using characteristics of national curricular action drawn from Bernstein's (1999) characterisation of 'pedagogic discourse', as a force for positioning pedagogic structures and identities (see Chapter 1, Section 1.3.6). Bernstein identifies two potentially opposing tendencies when developing official discourse of a national curriculum:

(i) Retrospective - seeking idealised versions of the past to project as stabilising narratives for future curriculum content and practice, and

(ii) Prospective - projecting future educational activity as being sensibly managed, providing selective ways forward, and leading to better outcomes.

(from Bernstein, 1999:248)

Drawing on Bernstein's claimed tendencies in forming pedagogic discourse, I see governmental curriculum action as a regime of reconceptualising both curriculum structures and pedagogic activity. Seen in this light I claim that governmentally initiated, approved and sanctioned curriculum documents are materials written for the dual purposes of achieving government control over grammar policy formation and its implementation in England's state-funded schools.

For this reason I use the phrase 'official documentation' to reflect the central rationale for this study: to research the ideologies of grammar that are (i) written to (re)position professional readers' understanding, and (ii) intended to impact upon their grammar teaching practice. These are 'official' documents in that they place requirements on teachers and schools to recognise significant or new national policy directions published ahead of legislation, or to comply with statutory orders and non-statutory guidance written to impact on their thinking and practice in grammar. The reports of ministerial commissioned inquiries, for example, present the many perspectives found in the consultation stages of these committees' work. For teachers involved in such consultations their awareness and responses will be already at a high level. However, only when such committees' reports are finalised, published and moving toward inclusion in forthcoming legislation do the majority of professionals become engaged with the debate about their day-to-day practice. Only then are 'official' documents' import more clearly recognised as a discursive positioning device, actively re-contextualising individual professionals and professional bodies' understanding of policy and its likely impact on their own professional identity and activity. In this study I refer to this documentation as 'official' for its state regulatory role in valorising policy thinking and objectives, and seeking to control its practice in schools.

To establish a verifiable, finite data set of official curriculum documents on grammar I devised three main inclusion criteria drawn from an initial reading of prefaces, statements of purpose and disclaimers the documents collected for:

(i)   their relevance to the topic of English grammar, as defined in Chapter 1, Section 1.0, in the school English or literacy curriculum for England's 5-16 compulsory age range;

(ii)   being national government education department publications for state-maintained schooling in England and Wales until Welsh Office devolution to the Welsh Assembly in 1999, and England from then onwards;

(iii)   having been commissioned by or for the secretary of state for education, and

published to reflect views of the incumbent administration, secretary of state, her or his

agencies or advisers;

(iv)   their purpose of influencing or changing school curriculum content or pedagogic

practice.

All the texts included are 'suitable' for analysis and can be defined as relevant to my 'grammar

topic' and 'publication type' search and inclusion criteria. Texts included in the corpus, meet

these inclusion criteria based on their:

(i) time of publication: that is, published prior to or following major legislation or official

reports for, or about, school subject English or literacy provision, to cover the time scale

of the period in question;

(ii) closeness of subject focus to the content topics in English grammar set out above

(Section 4.3); and

(iii) establishing a common platform of shared similarity of data as a 'tertium

comparationis' for analysis (Connor and Moreno, 2005).

This corpus is thereby taken to reflect official government perspectives on English as a school

subject in England and literacy as a social and cultural practice in the English national

curriculum. This data set contains 86 items that cover ages 5-11 of primary schooling, and

ages 11-16 in secondary schools. English, also known as 'English language', is one of four

core subjects in England's, and the former England and Wales, national curriculum (DES,

1993; DfE, 1995; DfEE/QCA, 1999; QCA, 2007c; 2007b). These curriculum documents are

commissioned, edited and, or, approved by secretaries of state for Education and published in

line with, or presenting policy changes to, statutory national curriculum policy. The data set is

based on what schools are expected to teach and pupils to learn about, in and through its

English grammar knowledge and teaching. This includes the officially required cultural

knowledge, e.g. values and beliefs, language knowledge and skills documents within English grammar.

I recognise these documents as heterogeneous data and as primary historical sources, artefacts of a material and print-literate culture (Marshall and Rossman, 2011:160-2). As such their initial publication form, layout, contexts, intended audiences and modes of address needed classifying in ways that would give some means of comparing them, by topic content, publication type and presentation style within the analysis. This is explained in Section 4.2.2.

4.2.1   Data search methods

To compile the full data set for this study three separate search approaches are used, making an exhaustive search for as sufficient as possible a set of relevant publications.

A first set of documents was drawn together from my personal collection, from local school and LA colleagues, and libraries, including the British Library. A first electronic search was made using UK government education portals, including QCDA, DCSF, NFER, between January 2007 and April 2010. A second search was made of scholarly education publications databases, namely BEI, Jstor and ERIC from January 2007 onwards. Both used keyword searches for studies relevant to this study's topic. Third, the data identified for the corpus was triangulated within itself, using, (i) direct references within documents' text and bibliographies, and (ii) reference lists and bibliographies in scholarly and professional publications. In this way known and available data was identified.

4.2.2   Data corpus exclusion criteria

My study purpose to uncover ideologies of grammar in official curriculum documentation is an original contribution to this field by its being the first systematic study of its kind over this ninety-year time frame. As such it needed as comprehensive a data set as possible to ensure

breadth of coverage and credibility for its findings. However, some documents were excluded

from the corpus for falling outside my publications-type inclusion criteria. The corpus exclusion

criteria comprise:

(i)   journalism in which public education policy debates are extended;

(ii)   HMI and Chief Inspectors' annual reports, and other occasional commentaries, that

        may reflect time- or local context-bound material not aligned to national policy;

(iii)   parliamentary records relating to debates or consultations on the teaching of English

        language, literacy and related topics, for not bearing directly on school practice;

(iv)   minority reports of committee members, letters to or from ministerial post-holders, etc.,

        or other published accounts of the working through of policy debates prior to the final

        published documentation on subject English and particularly the grammar content of its

        curriculum.

Whilst recognising that all four categories of data I exclude can bring information

significant of wider views and perspectives on grammar in the curriculum, my core

purpose is to develop discourses of grammar which reflect national government

education department perspectives for state-maintained school practice. Some texts

not included for direct analysis are used as contextual material that relates to the

discourses identified in Chapters 5-7, providing peripheral instances of textual practice,

and seen as contextualising activity within the production of curriculum discourse

(Scollon, 2001).

The resultant full data set, see Appendix A, is large, too large to be examined in full from all the

perspectives listed in Section 4.8 below. As set out in Sections 4.5.1-4.5.3 below I do not

include all aspects of every published document in the corpus. Instead I survey the complete

data set for an in overview of its topics and perspectives, by selecting a representative section

of each document from which to make a comparative intertextual analysis of texts (i) main

keywords, (ii) micro-genres, and (iii) rhetorical argumentation strategies (see Section 4.4 and

Appendix C). My main criterion for making these selections relates to my first set of data

inclusion criteria, how discussion of grammar policy is developed through documents':

- introductions, rationales, summaries and conclusions of official curriculum and pedagogical

  reports, non-statutory guidance, and exemplifications, etc;

- major explications of English subject content, including statutory curriculum requirements,

  subject content listings and supporting rationales.

The above inclusion and exclusion criteria address my dual needs for (i) topic relevance, and

(ii) broad representativeness of participants in official ideological positions in this curriculum

corpus. Applied language scholars generally recognise that CDA has no template or orthodox

analytical approach (Meyer, 2001:24-5). In analysing the corpus I therefore follow Wood and

Kroger who propose 'a kind of made-to-order rather than off the rack discourse analysis, a

"bricolage", in recognition of the different concerns of researchers' (Wood and Kroger,

2000:25). Denzin and Lincoln also consider the qualitative researcher as a 'bricoleur', one who

devises a '. . . pieced-together, close-knit set of practices that provide solutions to a problem in

a concrete situation' (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994:2).

My compilation of a small corpus of text samples from each of the whole document data set is

in part a response to there being no single, recognised or established method for analysing

such an unequally worded a data set as mine. Within my bespoke approach to analysis design

I also divide the whole data set into discrete groups. My groups categorise differences in

documents' audiences, publication purposes and formats across the data set.

4.2.3   Categories of document in the data set

Søreide advises that curriculum policy documents aim to 'stabilise certain features of the world

they relate to' (Søreide, 2007:129). She claims their discourses run across multiple documents

to develop scenarios, narratives, arguments and identities (Søreide, 2007). This typology

argues there are multi-generic patterns to curriculum policy texts, and multiple purposes that must be accounted for in modelling documents' role in the processes of policy formation and implementation. Scott notes that policy texts may be modelled as fragmented and multidirected, designed over time to control and coerce methods of local implementation, and obviate subversion (Scott, 2000: 22-3). Following Scott's model of a fragmented and multidirected policy implementation I argue that my data corpus represents the varied means by which policy text output builds a corpus over time to meet changing challenges and circumstances. In this sense policy text production is in continual authorial flux, changing its objectives, audiences, discursive purposes and publication forms to meet new needs. As Scott explains, '[e]ach of the policy sites has its own set of rules about how truth is constructed. Actors at each of these sites change and amend them in various ways' (Scott, 2000:25).

I follow Scott's model of a fragmentary and fluctuating policy implementation process. I therefore identify changing trends in the grammar data set through an increasing specification of policy audiences, a separation of discursive purposes, an increasing change in its objectives, and marked variation in scenarios and narratives, both across texts and over time. These variations reflect and form four broad categories of policy publication across the corpus, which are:

1. Government reports on the teaching of English and literacy education;

2. Officially commissioned research on the subject of English and literacy education for their grammar content, in the form of research reports, research committee terms of reference, etc;

3. Official orders and national curricula programme of study and attainment expectations for the teaching of English, literacy and related topics;

4. Official advice or guidance for local authorities, schools, school governors and teachers, on the teaching of English, literacy and related topics.

These ad hoc categories became useful to analysis, in that they recognise quite different authorial contexts and audiences within the development of official curriculum discourse. From

a policy development perspective, these groupings reflect divergent discursive activities of (i) public awareness-raising in reports, (ii) providing quasi-independent research support, (iii) reinforcing or exemplifying legislation, and (iv), presenting guidance to the relevant professionals. Publication sequences do not, however, necessarily follow this discursive sequence.

The data included in this corpus are totalled below in Table 4.1.

Document sources	Document Group Code	No. of texts
Government reports	OR	24
Officially commissioned or published research or commentaries on the subject of English	CR	10
Statutory curricula or orders for the teaching of English	SC	08
Official advice or guidance	AG	44

Table 4.1   Data corpus: document group totals

The full data corpus is tabulated in Appendix A.

4.3   Research design

Chapter 3 outlines the main assumptions, concepts, principles and categories of CDA related to this study, particularly the role of intertextual analysis in analysing my data set. To analyse textual action across the corpus I adopt here three interrelated dimensions of intertextuality in this study:

> 1. Discourses (that construct areas of cultural knowledge)
> 2. Perspectives (micro-semantic areas constituting discourses)
> 3. Forms of realization (choices of words, grammatical elements and generic structures).
>
> (Lemke, 1992)

Drawing on Lemke's conception of intertextuality I use three CDA text-analytic categories: 'lexical', 'grammatical', and 'genre' analysis (Fairclough, 1989; Lemke, 1988; Luke, 1995; van Dijk, 1993) to theorise my discursive overview of the whole data set.

As noted in Section 4.3.2, this data set has no simple coherence in its overall origin, nor its length, written style or sources. Section 4.3 outlines how, even after making an extract from each text there remains what Fairclough calls a distinct 'bumpiness' in the data (Fairclough, 1992a: 104). This brings challenges in giving equal scrutiny to all documents, compared with studies of smaller and, or, more consistent data sets generally used for qualitative linguistic or corpus analysis. Fairclough however considers such coherence as 'provisional' and 'not a property of texts, but a property which interpreters impose upon texts' (Fairclough, 1992a: 81). In fact the mixed and varied nature of my data, particularly across the ninety-year period of its origination, provides for several hitherto unforeseen aspects for comparison, e.g. authorial identity and perspective. This makes any initially looked-for compatibility unlikely, and thereby requires a way of making the data more regular for the intertextual discourse analytic methods I use here.

4.3.1   Analytical framework

CDA, in regarding language as a form of social practice (Fairclough, 2001:16; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997), and in considering the contexts of language use as crucial to discourse (Wodak and Meyer, 2001), urges an exploration of wider contextual factors that contribute to the formation of discourse within individual texts. In my study's analysis the data's overall ideological discourse findings stem from both intertextual and textual analysis. To find some coherence in my findings I was reading back and forth between my analyses. They did form a coherent approach to analysis, but needed much iterative rethinking to reveal specific ideological discourses. I have modelled this process in Figure 4.1.
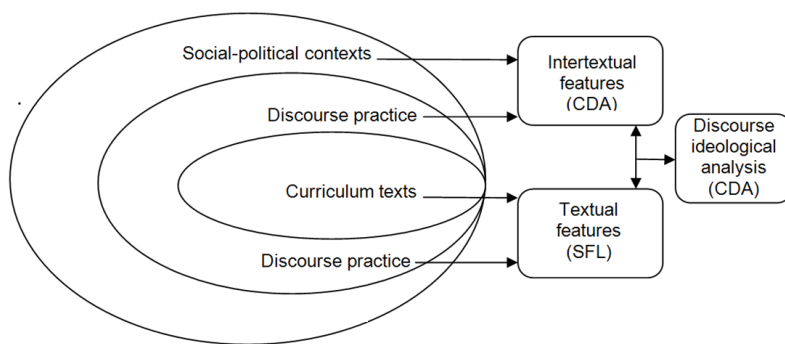
Figure 4.1   Analytical theoretical framework for this study

Corbin and Strauss advise that re-reading and adapting codings is one of the analyst's ways of developing codes that take account of variation in qualitative data (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). Fig. 4.1 also shows CDA's critical capacity to identify textual sources of a writer–interpreter tension, that helps link keyword, grammatical and micro-generic argumentation choices with thematic findings (Gill, 2000; Stillar, 1998). This schema follows Fairclough's systematic method for exploring the relationship between text and its social context (Fairclough, 1992a). The concepts on which this method is based, the 'dimensions of discourse and critical discourse analysis' are shown in Figure 3.1 (Chapter 3) and exemplify Fairclough's interpretive schema for 'description', 'interpretation' and 'explanation' of text (Fairclough, 1992a: 73).

4.3.2   Analytical processes

Within my analytical theoretical framework (see Chapter 1, and Fig. 4.1 above) the process of analysis is cyclical (see Fig.4.2), and addresses three levels of analysis recurrently:

(i)   identifying themes of grammar across the data set, and refining their definition;

(ii) identifying perspectives, assumptions, and ways of knowing and meaning that construct discourses across the data set, followed by refining their description;

(iii) identifying textual devices that realise discourses and refine their interpretation.
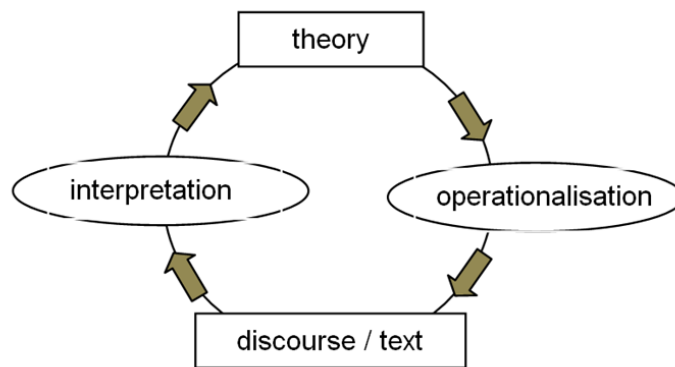
Figure 4.2   Model of discourse analytical process (after Meyer 2000:19)

4.4   Approaches to intertextual analysis

My intertextual analysis follows three of Fairclough's (1992a) questions for intertextual analysis

that relate closely to my heterogeneous data:

(i)   Is there an obvious way of characterising the sample overall?

(ii)   Does the sample draw upon more than one genre or discourse type?

(iii)   Is the discourse sample relatively conventional in its interdiscursive properties or

          relatively innovative?

In addressing Fairclough's questions in this intertextual analysis I code documents using

Lemke's (1992) framework for intertextuality, which claims that texts have three intertextual

relations:

(i)   'thematic', being on the same topic,
(ii) 'orientational', taking or having the same point of view towards their audience or topic
      content,
(iii) 'organizational', being constructed by similar generic structures.

                                                                          (Lemke, 1992: 252)

This approach to interdiscursive analysis links well with the varied and changing 'orientations'

on English grammar in the English curriculum which I identify from the literature in Chapter 2,

and at the end of this chapter. This interdiscursive approach is also well suited to analysing

how texts' language is organised and shaped to construct orienting discourses of grammar.

Authors of official documents are likely to be both interdiscursive interpreters of other

discourses, and knowledgeable (re)constructors of 'grammar' discourse, likely to be explicit

and implicit in making intertextual links with other documents and arguments. Lemke's desiderata make interdiscursive interpretations of official discourse achievable. Fairclough clarifies a distinction between explicit and implicit intertextual links through what he calls (i) 'manifest intertextuality' - 'the explicit construction of texts from other identifiable texts' - and (ii) 'interdiscursivity' – a more fuzzy process of drawing on discernible elements of discourse (Fairclough, 1992a: 85), which relies here on identifying and following key words within each document (see Chapter 3).

4.4.1   Genres, micro-genres and rhetorical structures

According to genre theory intertextual patterns can track texts' 'organisational' (Lemke, 1992), or 'stylistic' Panagiotidou (2010) relations, namely their patterns of textual structure. Stockwell claims that patterns of text structuring and wording connect with readers' knowledge of similar text formations as genres. In turn such patterns act as devices that urge readers to draw on wider generic textual knowledge and associate them with patterns read elsewhere on the same topic (Stockwell, 2009). This 'intertextual chaining' connects keywords or phrases intertextually, forming semantic fields and common ground for maintaining discursive links that establish and maintain ideological interpersonal relations between topic contents and policy intentions.

My intertextual analysis identifies three organisational features of the data: text genres, micro-genres and rhetorical structures. Broadly, SFL scholars argue that genres are text constructions for distinct communicative purposes (Lassen, 2006), purposes that frequently mix genres' forms of language with the intention of pursuing identifiable discursive intentions (Fairclough, 1992b; 2003). Empirical research in literacy education indicates that some genres and content structures, for example expository structures, are more difficult for readers to understand than others, such as complex narrative structures (Goldman and Wiley, 2011). This indicates the potential value of identifying the way texts use internal generic structures, in

the form of micro-genres, to purposively position their anticipated audiences within a chosen perspective on grammar (Martin and Rose, 2003).

Revealing text 'genres' here means identifying textual patterning, and a helpful distinction for this study is the separation of 'genre' from 'text type' (Biber, 1989; Fairclough, 1992b; Paltridge, 2002). Biber argues that texts of the same 'genre' could be constructed from similar or very different smaller linguistic elements. For Biber news articles, as an example of a single 'genre' or 'macro-genre', may not be at all similar in their 'text-types' or 'micro-genres'; they may be as diverse as narratives, arguments or information reports (Biber, 1989; Martin, 2005). From this standpoint genres are broader text classifications such as travelogue, horoscope or biography, whereas micro-genres are a classification of texts' rhetorical functions, the means by which authors argue their case. Micro-genres can be elements such as recount, review or problem-solution juxtapositioning. So for my study genre analysis necessarily includes identifying texts' micro-genres. Micro-genres referred to directly in the analysis are tabulated in Appendix D and demonstrate how I classify the micro-genres in the corpus.

To analyse the data's micro-genres I take a representative section from each text across the corpus. By a 'representative section' I mean a section that is between 150 and 500 words, and contains at least one likely ideological statement or argument, through an introduction, rationale, thesis, exposition, argument or conclusion. I argue that the micro-generic composition of texts' provides a unique and under-used insight into authors' argumentation strategies. It gives this study a means of identifying discursive activities that lexico-grammatical and thematic analyses alone cannot. My intertextual micro-genre analysis is tabulated in Appendix C and Chapter 5, and used to develop each discourse's analysis in Chapters 5-7.

Micro-genres themselves are constructed from yet smaller small argumentation steps that I refer to as 'rhetorical structures', and which draw on New Rhetoric theory outlined in Chapter 3. Rhetorical structures differ from simple 'generic structures' such as 'subtitles', 'body text' or

'conclusions'. Rhetorical structures are the small-scale textual steps by which authors create the rhetorical impact of micro-genres. A rhetorical structure can be a 'thesis statement', its initial claim in an argument. Other rhetorical structures include 'arguments', 'rebuttals', 'evidence' or 'examples' (Martin and Rose, 2003). For my study micro-generic argumentation analysis proves a helpful element in developing an overview of the argumentation approaches used across the corpus.

Identifying text's micro genres I indicate how I closely align my design of this intertextual analytical procedure with the purposes of identifying, describing, interpreting and explaining discourses within this large, heterogeneous data set (Fairclough, 1992a: 73). This intertextual analysis also provides some indication of wider social contexts surrounding the texts' production. The roles of policy and professional discourses frame the socio-cultural and socio-political contexts in which grammar is discussed in the data; these contexts are vital in so far as they contribute to texts' formation and orientation.

To collate texts' rhetorical structures I use a paper-based coding scheme that includes both these aspects, and copies of the coding sheets for the documents cited in the analysis are tabulated in Appendix D. However I use QSR NVivo software for the intertextual coding of themes, as they are based on 'keyword' identification, ideological perspectives and discursive action.

Drawing on Stockwell's (2009) concept of intertextual chaining, I initially used a 'keyword' identification to develop an intuitive intertextual map of ideological positions on grammar. In doing this I made assumptions about how frequently recurrent keywords were likely to suggest prescriptive, descriptive or other positions within discourse. This initial map in Chapter 5 uses the keyword analysis to begin examining the corpus through its frequency counts of references to terms that are the keywords I assume to be initially significant of prominent interest within the corpus.

As I outlined in Chapter 3, Section 3.5, Fairclough advises three textual approaches to discourse analysis: wording, grammar and text. Fairclough argues that through these textual devices discourse is most powerfully constructed and concealed.

4.4.2   Wording

Identifying and classifying the lexis of discourse as 'keywords' is a familiar approach to establishing themes and perspectives for qualitative research (Fairclough, 2001). However (Jaworski and Coupland, 2006b) advise that over-reliance on this method is a route to collecting too many terms through 'gross coding of language forms and expressions which hide [language and discourse's] significant functional/contextual/inferential differences' (Jaworski and Coupland, 2006b:36). I recognise the need to code text at two levels of wording from Fairclough's (2001) distinction between 'key words' - the vocabulary that identifies topics, and 'wording', wider uses of words and phrases that build meanings and generate reader familiarity, formality and appeals to commonsense reasoning (Fairclough, 2001: 96-8). Both methods are used by discourse analysts to explore the relationship between vocabulary and meaning.

My 'keywords' analysis builds a map of countable terms identifying which topics and people are used as referents in the discourse construction. This lexical word occurrence count is tabulated as a keyword 'frequency' in Appendix C. The count excludes non-lexical words, e.g. articles, pronouns and prepositions. Percentage counts for high frequency word are useful only for comparative purposes; no claim for their absolute value as an element of lexical density is made in this study.

However, as explained in Chapter 3, I also analyse 'wording' for more subtle, discursive meanings as they come to express implied ideological perspectives within discourses (Chapters 5-7). This approach identifies, for example, contrasting metaphors, used to highlight opposing ideological positions (Fairclough, 1992a: 237; 2001: 99).

4.4.3   Grammatical features

Identifying and classifying ways that grammatical forms represent meanings is a highly appropriate approach to analysing this data set. It captures ways authors phrase and rephrase language (e.g. changing transitivity) to identify and conceal agents in carefully written text (Fairclough, 1992a; Gee, 2005, also see Chapter 3 above; Halliday, 1967; 1994; Ravelli, 1999). Fairclough (1992: 235-6) claims that instances of transitivity represent agency, attribution and process. These concepts are useful to my analysing documentary data constructed to represent grammar policy and practice to many perceived audiences. He claims ideational (content) and interpersonal meanings can be achieved through different grammatical constructions, including use of modal auxiliary verbs, or the active or passive voice, to position or dissociate text authors in relation to ideas and responsibilities, thereby deflecting or amplifying authors' own claimed perspectives and propositions. Accordingly representations of grammar may be achieved variously through syntactic means, as well as lexically, as shown Chapter 3, and identified in Chapters 5 to 7. With the matrix of discourses established in Chapter 5 my analysis addresses choice of lexical units, syntactic means and rhetorical structures in the corpus.

As I describe in Fig. 4.2 above, my approach to text coding is an iterative 'axial coding' system (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). It identifies lexical and grammatical features, including:

> recognizable phrasing, terminology associated with specific people or groups of people or particular documents [and] that seem to echo certain ways of communicating, discussions among other people, types of documents
>
> (White, 2005)

I address how such attitudes are expressed through. the use of evaluative lexis (Leith, 1997). Close reading analysis generalises the significance of language use across the corpus, it is thematic coding which provides space for identification, recording and revision of the data's themes and its orientations.

4.5   Text-analytical procedures

In line with my broad approaches to analysis, my precise analytical procedure was to first:

(i) identify texts' main keywords using simple frequency statistics to see which items or persons are emphasised or omitted, and to build an initial ideological map of grammar policy interests (see Chapter 5);

(ii) analyse an ideationally representative section from each text to identify the dominant micro-genres used across the corpus (see Chapter 5 and Appendix D), and

(iii) analyse the rhetorical structure of each text's representative section, to map the range of argumentation strategies to be found in the corpus.

Second, through a close reading across the corpus I:

(i) use the keywords and argumentation findings to code document sections that construct themes and their underlying perspectives on grammar, in an intertextual coding of documents using QSR NVivo qualitative research software, and

(ii) identify and add the lexico-grammatical textual means of constructing themes and perspectives to my thematic codes (see Sections 4.5.2-4.5.3 below).

These methods provide for a controlled overview of my large data set, and address my two research questions as they relate to three of Fairclough's (1992a) approaches to analysing (i) interdiscursivity, (ii) wording, and (iii) grammatical features.

Discourses that operate through the language properties of the data are thereby identifiable by their authors' textual, argumentation and ideational choices. These features combine and contribute towards broader thematic, macro-structural propositions that are not easily recognised in individual sentences, as van Dijk advises how:

> [m]acro-structures help to explain the ability to summarize discourse, and . . . provide further insight into the structure and use of frame-like representations of conventional knowledge in discourse . . .
>
> (van Dijk, 1977b)

4.6   Managing the data corpus

In devising a controlled analytical procedure suitable for managing my large and heterogeneous data set of curriculum policy documents, I followed Biber's (1988) guidance on 'steps in analysis', structuring an equitable means of handling written and spoken text data. In making comparable analyses across data Biber advises qualitative researchers to find ways to

(i)   format corpus texts in a common way ready for comparable analysis,

(ii)   cluster texts by linguistic features and communicative functions, and

(iii)   interpret textual features 'in the light of the relations among genres'.

(Biber, 1988:: 64)

With so large a data set Biber's point (i) above, argues for a sampling method for economy of coding, and see Cicourel's (2006) warning that 'there will always problems in justifying the selection of materials as research data. It is often difficult to say why a particular . . . piece of written text has come under the spotlight of discourse analysis, and why certain of its characteristics are attended to and not others' (Jaworski and Coupland, 2006a: 36). Mindful of this potential for capricious, partial or idiosyncratic researcher sampling I consider my complete coding of the whole data set in the intertextual analysis to be sufficiently thorough; by selecting a representative section of each document (e.g. usually taken from early document sections that included introductions or statements of reason or intent) I made the length of text more comparable and manageable for close analysis.

4.6.1   Devising ideological categories using QSR NVivo software

In Chapter 1 I establish how the nature and purpose of school grammar are identified in the literature as:

(i) its linguistic content identity,

(ii) its pedagogic implementation,

(iii) its impact on individual learner performance,

(iv) its value to wider social needs for schooling, and

(v) its place in a coherent English and literacy curriculum.

In an initial trial analysis I drew on five these aspects of grammar in the curriculum as themes through which to analyse my data set extracts for insights into their policy arguments and their alignment to the corpus keywords. NVivo was used as a space to safely collect and manage the corpus of extracts. I hoped these five areas would be helpful 'focal points' to which I could bring quotations as instances of these themes in an inductive approach to the analysis, and from there build five coherent discourses. There proved to be no such simple alignment or relevance between these theoretically devised 'themes' and the explanations, justifications, rationales, etc., in the document extracts imported into NVivo. What became apparent from the data extracts corpus was that the themes drawn from the literature review became less prominent, whilst the ideas underlying the corpus's extract became more thematically coherent.

In the light of this I changed my approach and ran keyword searches through the extracts in NVivo, followed by close reading around the instances where they appeared. I discovered that highlighting keywords identified repetition, which indicated and reinforced arguments that could then be more easily followed up. But it was the arguments themselves that became the objects coded under headings devised from their ideas, and these ideas were coded as free nodes. Albeit an initially lengthy practice, the convergence of keywords and argued-for ideas did form groups of ideas that would eventually build the discourse perspectives I used to construct the three overall discourses shown in Chapter 5 - 7. The full listing of each discourse, its constituent perspectives and ideas is given in Appendix E. For each discourse the main ideas deduced in the coding are critically defined. These definitions are included in Appendix E. Appendix E is subdivided into three sections as follows:

 Appendix E(i)   -   The Discourse of Heritage and Authority

Appendix E(ii)   -   The Discourse of Standards and Control

Appendix E(iii)   -   The Discourse of Life Chances and Skills

In the analysis I create a three-level hierarchy of grammar thinking in the data: ideas, their perspectives and overall discourses. In developing this hierarchy I draw a distinction between reading the document extracts in the electronic corpus used in NVivo, and reading the full documents in the data set. I argue in Section 3.4.6 for my decision to choose a representative extract from each document for my intertextual analysis of argumentation approaches. These extracts, one from each document, were also used to develop the initial codes for ideas about grammar. I give here two instances of how one idea in one perspective from each of two discourses was devised, as an example of how my deductive process of discourse-building was achieved.

Developing the ideas behind keywords relating to grammatical terms shown in Chapter 5, Table 5.2 was a first step towards identifying what I call the Discourse of Heritage and Authority. The keywords in table 5.2 include 'structure', 'clause' and 'phrase', which, when highlighted in NVivo were, mainly found in SC listings of curriculum requirements and in rationales that justified grammar's place in school English. On closer reading these rationales formed into three further sub-groups, which I initially coded as 'definitions', 'itemisations' and 'justifications' of the sorts of grammar considered necessary in school English. I coded these different aspects all under a single NVivo 'tree node' code of 'rationales' because I initially thought they simply gave different ways in which school grammar should be understood. My interpretation was of their concern to convince the reader of the specific value and purpose of particular grammar teaching. But their approach seemed to move between justifying grammar as a systematic study of language in Text AG01, explaining its capacity to explain sentence construction in Text AG34, making its case as vital to accurate spelling in Text AG41 and pointing out the errors in children's expression that grammar could address in Text AG28. These extracts are quoted in Section 5.4.1. On closer examination what had appeared to be a

set of discrete grammar topics became more clearly understandable as a range of specialist reasons for grammar in English, and which were being used discursively to close off alternatives. This is the subsequent reading of these texts that is recorded in Chapter 5, Section 5.4.1 of my analysis.

Section 5.4.1 presents quotations from the first four extracts noted in the previous paragraph. They demonstrate how I came to see this idea of 'narrowing rationales'. My reading was of authors wanting to lead the reader steadily in an ideological direction towards agreeing with their judgement of what grammar in English and literacy could achieve, by appearing to keep the topic simple. My interpretation of authors discursively closing off alternatives came to be reflected in my change of tree code title from 'rationales' to 'narrowing rationales for grammar'. In turn I saw this 'narrowing' as a tendency towards defining grammar as sets of 'rules', which contributed towards developing a complete discourse perspective of 'prescriptivism and rules' that I elaborate in Section 5.4. The other two main ideas in this discourse perspective are 'indications of prescriptive grammar' in Section 5.4.2, and 'grammar as rules for language competency' in Section 5.4.2.

A second example of how my NVivo codes were arrived at comes from the 'discourse of life chances and skills', elaborated in Chapter 7. The discourse's perspective of 'entitlement, Standard English, and communicative competency' is in part constructed from a notion that grammar was claimed as being an 'entitlement' by many authors. Although the word 'entitlement' does no figure in the corpus of extracts' 300 highest frequency it is found in 27 of the 86 text extracts analysed. Of these I refer to four in Section 7.3.3 that closely link grammar and to notions of 'entitlement'. Semantically my definition of 'entitlement' in Section 7.3.3 finds the term is ambivalent, moving between a social right and a social opportunity on offer. Initially I coded the following four extracts at a free node of 'grammar affordances':

Greater consistency was essential [for] all <u>children would receive their proper educational entitlement . . . essential for the rising generation to be adequately equipped to meet the demands of contemporary society</u>

(OR13:2)

the Committee's view of <u>the educational entitlement of children, in terms of their knowledge about language; and proposes some targets for the knowledge, skills and understanding</u>

(OR13:4-5)

Our fundamental assumption is that all <u>pupils are entitled to an education that will provide the opportunity for them to develop to the best of their abilities a competence in and appreciation of English</u>.

(OR16:1.13)

the necessity for wide reading in literature and an understanding about language. <u>Some teachers accept everyday functionality as an important entitlement, but others fear it leads to reduction, limitation and loss of creativity</u>

(OR23: Section 28)

Whether or not grammar is a right or an offer, I found the data suggesting that grammar is provided so individuals can meet a societal need for a literate workforce. For example Text OR13 sees entitlement as only 'proper' if it leads to being 'adequately equipped to meet the demands of contemporary society', and Text OR13 considers an 'entitlement [to] knowledge about language' only valid if related to targets. I decided there was neither a single idea in these texts that could capture my conception of these official uses of the word, nor the specific benefits this entitlement provides. I found, conversely, that such 'entitlements' had strings attached. The word was being used gratuitously, conjuring up a false mood of educational opportunity and an individual freedom to accept or reject the offer. The term appeared to present a mixture of false propositions which made me simply change the code from 'grammar affordances' to a bottom-level tree node 'grammar and entitlement' under 'communicative competency', which itself was under the 'life-skills' coded section of the top-level tree node of 'life chances and skills'.

In the case of coding rationales for teaching and learning Standard English the coding process again grew from the highlighting of keywords having the stem 'standard'. This lead to identifying and coding single initial ideas, then recoding the ideas about benefits claimed to accrue from learning Standard English grammar. Initially SE grammar looked to be a emerging discourse in itself.

However, it became apparent that these ideas, which initially looked to be related to grammar as a means of teaching a Standard English (SE) for writing, were on closer reading beyond the representative extract used in the NVivo coding, linked grammar's impact with individual learner performance more closely than just individual skills. This linking was made through arguments about learner competence, skills for life and even a form of social entitlement. Whereas SE was the initial node used to capture these ideas, these three claimed benefits of grammar themselves became the central arguments under an NVivo tree node for a provisional discursive perspective of 'life and work skills'. This provisional perspective looked to be a discrete discourse in itself at that stage. However, as coding progressed a second set of claimed affordances of grammar was identified, being of 'growth', 'creativity' and 'criticality', and each also coded as a single node.

After realising how fragmentary this coding was, as a result of my initial coding straight from the research topics, I looked for underlying perspectives to deepen the coherence of these individual topics. I found the group of life skills to be separate from the second group of individual affordances by being more about structural grammar knowledge, social expectation and functionality, than about individual growth. I also found the arguments for life skills mainly used 'problem-solution' argumentations, whilst those for individual growth used mainly 'hortatory expositions', and with some specious reasoning that I identify in Chapter 6. Consequently the individual ideas were separated into two groups, each under a more general claim, or what I call 'perspective', within the overall discourse of 'Life Chances and Skills'.

These examples demonstrate how my process of devising codes from keywords and single ideas are then re-evaluated for their significance in the light of their underlying perspectives or their links to other ideas. This helps to group the ideas I find in the data into tree nodes, building hierarchies of 'ideas', 'perspectives' and 'discourses'. This explanation of the coding process explains my 'bottom-up', deductive method of developing the NVivo tree nodes I provide as my discourse structures in Appendix E.

4.7   Ideological perspectives and models of English grammar

The keyword analysis revealed emphases on particular grammatical forms for teaching, on writing, means of instruction and teacher-learner interpersonal relations. I wanted to use this as my initial approach to my first research question by mapping their implicit ideological meanings onto some recognised ideological positions, or models, of language and grammar. That conflicting ideals of content, authority and control of language and usage underlie much language curriculum debate is evidenced by the range of studies of subject English's philosophies, identities and cultures. For example Lacey's critical study of teacher identity (1977) particularly identified English teachers' as distinctive in their recurrent concern to address 'fundamental problems of 'what is English?', [and] 'what is the role of the teacher?' (Lacey, 1977:59). Since Lacey's study, others have concerned themselves with the subject's ideological, philosophical and cultural underpinnings of 'how a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public, reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control' (Bernstein, 1971b). As I explain in Chapter 2, from this critical perspective school subject studies have pursued the twin objectives to critique (i) the political and cultural construction of what constitutes English subject knowledge, and (ii) an inescapably historical contextualization of school subject identities (Carter, 1982; Crystal, 2003; Ellis *et al.*, 2007; Locke, 2010; Medway, 1990; Street, 1984).

Paradoxically, since the development of critical curriculum theory, the 1980s onwards has seen ever more visible official power exerted on subject English; theorists have developed in more critical and resistant directions (Apple, 2000; Giroux, 1988; Hargreaves, 1994). Apple reflects on how the barrier of teacher-mediation of curriculum creates resistance against official policy implementation when he notes that:

> . . .teachers have a long history of mediating and transforming text materials when they employ it in classrooms [and] [s]tudents . . . too, accept, reinterpret, and reject what counts as legitimate knowledge selectively . . . critical ethnographies have shown, students are not empty vessels into which knowledge is poured. Rather than what Freire has called 'banking' education . . . students are active constructors of the meanings of the education they encounter.
>
> (Apple, 2000:58)

In the context of English teachers, whose dominant subject background has persistently been critically informed literary study, it is small wonder that teaching texts as 'text' has proved problematic, even in the matter of its definition. The influence of critical curriculum theory in the 1970s and 1980s reconceived English and literacy as social reconstructs, rather than as individual identities in a somewhat stark dichotomy between the social and the individual. The late 1980s onwards saw greater plurality of conceptualising English, text and literacy ethnographically as many practices that are rooted in communities, homes and schools (Luke *et al.*, 2009; Medway, 2005; Peim, 2003; Poulson, 1998; Street, 1984).

However, even in the early 1990s Protherough and Atkinson found English to be diversely described by teachers. Although their study group of teachers' perceptions of the subject did align to the then contemporary five Cox models (Cox, 1991), they found 'sharp divisions within [secondary English] departments' and 'no consensus about what . . . [was] to count as English' (Protherough and Atkinson, 1991:19). That diverse models of English had become the theorised curriculum by the 1990s, including an increasing interest in multi-modality (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001), did not mean that the taught curriculum went far beyond the practices of reading and writing, according to Lankshear (1997), when observing that 'one may wonder whether the most effective changes in literacy remain at the level of sociocultural literacy

theory, unrealized to any significant and abiding sense in formal educational practices' (Lankshear, 1997:4). According to Marshall (2000) the introduction and proliferation of the Primary, Key Stage 3 and latterly Secondary literacy strategies from 1998 brought about much reconsideration of the nature, purpose and practice of English and literacy (Marshall, 2000). Medway considers that of the five Cox models of English 'personal growth' presents the greatest challenge because of its vagueness in definition and breadth of agendas (Medway, 1990) if one is seeking to divide and classify models as distinct discursive critiques of English. Marshall's study of teachers' conceptions of English, on the other hand, sought to develop a clearer view of the complexity and inter-relatedness of the more monolithic modelling as offered by Cox. She studied teacher's subject identities as seen from the divide between cultural criticism and liberal humanism. She devised five descriptors. Three were based on liberal humanism, Old Grammarians, liberals and technicians, and two based on liberal humanism, Critical Dissenters and Pragmatists.

For Marshall 'personal growth' English includes Matthew Arnold's Grammarians model, the individual and creative Liberals, and elements of critical literacy in her critical dissenters. 'Text' is her object of English study, for either transforming the individual, or social or cultural critique. But, the divide between the liberal humanist and cultural theorist is clear, as Marshall says, 'those who see themselves as fostering personal growth in their pupils may be conservative or liberal but not radical if they avoid considering literature at any level beyond the impact it makes on the individual' (Marshall, 2000:54). The main focus of interest in the subject matter is literature, whose potential is as conservative or liberal humanist study, or as critical or postmodern 'text' in a cultural critical model. Surprisingly, Marshall's 'critical dissenter' classification is not here connected to a social transforming education view with an explicit aim in post-1980s critical literacy theory (Apple, 1990; Giroux, 1988; Hargreaves, 1994). Marshall's critique of teaching philosophies shows the inherent flexibility of modelling English, and in particular modelling the mixed nature and permutations of the subject content and subject pedagogic ideologies. In a ranking of preferred identities the teachers surveyed identified

'cultural critics' as the most numerous, but closely followed by skills-focused 'technicians'. Whilst this indicates a strong cultural critical stance the numbers of technicians identifies a significant split in subject ideology, especially when historicised by the then only emerging secondary Key Stage 3 Framework for Teaching English (DfES, 2001). Such a moment in subject English's history was to be momentous as both a further step in official definition of the written English curriculum, and also as the reintroduction of significant grammar content in English; a time of considerable conservative reconceptualising of language study and grammar teaching.

Modelling ideologies of grammar in teaching can be understood as looking at language from three broad perspectives, prescriptivist, descriptive and critical.

4.7.1   Prescriptivism

Prescriptivism can be recognised through three keywords that relate to the objects in children's language study: 'writing', 'text' and 'structure'. From a prescriptive position 'writing' can be seen historically as the culturally dominant form of language in school because of its permanent state and formalised standards associated with the prescribed rules and status of its most prestigious dialect, Standard English (Crystal, 2003). Crystal defines a prescriptive position as one that characterises

> any approach which attempts to lay down rules of correctness as to how language should be used . . . Linguistics has been generally critical of the 'prescriptivist' approach, emphasizing instead the importance of descriptively accurate studies of usage, and of the need to take into account sociolinguistic variation in explaining attitudes to language
>
> (Crystal, 2003:244)

In literary study this rule-driven conception of language use can been further elaborated into judgemental requirements that conform to fixed literary styles (Michael, 1987; Peel *et al.*, 2000). Three further keywords relating to writing, 'paragraphing', 'punctuation' and 'spelling', all draw on communicative conventions that are elaborated as firm rules for writers' success.

In a pedagogical sense prescriptivism is therefore associated with interpersonal relations that construct the teacher in terms of the expert, the source of authentic language knowledge and with pupils as inexpert, lacking capacity, the tabula rasa with little other recourse to resources of standardised language. This is potentially reflected in my keywords analysis that find 'teaching' referred to 2.5 times more frequently than 'learning'.

From a sociolinguistic perspective the implications for conceptualising language as prescriptive are considerable:

> Debates about the state and the status of the English language are only rarely debates about language alone. English is synonymous with Englishness, that is, with an understanding of who the proper English are. A view of one standard English with a single set of rules accords with a monolingual, monocultural version of society intent on preserving an existing order in which everyone can be drilled into knowing their place.
>
> (Carter, 1993:6)

For Carter the notion of a single, capital 'S' Standard English signifies the notions of fixed forms for language unvaried by circumstances of use. Both linguistic and cultural conservatism characterise prescriptivist positions, in defining a variety of English for all situations standard English comes to define the user and competent or incompetent, good or poor, a social evaluator of the individual by their capacity with language. As a means of making qualitative judgements of language use standard English has achieved a prominent place in the English national curriculum (Goodson and Medway, 1990: xiii)

4.7.2 Descriptivism

> A view which recognises Englishes as well as English and which stresses variable rules accords with a multilingual, culturally diverse view of society.
>
> (Carter, 1993:6)

In a descriptivist position the keywords identified draw on a linguistic tradition in which language and communications are analysed (i) for their place in the totality of forms in use,

and (ii) as a sociolinguistic term for instances of discursive activity (Bourdieu, 1991; Kress and Hodge, 1979). 'Text' therefore is associated with plural understandings of language use, of language being open to variation, change, innovation and inventiveness. This openness reflects an research openness to the situated nature of communication in which talk, writing and graphic 'signs' can converge in use (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001). Where prescriptive models of grammar make judgements about grammatical 'correctness' based on a Standard written form of English, descriptivists see standard English as just one many varieties, what Crystal describes as 'the usual popular interpretation of the term', i.e. 'patterns of usage' (Crystal, 1997).

Descriptive grammarians take a plural view of, for example, neologism and local syntactic forms as normal patterns of variation and change; their interest is not to judge or regulate language but to observe and classify 'the structure of language' (Graddol *et al.*, 1996:4). 'Rules' can relate to this open and pluralist conception of language, but as conventions or 'regularities', contrary to more standardising, fixed, prescriptive and regulating positions (Humphries and Kress, 2004). Descriptive approaches align with functional approaches to language study in modern linguistics, classifying rather than eschewing change. Grammatically descriptive grammarians looks for new ways to describe language use, and see Standard English as both a socially derived dialect and a dialect that is itself subject to variation (Crystal, 2003; Graddol *et al.*, 1996; Kress, 1985).

4.7.3 Structuralism

Structuralism, in a language teaching context, draws on elements of both of these grammar positions. It directly refers to practical use of language forms as a means of creating coherence and order in communication, and includes usage of syntax, word classes and morphology (Crystal, 2004). Structural rules are less inscribed with fixed authority and take a sociolinguistic approach. Here standard and non-standard varieties are taken to be social and, or, local dialects alongside an un-capitalised standard English. Teacher and pupil identities here are

seen to operate within some prescriptive expert-learner roles. These roles relate to learning socially required skills, and include cultural-critical literacy and pedagogy, retaining local and social language identities (Graddol, 1994). This model focuses on variation according to context and use, and thereby applies itself to language skills development untempered by prescriptive positions on formality and style. Its method is more pragmatic and descriptive than prescriptive, with grammatical standards, structures and meanings open to change.

4.7.4   Cultural critique

From a sociolinguistic perspective all language varieties have equal status and are not differentiated by stylistic quality or social prestige. All varieties have equal validity. Non-standard Englishes and community dialects are taken as equally interesting as objects of study as well as Standard English. Studying language from this cultural critical perspective involves identifying variation found to be dependent on context and mode. The method of analysis must be descriptive and not prescriptive. Cultural critique implies a critical stance that places the learner at the centre of the study and validates all language use as of interest.

In a postmodern, model of language study even meanings are not fixed. Here meaning is fluid and varies according to ideology and perspective; is conveyed through discourses that position and re-define all actors in context-bound settings. For critical literacy scholars (e.g. Carter, 1990b; Gee, 1994; Kress, 1995b) studying language and grammar should be with the intention of revealing and resisting negative and potentially prejudicial effects of ideologically-driven language practices. with the intention of creating a more equal society (Apple, 2004). In language study at GCE A-level postmodernism has influenced the introduction of, for example, critical discourse analysis as an approach to reveal asymmetrical linguistic use in studying discourses of gender and occupational groups. However, postmodernism has little influence on English teaching, school English or language curriculum policy.

These linguistic positions identify how this study's keywords count can be understood to carry significantly different ideological meanings, depending on their semantic and pragmatic contexts, and the historical times from which they come.

4.8   Summary of Chapter 4

In this chapter I outline the theoretical framework used to identify official discursive action in constructing grammar in the English curriculum. I explain my methods of data collection and organisation, including the criteria by which the data set is compiled. I explain my analytical framework and process for analysing (i) texts' main themes and ideas, and (ii) textual discursive activity. I show how CDA provides analytic techniques may be used for interpreting policy texts as agents in constructing discourses of grammar. I then provide a detailed listing of my precise text analysis procedures to illustrate my coding methods in devising the 'ideas', 'perspectives' and 'discourse' categories I use to reveal the ideological perspectives on school grammar I give in Chapters 5 – 7. Finally I outline the basis on which I made my initial map of ideological perspectives on grammar, as given in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5   Discourses of English grammar

5.1   Introduction

This chapter begins my analysis of official ideological discourses of grammar. First I explain

how I make an intertextual analysis across all document extracts (see Section 4.4.1), by using

a corpus approach to identify the data's (i) main grammar topics, and (ii) argumentation

approaches. I then present the first of three thematic textual analyses of all documents. In this

textual analysis I identify underlying ideological perspectives that I establish the perspectives

on grammar from which I construct the first of three broad discourses, the discourse of

heritage and authority.

5.2   Three official discourses of English grammar: an overview

My research reveals three broad discourses that I identify as being of 'heritage and authority',

'standards and control' and 'life chances and skills'. They are constructed through distinct

perspectives on language and grammar knowledge, learning, culture, social expectations,

learner-teacher identities and pedagogic relationships.

Each discourse is constructed from constituent sub-categories that I call 'perspectives'

(Lemke, 1992), through which they are identified and developed. Table 5.1 lists the three

discourses and their constituent perspectives, with totals of texts referenced.

Discourses	Discourse Perspectives	Texts referenced (corpus total 86)
Heritage and authority	1. prescriptivism and rules 2. cultural and literary heritage 3. professional knowledge and competency	25 11 18 54 (61%)
Standards and control	1. Standard English and social expectations 2. language as form, precision and product	17 12 29 (32%)
Life chances and skills	1. entitlement to Standard English and competency 2. personal growth, creativity and individual expression 3. descriptive grammar and criticality	21 14 10 45 (53%)

Table 5.1   Main discourses of grammar

5.2.1 Identifying the discourse perspectives

My analysis uses Fairclough's interpretive schema for 'description', 'interpretation' and 'explanation' (Fairclough, 1992a: 73) and draws on Fairclough's (1993a) advice for making intertextual analysis by making word-frequency counts to identify the main grammar topics and themes that form a hierarchy of grammar keywords in the corpus of document extracts (Martin and Rose, 2003). My keywords (Fairclough, 2003) are the lexical words from which I make a percentage occurrence count. From this count I initially assume the relative importance of high-frequency keywords in expository text, and take them to indicate the official interest in particular grammar topics, learners and teachers, and by extension to reveal ideological interest. The search results for the 30 most frequently occurring lexical words are shown in Table 5.2.

1	pupil[s] / children	1,083	10 %	16	spell[ing][er]	268	3 %
2	writ[ten][ing]	755	7 %	17	learn[ing][s]	264	2 %
3	sentence[s]	686	6 %	18	standard[s]	249	2 %
4	english	630	6 %	19	teacher[s]	245	2 %
5	language	626	6 %	20	purpose[ful][s]	239	2 %
6	teach[ing]taught	554	5 %	21	understand[s][ing]	228	2 %
7	word[s]	516	5 %	22	phrase[s][ing]	199	2 %
8	grammar[atical]	503	5 %	23	appropriate	176	2 %
9	text[s]	452	4 %	24	paragraph[s][ing]	174	2 %
10	read[ing]	370	3 %	25	punctuate [ion]	160	2 %
11	speak[oken][each]	358	3 %	26	ideas	158	1 %
12	structure[s][ed]	332	3 %	27	form[s]	152	1 %
13	knowledge / know[s]	316	3 %	28	skill[s][ful][fully]	146	1 %
14	mean[ing][s][t]	292	3 %	29	order[ed]	129	1 %
15	clause[s]	271	3 %	30	variety	120	1 %
				Total	Top 30 totals	10,651	

Table 5.2   **Keyword frequency count totals and percentages from document extracts**

Variants of the terms 'grammar', 'language', 'sentence', 'word' and 'text' dominate the count of the top 30 most frequent keywords. As the data refers to policies about English rather than exclusively grammar, this focus on language and its elements reflects a recurrent concern with

language and its teaching, as opposed to learners or learning itself. Whilst reliance on simple word-frequencies can be misleading when removed from their semantic, grammatical and topic contexts, their repetition draws attention to an overall prominence in the data, a concern for or 'problem' with, grammar (Board of Education, 1921). The most frequent grammar keywords refer to three categories: (i) language items (21), (ii) people (2), and (iii) learning activities (9), see Table 5.3.

Language items		People	Learning activities
writing	English	pupils/children	writing*
language	word[s]	teacher[s]	teaching*/taught
grammar[atical]	text[s]		reading*
structure[s]	knowledge/ideas		speak/spoken/speech*
meaning	clause		know/knowledge*
spelling	standard[s]		spell/spelling*
purposes	phrase		learn[ing]*
paragraph	punctuation		paragraph[ing]*
appropriate	form[s]		punctuate[ion]*
skill[s]	order[ed]		(* indicates multiple
variety[ies]/vary			categories)

Table 5.3   Corpus keyword categories

The data's strong interest in the language itself, with eleven non-human terms concerned with language content knowledge and its structures. By percentage, human terms total only 12% (1,083 references).

In policy terms the totals may not signify more than the texts' repetitive page layout which creates repetition of key terms, quite possible given the varying nature of the corpus, and specific interest in grammar at times of political concern. For example, the Statutory Curriculum (SC) group necessarily identifies curriculum objectives, repeating content keywords at four key stages, and Advice and Guidance (AG) documents repeating references to teaching methods, being written expressly to bring change to teaching practice (DfEE, 2001). This indicates my thematic analysis should track the significance of high frequency keywords, to identify reasons for their repetition in different contexts.

In emphasising texts' language and grammar policy interest, non-human keywords 'writing', 'English', 'language', 'word[s]' and 'grammar[atical]' are most frequent, raising awareness and discussion of key language terms. Two extracts exemplify an argument about finding consensus over what should count as necessary grammar content in the curriculum, and why. This 1984 extract relates grammar debates to specific knowledge.

> There is much confusion over whether grammar should be explicitly taught. It has long been recognised that formal exercises in the analysis and classification of language contribute little or nothing to the ability to use it. One consequence of this, however, is that many pupils are taught nothing at all about how language works as a system, and consequently do not understand the nature of their mistakes or how to put them right.
>
> (OR07:14)

From 1988, OR13 reflects recurrent historical shifts in language and pedagogy that have influenced grammar policy direction over time.

> Many people believe that standards in our use of English would rise dramatically if we returned to the formal teaching of grammar which was normal practice in most classrooms before 1960. Others believe that explicit teaching or learning of language structure is unnecessary. We believe that both these extreme viewpoints are misguided. Research evidence suggests that old-fashioned formal teaching of grammar had a negligible, or, because it replaced some instruction and practice in composition, even a harmful, effect on the development of original writing. We do not recommend a return to that kind of grammar teaching. It was based on a model of language derived from Latin rather than English. However, we believe that for children not to be taught anything about language is seriously to their disadvantage.
>
> (OR13:14)

Unsurprisingly, public debate of this kind reports a 'problem' when defining 'grammar', a subject characterised by linguistic and social complexity and plurality (Kress, 1995a; Peel *et al.*, 2000; Protherough and Atkinson, 1994). These two examples show the corpus as an official site of policy uncertainty, reflecting uncertain official orthodoxy yet determined to find ways forward.

Keywords in these quotations identify human keywords. Human keywords frequently emerge from discussions of learning, reflecting pedagogies and pedagogic relations. In close textual

analysis I use Fairclough's analytical procedures (Fairclough, 1995:188-9) to establish the use

of lexical and grammatical resources to construct ideals of grammar and its teaching.

5.2.2   Identifying argumentation strategies

Scott advises that policy texts
> operate to influence public perception of a policy agenda. They seek to change the specific setting of practical action and in the process change the way policy is received
>
> (Scott, 2000:118)

To understand how policy text may influence 'public perception', in response to my second research question, I analyse texts' argumentation in two ways. First, I analyse the small-scale rhetorical structures used to develop cases, tightly bounded within their own ideological terms. Second, I use this rhetorical structure analysis to identify texts' micro-genres, using Martin and Rose's (2003) typology of argumentation approaches (Section 4.4.1). This two-step approach provides for both intertextual analysis, and close textual analysis, of methods of public persuasion.

The textual analysis of small-scale rhetorical structures reveals patterns of argumentation used to develop discourse in single texts. 'Rhetorical structures' are argumentation steps, authorial methods of introducing, sustaining and concluding argument, using structures such as thesis statements, propositions, reasons, elaborations, rebuttals, examples and conclusions. Each forms a specific argumentative step through which authors manoeuvre ideas in order to achieve discursive influence (Heubeck, 2009). The findings are summarised in Appendix C, and the full analysis of all documents cited in the analysis given in Appendix D.

I use this rhetorical structure analysis to look beyond a notion of policy texts being a single genre or text-type (Biber, 1989), to identify texts' micro-genres and their rhetorical functions. Micro-genre analysis examines text patterning from the point of view of its rhetorical function, and purpose, a subtle typology for assessing, here, whether grammar curriculum texts adopt similar or distinct argumentation strategies in reframing policy (Martin, 2005). I list five micro-

genres relevant to this study in Figure 5.1, linked to the rhetorical functions they provide in

developing discourse.

Micro-genres		Micro-genre rhetorical functions
Exposition (based on media text analysis) (after White, 2002; 2005)	Explanatory exposition	Explaining who/what/how/why
	Argumentative exposition	Persuading that something makes a sound/legitimate case
	Hortatory exposition	Persuading that something should be the case / should be acted upon / should be done
Problem–solution proposition		Illustrating a problem and proposing a solution
Professional/social/cultural/political/economic challenge		Questioning, arguing against or challenging an existing opinion on an issue of public / professional interest
Professional/social/cultural/political/economic discussion		Surveying, or presenting two or more points of view on an issue of public / professional interest

Figure 5.1   Micro-genres and rhetorical functions in curriculum discourses (after White, 2002; 2005)

I claim that combining analysis of these two levels of argumentation, provides subtle findings

that combine with Fairclough's close textual analysis in an 'integrative approach' to text

discourse construction 'combining the strengths of . . . individual analytic traditions' (Heubeck,

2009:1). Table 5.4 summarises the micro-genres identified across the corpus groups. These

findings distinguish between two distinct micro-genre functions, 'exposition' and

'argumentation', identifying the purposes for which policy document authors write. This

intertextual micro-genre analysis is deduced from the full rhetorical structure analysis.

Examples of this analysis, for documents cited in the analysis, are given in Appendix D.

	Micro-genres ⟶					
Document origins ↓	Expositions			Argumentations		
	Explanatory	Argumentative	Hortatory	Problem – solution	Challenge	Discussion
Official Reports (OR)	7	1	13	1	0	0
Statutory Curriculum (SC)	0	0	7	0	0	0
Advice and Guidance (AG)	10	9	7	13	3	0
Commissioned Research (CR)	1	5	0	4	0	0

Table 5.4   Micro-genres of official English curriculum grammar documents

Note: 'Document origins' reflects the major sources of official curriculum documentation in England, and England and Wales until 1998, and the result of the electronic and paper document search outlined in Chapter 4.

In the micro-genre analysis 81 of the 86 corpus documents were categorised. I categorised 45 of the 81 texts as either adopting 'explanatory exposition' or 'hortatory exposition' micro-genres; and 32 texts were identified as either 'argumentative exposition' (15) or 'problem-solution' (18) micro-genre. Only 3 texts classified as 'challenge argumentation' and none as 'discussion argumentations'.

5.2.3   A provisional map of grammar discourses within English

Language terms in Table 5.3 indicate a divide between the separate positions on grammar identified in Chapter 4. Terms including 'appropriate', 'purposes', 'form[s]', 'ideas', 'meaning' may denote open and plural representations of language, indicative of descriptive positions on grammar. Other terms, e.g. 'order[ed]', 'structure[s]', 'knowledge', 'clause', 'standard[s]', 'skill[s]' may be associated with more closed, prescriptive or structural positions (Crystal, 2003:78). Whilst I recognise there is no prima facia certainty of keywords forming these positions, the ideological constructions of grammar they suggest were worth mapping at an early stage of analysis. This was a provisional, speculative ideological map of positions on grammar, which I could follow up in my thematic textual analysis. Figure 5.2 gives my initial, speculative map of possible links between grammar keywords and these four positions, which I align to, (i) Marshall's (2000) ideological English teacher typology, and (ii) Cox's five 'views' of English in text OR16.

The initial corpus keywords count indicated beliefs about (i) what in English's grammar should be taught, (ii) what pedagogies are appropriate for its teaching, and (iii) the teacher-learner identities reflected in their implied pedagogies. The list of grammar items in Table 5.3 gives what appeared to me as predominantly prescriptive and structural positions, with 'spelling' and 'standard' reflecting fixed, accepted ideas and usage, and 'order' indicating formality either as noun or verb.

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Language education scholars have historically shown how ideological positions on grammar impact upon its pedagogy and on teacher-learner relations (Andrews, 2001:51-2; Barnes D *et al.*, 1969:12-13). I wanted to map grammar policy discourse in the light of my theoretical and conceptual framings of this study, namely:

(i)   conceptions of curriculum (reviewed in Chapter1),

(ii) models of subject English (reviewed in Chapter 4),

(iii) ideological positions on language and grammar (identified in Chapter 4), and

(iv) grammar pedagogies deduced for keyword analysis.

Figure 5.2 identifies a largely prescriptive position; but includes keywords 'variety', 'meaning', and 'ideas' indicating more open, descriptive positions. In the second keywords group (Table 5.2), the number of human keywords is small. This can be related to the taught grammar topics and learning activities in individual texts, to explore the pedagogic roles such as expert, initiator, passive learner or investigator that underlie official discourse of pedagogical relations. Cultural critical language topics such as 'standard language' for GCSE (AQA, 2009:14) give examples of how different grammar topics reflect teacher-learner identities. The nature of which is central to understanding how systems of policy control construct pedagogic identity (Bernstein, 1999). This makes the third group of keywords – as verbs - relate to pedagogic activities and practices of learning grammar in both prescriptive and descriptive traditions. I draw on Crystal's distinction between these positions and map the keywords accordingly by grammar content and associated pedagogies. Figure 5.2 thereby identifies divergent standardising and personal growth versions of English by their 'prescriptive' or 'descriptive' aims, their likely pedagogies, and human keywords.

For some grammar topics there are clearly divergent pedagogic approaches implicit in the keywords, as I identified earlier. Some content can be associated with descriptive grammar in a personal growth model (see Chapter 2). I map their keywords as clusters of quoted terms, and model the links and separations that indicate their likely pedagogic approaches. Single-

headed arrows indicate firm indications of clear correspondence between implied ideological positions, e.g. 'technical', 'formal', 'correct' keywords and associated pedagogic terms 'precision', 'control' and 'competency' in the first row (Figure 5.2). Double-headed arrows are important as they indicate multiple possibilities, and help map correspondence between more descriptive pedagogic possibilities, where teaching 'style' and authorial judgement about what may be taken to mean 'good' English in the third row.

Conceptions of curriculum; (Marshall 2000)	Models of subject English (OR16)	Prescriptive grammar pedagogy and keywords		Ideological positions on language, literacy and grammar		Descriptive grammar pedagogy and keywords
Instrumental, Fordism (means-to-ends) Humanist	'Adult Needs', Skills-oriented, utilitarian, 'Functional Skills'	Transmissive, whole class, written language, product-oriented 'precision', 'control', 'competency', 'knowledge, 'basics' 'identify', 'teach'[er]', 'explicitness', 'structure(s)', 'recognise[ing]', 'grammar[tical]', 'correct[ion]'		Prescriptive, structural, functionalist, explicit, standardised, socially 'accepted', monolithic, unvarying 'technical', 'formal' 'term[s][inology]' 'metalanguage' '(in)correct[ness]',		language teaching, 'implied', 'knowledge', 'identify', 'investigate', 'pupil[s]'
	'Cross curricular'	Communicative skills, recognising text-types and fixed genres 'form', 'method', 'tool',		Structuralist, language as utility, features, communication 'sentence', 'paragraph', 'punctuation', method[s]		
Old Humanist	'Cultural Heritage' Form and evaluation of language	Transmissive, full-class teaching, formal, textbook informed, comprehension practise 'Traditional grammar', 'structure(s)',		Prescriptive, cultural reproduction, authoritative, fixed written Standard, rule-driven, 'correct', 'standard[s]' recognising qualities, 'style' of 'good' English		English as cultural art, practice, literature, Features and rules, ideas, method[s], written composition, appreciate, practise, emulate
Liberal Humanist / Cultural Critical	'Personal Growth' Socially emancipatory	SE recognised and used as social access to prestige culture, identification, categorise, analyse, practice, know,		Language as plural, variable, idiosyncratic ,socio-culturally oriented Study of speaking/speech recognising dialect, variation[ety], language, text[s] study		Undefined pedagogy, validating pupils' own language varieties, socially situated study – SE as individual/social empowerment 'investigate[ion]', 'pupil discussion', 'meaning', 'enjoy', 'understand[ing]', 'interpret'
Cultural/Social Social-transformatory	'Cultural Analysis'	Explicit grammar elements, metalanguage, form & function taught, contextualised socially		Poststructural perspective on 'meaning' – provisional &, contextually negotiated language 'variety', 'literacy[ies]' word classes rather than parts of speech		Explicit language structure and metalinguistic analysis, recognising discourse, textual power, social variation uses observation and discussion 'notice[ing]', 'appropriate', 'choice'
Cultural/Social Postmodern Critical-descriptive	'Cultural Analysis'	Explicit grammar & metalanguage, socially & culturally coercive forms & functions taught, contextualised by social power, 'genres'		Language as social 'text', multi-modality, language as social-purposive product, socially deterministic		Explicit features, form, order[ed] literacy, identification[fy], purpose[s], appropriate, learn, question, model

Figure 5.2   A provisional map of grammar discourses within English

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My map identifies ideological positions on grammar as fixed, structural knowledge linked to transmission pedagogies with teacher-as-expert models of instruction. Within a liberal humanist tradition of English education both skills-focused and cultural heritage learning contribute to an understanding of knowledge as fixed, unvarying over both time and across situation. Single arrows indicate unmediated, transmissive views of fixed knowledge and attendant pedagogies and identities. Where more porous beliefs about knowledge, pedagogy and identities are found, particularly in personal growth and cultural analysis models of English, double-headed arrows signify some measure of pedagogic dialogue and ideological mediation between policy, teacher values and pedagogy. The final row suggests descriptive ideals that promote questions of textuality, multiple purposes, and appropriacy. This comparative modelling of grammar within English provides some certainty in developing theories of grammar's identity when reading and coding data.

I intuitively divided keywords, between prescriptive and descriptive positions. Prescriptive models look for single, autonomous models of language and literacy drawn from written standard English (Crystal, 2004). The Standard English norms they prescribe are associated with explicit grammar teaching using technical terms as fixed identifiers. The terms 'accurate[acy]', 'order[ed]' and pupil 'errors' in the data identify more prescriptive positions, whereas 'investigate', 'interpret' and 'model' denote plural, descriptive ideals. Descriptive models identify Standard English as one variety, and describe language as found in use rather than claims a correctness and incorrectness for any given variety. Some post-structural approaches show varying meanings through the context-bound nature of all language use. A structuralist approach has tendencies to integrate surface features recognised as key in prescriptive grammar with descriptive pedagogies, but it differs in its objectives. Most structural approaches prioritise grammar as skills, unrelated to social contexts of use; others can accommodate investigative pedagogies, contextualising language as 'text' in a postmodern sense as constructed discourse, and use technical terms as a conceptual metalanguage.

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Some structural positions recognise grammatical change over time and across social and geographical settings, and apply this knowledge to support teaching of language awareness, reading comprehension and writing skills.

My methodological challenge is making claims from potentially small or unrepresentative data examples. In accordance with Seale's (1999) guidance on credibility in making claims in qualitative inquiry I use word-frequency searches only to identify collocations of terms relevant to prescriptive, descriptive, structural and postmodern models (Appendix B). For example, the collocations of pre-modifiers and nouns such as 'correct', 'right', 'wrong', 'good', 'bad', 'complex', 'original', identify judgement and evaluation of language and grammar in use examples of broadly prescriptive approaches that I refer to in the three discourse analyses.

5.2.4 Outline of the grammar discourse analyses

Using my speculative map I particularly searched for authors' sources of grammar's subject, cultural and professional authority within school English (Peel *et al.*, 2000). This leads to seeing what specific grammar knowledge is selected into the curriculum and what implications such selections have for understanding the cultural and professional identities on which they draw. I also looked for ways that official power operates to argue for its curriculum selections, thereby presenting official choices as curriculum discourse (Bernstein, 2000). Using the explanation of my analytical procedure in Chapter 4, Section 4.6.1, I give here my analysis of the discourse perspectives that lead to my first discourse, of Heritage and Authority.

5.3 The Discourse of Heritage and Authority

My first discourse, of Heritage and Authority, is drawn from coding official claims for grammar's place in schooling, as described in Chapter 4, Section 4.6.1. This discourse's ideas and perspectives are presented as a hierarchy and listed in Appendix F(i), together with definitions of its main terms.

This discourse of Heritage and Authority comprises three perspectives, (i) prescriptivism and rules, (ii) cultural and literary heritage and (iii) professional knowledge and competency. These three perspectives were devised from an initial coding of arguments about grammar's authority and legitimacy for prescriptive critiques, as suggested by keywords:

> 'skills', 'language', 'technical', 'formal' 'terminology' 'metalanguage' 'correct', 'precision', 'control', 'competency', 'knowledge, 'basics', 'teach', 'explicit', 'structure', 'grammar', 'sentence', 'pupil', 'knowledge' and 'competence'

in the keywords analysis (Table 5.3). I identified and coded arguments that develop the main themes constructing each of the three 'perspectives'. The themes for the first prescriptive, 'prescriptivism and rules', are:

- narrowing rationales for grammar,

- indications of prescriptive grammar,

- grammar as rules for language competency.

Their ideological themes are found in 25 texts, comprising 13-AG, 8-OR, 2-SC and 2-CR. Their keywords connect the initial intuited positions, and may be seen to form an intertextual chain of ideas (Panagiotidou, 2010:8-9). The data intertextually chains ideas of 'rules', which are central concepts to developing the first perspective. Through coding I found history dominating justifications for grammar's content, purposes and practices, and particularly in rationales, e.g. 'a paramount place was given to grammar in the primary schools of the 19th century, and that, when it ceased to be a compulsory subject in 1890, it rapidly 'disappeared from all but a few schools' (OR01). However, this is not restricted solely to grammar, which is but one token of wider struggles for a place in subject English (Peel *et al.,* 2000).

5.4 The Perspective of Prescriptivism and Rules

Ideas constructing this perspective are represented through 25 texts, 20 being from the 'Advice and Guidance' group of documents, and from 5 'Official Reports'. History dominates policy's ninety years search for a definition of English's content, purposes and practices wrestles with

grammar as a significant token of this struggle for subject identity (Peel *et al.*, 2000). Official and professional discourses vie for control of grammar policy, for professional and public audiences, through interplay between the OR and AG document categories: (i) official reports that inform policy, and (ii) advice and guidance to practitioners on implementing policy in schools.

Advice and Guidance (AG) texts are devised mainly to implement national curricula and strategies. They are characterised by their teacher audience and subject-pedagogic focus. They reference national strategies documentation in a closed intertextual loop that establishes parallel cases and restricts their contexts to strategies-focused classroom practice. Official Reports (OR) date from 1921 to 1994, and include inquiry reports into proposed English curricula and change. They contain case analyses and grammar policy proposals for English and literacy teaching. OR texts frequently use closed argumentation strategies and tightly chained intertextual referencing to develop coherence, obviate contradictions and move discourse in bounded directions, seeking to reposition understandings of grammar and its potential.

5.4.1   Narrowing rationales for grammar

In the search for subject identity Peel finds the term 'English' a 'wriggling, elusive kind of term, one which refuses to be pinned down' (Peel *et al.*, 2000:39). English's possible definitions range between 'the language, literatures or Literature, a subject with a set of practices, literacy, or all of the above' (Pope, 2002). To authenticate official versions of grammar in English some Advice and Guidance (AG) authors list grammar items and reference to established sources e.g. texts AG01, AG34 and AG41, AG34 references academic authority:

> Module 1 Grammatical overview
> Aim Covering words and phrases, clauses and complex sentences, this module serves as a lively introduction to the online training on Grammatical Knowledge for teaching writing.

Introduction 'Grammar is the study of how we make sentences' [David Crystal] . . . A sentence is made out of words, put together according to certain conventions, so they do the job they are intended to do.

(AG34:1)

AG01 authenticates grammar's place by claiming its assumed benefits:

the word 'grammar' denotes a field of study as well as a particular method, system or approach within that field of study. Thus, the ways in which words combine into larger, structural units can be studied and described in a number of ways, and a range of grammars (in the sense of systems) has been developed for different purposes. Broadly speaking, these fall into three categories: traditional, formal and systemic-functional. Reference grammars are traditional as they seek to provide a comprehensive descriptive account of the language . . .

(AG01:14)

Some authors validate their claims for grammar's benefit by listing what learners apparently do

not, and therefore 'should' know:

. . . children should also start to learn spelling conventions for adding common endings (suffixes) to words . . . for spelling purposes they now need more systematic teaching both of the suffixes themselves and of how the spelling of base words may have to change slightly when suffixes are added. Some grammatical awareness is also helpful here: just knowing that the regular past tense ending is spelt -ed is not enough . . .

(AG41:106)

. . . for the most part the boys wrote as they spoke, with no understanding of register or adapting to a particular reader. The boys' organisation, coherence, sequencing and designing of a series of related ideas were weak; the language was often stilted, awkward, lacking in development and clarity;

(AG28:6)

These outlines identify key ideas of 'sentences', 'system', 'spelling' and 'control'. They link

grammar knowledge to teaching through implied requirements for subject knowledge and

attention to learners' needs. Each rationalises its current position.

Assessment frameworks present the required elements, as success criteria, and similarly

contrast these with claimed current shortcomings:

Year 9
. . .
Sentence structure and punctuation:

> • vary sentences for clarity, purpose and effect (AF5)
> • write with technical accuracy of syntax and punctuation in phrases, clauses and sentences
> Many pupils rely on compound sentences which become over-long. There is over-dependence on coordination and little evidence of subordination. (AF6)

<div align="right">(QCDA, 2010:1-2)</div>

Some authors directly claim lack of grammar knowledge to be an impediment to progress.

AG07 assumes the reader's agreement about these linguistic items being the most important

for learners:

> We know what we have to do to move pupils towards level 4. The characteristic constraints for pupils who attain level 3 at Key Stage 2, identified in relation to the three strands of the National Literacy Strategy, are:
>
> Sentence Level
> * Limited use of complex sentences
> * Variable use of commas to mark boundaries within sentences
> * Limited ability to use pronouns and verb tenses accurately

<div align="right">(AG07:vi)</div>

Whilst showing concern over learners' limitation in 'complex sentence' construction, this is a

stylistic rather than a grammatical feature. Citing spelling and punctuation indicates a

requirement for accuracy, reflecting a structural-prescriptive approach to grammar. Prescriptive

requirements come into closer focus where addressing professional audience. AG09's author

discursively links teaching linguistic items to professional competency. This extract frames

what must be taught:

> Grammar is a means of enabling pupils to develop more control and choice in their use of language. The more we know about it the better equipped we are to:
> * draw attention to how writers use language to influence us as speakers and readers
> * help pupils use language to create the effects they want in speaking and writing.
> We all have knowledge about grammar, but it is useful to review our knowledge and understanding to establish consistency and to fill in gaps.

<div align="right">(AG09:105)</div>

In AG texts definitions of grammar are often implied, giving tightly defined models of teaching

that create an imperative tone. For example, AG02 makes assumptions about what content is

required but specifies the pedagogic methods needed to teach it:

> Phrases and sentences
> Collect and write out special phrases and sentences which you think are going to

<div align="center">167</div>

> enhance the children's writing and give them a better understanding of the essence of good storytelling, e.g. *The waves grew higher and higher the sky turned blacker and blacker the wind blew stronger and stronger*

<div align="right">(AG02:48)</div>

Requiring 'special phrases and sentences' is an exercise in taste and form, not grammatical coherence. Teaching isolated grammar items is common to national strategies documents, where discourse is sparse, as in AG02 that uses an imperative tone accentuated by the modal auxiliary verb 'should' when claiming:

> Pupils <u>should</u> be taught: Grammatical awareness
> 1 to revise from Y5:
> * the different word classes, e.g. prepositions;
> * re-expressing sentences in a different order:
> * the construction of complex sentences;
> * the conventions of standard English;

<div align="right">(AG02:2)</div>

Prioritising specific syntactic forms for children's writing is frequently rationalised on the grounds of writing with 'variety' and 'precision', exemplifying 'good' style, a taste for specific syntactic forms, or based on sentence conventions used for specific purposes, e.g. argumentation.

AG documents originate from the late 1990s and 2000s, mainly from national literacy strategies whose hegemonic project firmly sought to position the teacher as implementer of heavily prescribed linguistic norms. Its aim was to reorder literacy teaching and its management in schools. Its frameworks itemised what teachers must teach, recontextualising grammar at three 'levels', of word-, sentence- and text-level work (DfEE, 1998) with little context for how they might be used. AG training materials, as seen in documents AG02, AG07, AG09, AG41 prescribe taught content and its pedagogies, reconfiguring language as skills. AG documents above recontextualise grammar as context-free in ways that empirical linguistic theory such as systemic functional grammar (Thompson, 1992) does not. Their introduction conflicted with the national curriculum authority, QCA's 1998 alert on literacy, which noted:

There is little research which is directly helpful for developing models of how to teach grammar to children, especially young children' and suggested a programme 'including syntactic structures and rules . . . invigorated with more recent knowledge from linguistics, genre and discourse theories, and a basic core of terminology, which offers the most fruitful way forward.

(QCA, 1998:56)

Official authentications of grammar in English and literacy are therefore central to understanding its discourses. The national strategies' itemising of uncontextualised grammar should be seen within three wider education preoccupations that span this study's period. First, is a recurrent preoccupation with young people's preparedness for the demands of the adult workplace (Dent, 1970:17-18). Second, is a presentation of literacy as the efficient means to a more equal society (Rowe, 1970). Third, a concern to learn language for individual growth (Dixon, 1975). The late twentieth century literacy strategies' narrow rationales for grammar focus on proficiency in specific types of writing, claiming its place in recontextualising pedagogic discourse towards a prescriptive literacy for adult life.

However, the varied prescriptive grammar requirements quoted in this section indicate that their grammar rationales give little empirical underpinning. Questions about grammar's analytical frameworks lead to questions about what language history defines its content and teaching approaches, and their validity in meeting learners' language needs in culture and society.

5.4.2   Indications of prescriptive grammar

Linguistic or social rationales found in the opening sections of official reports reveal official searches for historical certainty before moving their arguments on to fresh ground. Authors intertextually list historical controversies about former principles, content and practices that define school grammar. Many acknowledge previous debates per se, before making their own propositions, e.g. OR01, OR07 and OR13. These authors give general, vague reference to grammar being 'hotly debated' when seeking 'a general consensus of opinion among

practitioners' (OR01), or 'the vexed question of the role of grammar in teaching English' before identifying the value of 'distinction[s] between 'prescriptive' and 'descriptive' grammar' in text OR03, or 'much confusion over whether grammar should be explicitly taught' before stating 'that formal exercises in the analysis and classification of language contribute little or nothing to the ability to use it' (OR07), and 'the [w]idely divergent views . . . now held on the value of the formal elements of knowledge about language' from which we are told that '[m]any people believe that standards in our use of English would rise dramatically if we returned to the formal teaching of grammar' (OR13). Use of metaphors such as 'hot', 'vex', 'confuse', 'diverge' signifies a distancing of text authors' own reflective survey from an assumedly intemperate past.

Authors' opening summaries use questions or propositions to restrict what may be considered relevant to their own grammar proposition. Text OR13's claim above, that '[m]any people believe that standards in our use of English would rise dramatically if we returned to the formal teaching of grammar', serves to fix an argument through a passing, almost invisibly unsupported claim. Text OR04 similarly develops its opening argument, through multiple questioning:

> What are the effects of grammar teaching on the ability to write? How much grammar should be taught, at what ages, and how? What, for that matter, is meant by grammar in the sense intended by those who suggest there should be more of it?'
>
> (OR04)

Both make subtle uses of verb forms with modality structures, 'would rise' and 'should be taught', rendering meaning as definite, complete or closed, irrespective of debate. This approach is characteristic of a hortatory exposition micro-genre (Section 5.2.2), a discursive activity that creates a will for the truth of its position, irrespective of flux or debate (White, 2005).

Some documents present debate as being open, uncertain and requiring *re*consideration, whilst simultaneously restricting the argument's purview. Reference to doubts about contemporary orthodoxy, linked to a concomitant desire to do better, is to reframe grammar's identity in the interests of promoting new policy directions (Bernstein, 2000), however vague.

Intertextual analysis of the argumentation structures in the above texts OR01, OR03, OR04, OR07, OR13 (Appendix D), reveals uses of specific rhetorical structures to create a shift in argumentation by presenting a historical scene that they then rebut or reorient. For example, text OR01 contrasts two apparently competing interests in subject English, grammar and literature. Authors set up a false argument premised on a claimed demise of grammar teaching by the 1910s. This is then reoriented by citing tacit support for grammar, surprisingly coming from literature specialists. Claiming that literature specialists, the supposed enemies of grammar, actually support its place in English, closes a discursive gap in support of grammar teaching, within this two-part argumentation structure. This argumentation structure can be seen in the following extract from my rhetorical structure analysis of text OR01 (Appendix D):

Text Structure		Rhetorical Structure
Body	I.-THE PROBLEM OF GRAMMAR.	Subtitle
	254. We have already shown in our Historical Retrospect* that a paramount place was given to grammar in the primary schools of the 19th century, and that, when it ceased to be a compulsory subject in 1890, it rapidly 'disappeared from all but a few schools, to the joy of children and teacher.'	Argument
	Strong representations were made to us that this reaction against grammar had proceeded too far, representations not so much from teachers of language as from those whose enthusiasm for literature was unquestionable.	Reorientation

Figure 5.3 **Rhetorical structure analysis of text OR01:278**

Search for historical provenance for particular school grammars emanates from two conflicting yet prescriptive histories English grammar. First is English's history of classifying its largely non-inflected verb formation and noun case structures using metalanguage drawn from Classical Greek and Latin's highly inflected structures. Second is a tradition of prescribing

good style, belle lettres (Peel *et al.*, 2000), emulating written literary sources that reflect

prescripts of classics scholarship (Crystal, 2003:79).

Linking English grammar to Classical language studies, OR arguments reject links between

English grammar and Latin. Newbolt, Norwood and Plowden (OR01:283; OR2:94; OR03:209-

10) separate these two traditions, through detailed argument for rejecting ideas of Classical

antecedents into modern English grammar, given in Appendix D. Plowden also rejects a

simplistic model of uncoordinated skills and limited grammar knowledge, and casts Latinate

grammar as reductionist and linguistically unsupportable, but recognises and counters the

force of historical authority's influence on grammar's subject ideology.

In 1984 HMI's 'English from 5 to16: Curriculum Matters1' OR07, similarly surveys language

study practice, but as the precursor to arguments for change:

> All who teach English are explicitly concerned with every aspect of the growth of their
> pupils' command of language; and this is a complex matter because language is
> complex. It is the principal means by which we think, define what we experience and
> feel, and interpret the world in which we live; and the principal means by which we
> communicate with other people. Very often, as in a discussion, the definition of ideas
> develops in the process of communication. We use language in many different ways for
> many different purposes, for it is essential to most human activities.
>
> OR07

HMI contextualise grammar as essential for communication and thinking. Its complexity is not

examined in detail but this argument, and reasons, move towards its final thesis statement.

HMI's reasoning here recognises a plural 'personal growth' reasoning that links linguistic

'complexity' with personal 'think[ing]', 'experience' and 'feel[ing]' as its rationale for school

grammar.

Four years later Kingman (OR13) cites unspecified 'research' in prefacing its own argument

against 'old fashioned formal teaching of grammar' and the reason for it. Its argumentation

steps, in Figure 5.4, indicate a similar rhetorical approach to that in text OR07, by orienting the

reader with vague claims stated as fact before giving an argument and closing with a belief as its main reason.

Text Structure		Rhetorical Structure
Title	The teaching of language	Title
Introduction	27. Widely divergent views are now held on the value of the formal elements of knowledge about language, Many people believe that standards in our use of English would rise dramatically if we returned to the formal teaching of grammar which was normal practice in most classrooms before 1960. Others believe that explicit teaching or learning of language structure is unnecessary.	Orientation Facts
Body	We believe that both these extreme viewpoints are misguided. Research evidence suggests that old fashioned formal teaching of grammar had a negligible, or, because it replaced some instruction and practice in composition, even a harmful, effect on the development of original writing. We do not recommend a return to that kind of grammar teaching.	Argument
	It was based on a model of language derived from Latin rather than English. However, we believe that for children not to be taught anything about language is seriously to their disadvantage.	Reason

Figure 5.4   Rhetorical structure analysis of text OR13:12

Whilst the past provides authority to construct ideologies of grammar that fit between 'traditional' grammar and none at all, the history cited to explain continuing uncertainty or to pacify a hostile reception, is generally claimed to be extreme; the ensuing arguments in OR07 and OR13 claim that such extremes prejudice children's interests. The argumentation framework from my intertextual analysis (Appendix D) shows a common pattern of rhetorical steps in problematising past practice in order to develop new ground. This argumentation structure recontextualises the rules by which grammar discourse may be reframed. The contexts within which 'old' or 'formal' grammar may be discussed are adjusted in the interests of generating sufficient social power to develop a new model.

5.4.3   Grammar as rules for language competency

Periodic attempts to (re)start grammar in schools signify that searches for rule-driven, or other, constructions of language are pivotal in recontextualising the nature and purpose of school English; what for Fairclough is to change the 'order of discourse' (Fairclough, 2001). In this light grammar becomes a normative influence on changing paradigms of the English and literacy curriculum. Bullock (OR04) reflects on grammar as the source of language rules that defines classroom purposes, content and tasks.

> 11.15 For many people language study means the study of grammar . . . [w]hat are the effects of grammar teaching on the ability to write? How much grammar should be taught, at what ages, and how? What, for that matter, is meant by grammar in the sense intended by those who suggest there should be more of it? In our discussions with teachers it became obvious that the term was often being used to include sentence construction, précis, paragraphing, vocabulary work, punctuation, and more besides.
>
> . . . What is under discussion here, however, has a wider concern. It is the degree to which language study of several kinds, and practice arising from study, can be effective in improving a pupil's ability to use language in general. It is a central recommendation of this chapter that the teacher should take deliberate measures to improve his pupil's ability to handle language. The point at issue is what form these should take
>
> (OR04)

Here the authors confront prescriptive recontextualising influences, but draw back to question assumed causal links between grammar and language competency. Bullock approaches the argument that understanding the language's structures improves language performance sceptically. By 1988 Kingman reported on its task to devise a 'developmental model of language development', which was to underpin the language content of a future national curriculum. However, sociolinguistics had, by the 1980s, produced understandings of the social power of language, e.g. power and gender relations. This theory would confront prescriptive-structural beliefs about learning language's rules and understanding language use. From 1984 official discourse reframed grammar as 'knowledge about language' (KAL) in OR04; the term language 'performance' gave way to language 'knowledge' and HMI (OR07) and Kingman (OR13) both include the argument that understanding language structures improves language use, which became inscribed in recommendations for a first national

curriculum for English (OR16). Much of these recommendations focused on grammar's place in teaching writing skills, and searched for suitable grammar content and guidance for teaching it for this purpose. This model of grammar's rules showing children the way to write well is a strong element in the early KAL rationales in 1984 (OR07).

> 1.1 Achieving competence in the many and varied uses of our language is a vital part of the education of pupils in our schools . . . since (where English is the only or principal medium of instruction) all areas of the curriculum involve teachers and pupils in using English: the teachers' responsibility lies in the models of language they provide, in the ways they require pupils to use English, and in the attention they give to the language aspects of pupils' performance.
>
> OR07:1)

HMI focuses attention on devising suitable models of language for instructing children in their expression. They give three indications of future policy: (i) teachers' responsibilities in actively modelling language use, (ii) the importance of language in learning, and (iii) the notion of whole school policies for language. HMI argue using the passive voice, the relatively long sentences are coordinated around copular verbs to 'be' and 'have' that affirm their stated position as fact. The opening sentence is a thesis statement, a rhetorical structure that initiates the overall argument. This is recontextualising grammar as a national project, presaging new discourses to come in the national changes of the 1990s and 2000s.

1998 saw a new English policy genre in which the national strategies published direct pedagogic advice and guidance for teachers. Official QCA advice in 1998 (AG01) very firmly set the affirmative tone of this change:

> While a particular piece of work might focus on one of the requirements, teachers will need to ensure that they attend to the other two when drawing up their plans. Further, each of the grammar requirements should be met within an overall programme of work in English which integrates the language modes. For example, the requirements regarding complex sentences at key stage 2, which are set out in the programme of study for writing, should inform work that is planned in speaking and listening, and reading. Much of the direct teaching of complex sentences, for example, is relevant when preparing pupils for a writing task, but should draw on how complex sentences are used in the texts pupils are reading or studying, and in the oral activities that they undertake at this time.
>
> (AG01:17)

For this author language teaching would give structural coherence to what would be taught, in this case a syntactic form, in speech as well as writing. Here, rules of complex sentence structure are assumed to be similar in speech and in writing, which does not accord with sociolinguistic research (Carter, 2002); nor is knowledge of sentence structure related to meaning, which was a criticism made of 'traditional' grammar and addressed by systemic functional grammar. This relationship is addressed in AG03, advising on implementing national curriculum grammar requirements, by making teachers' responsible for identifying grammar rules and making these rules an explicit feature of grammar pedagogy:

> Knowledge of sentence grammar is a necessary but by no means sufficient condition either for using English or for understanding how it is used . . .
>
> Teachers and researchers acknowledge, however, that descriptive and pedagogical relationships are both highly complex and under-researched: Three main relationships are addressed in this chapter, those between:
> - noticing grammatical words and reading texts;
> - grammar in sentences and grammar in texts;
> - comprehending and interpreting the effects of grammar in both sentences and texts.
>
> (AG03:16)

This argument conflicts with the requirement for a developmental model of language, one that specifies as a sequence of knowledge steps that was previously required of Kingman:

> A fourth main area to be investigated is whether a core list of grammatical forms can he suggested which enables teachers and pupils at key stages 3 and 4 to move from words to sentences, to texts, to meanings, and doing so in ways which are in keeping with good pedagogic practice in the English classroom.
>
> (AG03:16)

AG03's authors call for linguistics to provide this framework for grammar features at word, sentence and text level, and presumably open pedagogic practice looks optimistic when placed against the national literacy strategies of the 2000s. AG03's author questions the research base for rule-driven structural grammar teaching. Twenty-four years earlier Bullock (OR04) also questioned the nature of some publically assumed language 'rules', rules that his committee reported to be styles, a social evaluation of language, a matter of public taste:

It [a 'traditional' view of language teaching] identified a set of correct forms and prescribed that these should be taught . . . Letters to the press are rarely more fierce than when complaining of the way in which a particular word is being misused or used in a new sense. 'Brutalise' and 'hopefully' are two recent examples, and there are many precedents.

. . .

One may regret some of the changes . . . [b]ut if change is to occur it will in due time occur, since growth and change are essential characteristics of a language.

(OR04:169-170)

This official rejection of public pressure to teach fixed word meaning offers some descriptive understanding of the complex relationships between language form, function and change. However, in teaching grammar the 'rules' of language become regulators of success in public examinations, and are used for evaluating school written work. This association between surface features of writing and linguistic understanding becomes visible in a 1999 QCA research project identifying grammar in learners' writing performance in GCSE examinations and linking them to success at different grades.

The interrelationship of features of technical accuracy
. . . teachers should be aware of the interrelationships between the six areas of writing in this study and explore how one aspect of technical accuracy impinges on another . . . Teaching decisions made in the light of this study will also focus on whether an aspect identified by the research requires a single, focused input, or needs to be looked at in more detail over a period . . . The findings of this study suggest a number of areas which merit more attention in the classroom . . .

(CR02:7)

These research conclusions help reinforce prescriptive discourse by placing high value on particular grammar forms in gaining examination success. As with texts from the SC and OR groups, authors use the modal auxiliary 'should' to heighten the responsibility on teachers when linked to 'be aware of the interrelationships between the six areas of writing in this study'. The implicit rules for success devised from this research link language forms with pedagogy and teacher competency. This linkage is developed in 2009 in a revised secondary national strategy for literacy. Its targets are in the next extract. There, rules for taught grammar are linked closely to professional advice, and presented as hierarchical lists of intertextually

chained requirements. They show the range of national requirements and give immediate advice on navigating their complexity for school curriculum planning. The 'helpful teaching approaches' are expressed grammatically through (i) imperative verbs, and (ii), having no sentence subject, thereby speaking unequivocally to the teachers. The two orienting sections form a direct intertextual link between assessment criteria and language features for teaching. Presented in this single form their linear visual semiotic (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006) combines their requirements sequentially, so as to offer a way to circumvent retracing the national documents; by so doing AG42's author obviates the need for much professional judgement in planning, and potentially de-skilling teaching. Page 25 of AG42 offers advice on teaching using a listing approach, which forms an intertextual chain to assessment requirements, and limits envisaged teaching approaches. Bullet-point lists of instructions regarding punctuation, syntax and sentence cohesion are given under general topic headings such as 'helpful teaching approaches' and 'possible graded targets'. For example, teaching approaches for sentence structure include:

> Helpful teaching approaches
> Sentences and cohesion
> • Review understanding of simple, compound and complex sentences in shared work
> • Demonstrate the impact of sentence variety in shared reading and writing and display examples, for example by starting with a non-finite verb, or 'dropping in' subordinate clauses
> • Be explicit about the demands of formal as opposed to informal writing and feature both in shared writing

<div align="right">(AG42:25)</div>

The discursive message developed here is of imperative agendas for teaching specific sentence grammar reinforced by grammatical metalanguage and classroom display. The above analysis also initiates a recognition of (i) other official documents, and (ii), the interlinking of these documents' graphology, structure and requirements in a way no single publication can. This is a sign of my growing observation of more than a regular intertextual link between texts. The impact of simultaneous multiple forms of presentation reinforces both

the messages and their origins, similar to the multi-genres in children's creative writing (Romano, 2000).

This graphology and discourse combination exemplifies a required, hierarchical approach to grammar items. Its linear listing argues visually, working intertextually as a framing and reinforcing device within, and between, similar AG texts and attainment targets of the SC text group that avoid discussion and thereby obviate debate (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). The associated authority of official assessment requirements reinforces the imperative appearance of this 'advice', as do the imperative verbs at the beginning of each statement, creating a brisk, content-driven performative discourse of official policy and linguistic authority. The 'rules' are clearly signalled; neither variation nor discussion is visible.

5.4.4   Summary of the perspective of prescriptivism and rules

In this perspective of prescriptivism and rules, 'narrowing rationales for grammar', 'indications of prescriptive grammar' and 'grammar as rules for language competency'
are the main themes constructing authoritative subject perspectives, within a discourse of heritage and authority. Their ideological themes, found in 25 texts, comprise 13-AG, 8-OR, 2-SC and 2-CR. The argumentation micro-genres used in this perspective of prescriptivism and rules is given in Table 5.5.

Corpus Group	Argumentation Micro-genres in the perspective of prescriptivism and rules
OR	explanatory exposition (7)
	hortatory exposition (1)
AG	hortatory exposition (9)
	problem solution (2)
	explanatory exposition (2)
CR	explanatory exposition (2)
SC	hortatory exposition (2)

Table 5.5   Argumentation Micro-genres in the perspective of prescriptivism and rules

OR texts' prescribe and regulate rationales for grammar approaches, have space to explain and contextualise rationales. They give less space to itemising topic content and thereby lessen a hortatory tendency to pronounce grammar's values, using explanatory expositions to give reasoned argument. OR01, OR04 and OR13 use historical precedent for grammar's place, purpose and content in English, focussing on authoritative texts and writers to argue for continuity and commonsense acceptance of previous versions of grammar. AG and SC texts are more assertively demanding of the readers to accept taken-for-granted understandings of Standard English and grammar's utility. There is frequent exposition about accuracy and precision based on rule-driven rationales, and heavy listing of grammar items form its graphology. CR texts provide authoritative rationales based on detailed argument from research findings and claimed contexts for future action. While argument for action is strong in this perspective, implementation is weakly portrayed, even in AG texts where content listing displaces pedagogic discussion. Teacher-pupil relationships and pedagogic agency are regulated. Analysing these texts for their prescriptive and regulatory semiotics reveals both semantic and social control over school grammar. They contribute two concepts 'prescriptivism' and 'rules' to an overall discourse of heritage and authority. As one perspective of this discourse they suggest that much power to recontextualise the English curriculum lies in official discursive activity to delimit grammar's subject and professional identities.

5.5   The Perspective of Cultural and Literary Heritage

Williams defines culture as 'a social and intellectual movement' (Williams, 1983), the valued lives and works of a society, seen through its customs, meanings and values (Williams, 1965:57). The 'literary' is closely related, and reflects cultural interest in valued written works whose nature and style are analysed for their ideas and language (Culler, 1997). The term 'literary' recognises a social role for writing; literary writing becomes the record of a socially powerful cultural genre; It defines the values and cultural habitus of the 'literary' in a given culture (Culler, 1997; Eagleton, 2008; Williams, 1977). Definitions of 'heritage' include the 'collection of tangible objects related to the cultural development of a society that are inherited

from past generations and are valued by contemporaries as an expression of this cultural development' (Koboldt, 1995). In this study these 'objects' are the written and the symbolic elements of language, objects that inspire an 'aesthetic reaction' and whose critique is a social activity, from its own time and place and acquiring a subsequent history of its own ideologies (Ford, 2002:1). Below I use these two terms separately. Here, I consider the strands of thinking that construct official preoccupation with creating discourse of grammar's heritage.

5.5.1 The cultural heritage of grammar

A strong inclination to classify and legitimate English grammar's qualities is present in the corpus. OR01 notes how syntactic classification inspires debate about what are valid systems of grammatical analysis, and what is their antecedence and terminology:

> the grammar, of our living tongue is quite different from that of synthetic languages, dead or alive. What this structure is we are only now beginning to find out. It is possible that future text-books on English grammar will wear an air very strange to those brought up on 'cases', 'declensions', 'conjugations', &c., that we shall hear of new parts of speech and much of 'word-order', 'token words' and the like. But a great deal still remains to be done first. The only secure basis for modern English grammar is a scientific history of the language from the days of Chaucer to our own, a matter which is still very much in dispute . . .
>
> (OR01:289)

OR01 looks for theories of grammatical analysis for school English. Leith claims that a 'taught language inevitably becomes increasingly subject to attention and scrutiny, aimed at describing its forms and structures . . . diminishing variation within the standardised variety . . . [and] trying to stop linguistic change' (Leith, 1997:49). For Leith, English's grammatical codification was 'the grammatical categories established by the Latin scholars were applied, ready made, to the grammar of English' (Leith, 1997:52). English scholarship classified syntax and morphology from Latin's written variety, thereby creating an illusion of certainty about its applicability and permanence. Newbolt recognises a need for an 'English' framework to reflect a stronger English national identity. In summarising linguistic debate between the validity of Latin or Teutonic categories for classifying English grammar Newbolt fails to choose one, leaving the identity of school grammar unclear.

Bullock (OR04) similarly reflects a need for modern English grammar, with sufficiently open

categories to capture language change:

> The traditional view of language teaching was . . . prescriptive . . . Such a prescriptive view of language was based on a comparison with classical Latin, and it also mistakenly assumed an unchanging quality in both grammatical rules and word meaning in English. In fact the view still prevails.
>
> (OR04:169)

Grammar Paper 2 (AG01) explains how philology has shown potential for better analyses:

> The study of grammar in higher education in the nineteenth century developed very differently. During this time, the scholarly tradition of grammar study inherited from classical times was extended by increasing attention to the origins and histories of modern languages and the relationships between them.
>
> (AG01:13)

Philology's influence on grammars prompts OR01 to question philology's evaluating English's

grammatical forms:

> The idea that a language was admirable in proportion to its richness in forms, and more particularly in inflexions, was strengthened by the fact that modern comparative philology took its rise in a country which still spoke a highly inflexional tongue, namely, Germany . . . It was assumed that the inflexional system was the crowning development in the history of language, and that a speech which had lost its inflexions was in a state of decay . . . This false philosophy of linguistics, in turn, led to a concentration by scholars upon Old and Middle English, as being rich in forms, rather than upon their 'degenerate' offspring, Modern English.
>
> (OR01:286)

Newbolt argues that cultural definitions of elegance need renewed attention from linguistic

science. It leaves the contemporary state of grammatical analysis in limbo. Its argument

humanises the 'philologist' and 'scholars' as metaphors for the 'false' analyses that require

'proper attention'.

By 1988 Kingman makes little mention of a Latinate linguistic heritage of English but develops

its argument about grammar controversy through the two traditions of descriptive grammar that

recognises 'language environment' (Barton, 1999; Doughty *et al.*, 1971), and prescriptive

grammar knowledge that will 'underpin and promote mastery' (sic) (OR13:4), a strong

metaphor of certainty in the power of learning language structures to facilitate language

performance. OR13 argues that grammatical knowledge augurs linguistic power:

> It is arguable that such mastery might be achieved without explicit knowledge of the structure of the language or in ways it is used in society. But there is no positive advantage in such ignorance . . . we believe that knowledge about language, made explicit at that moment when the pupil is ready, can underpin and promote mastery . . .
>
> (OR13:4)

There is no such coyness here; belief in language knowledge facilitating language proficiency

presages a 2000 AG text 'Grammar for Writing', and accords with single studies exploring such

links (Myhill, 2010), yet conflicts with some research reviews (Andrews, 2005; 2010).

Synchronic language variation is recognised by HMI (OR07), when reconciling learners'

regional accents with schools' work to 'modify' learners' speech:

> [in] [a]ccent or pronunciation . . [t]here is a rich and fascinating variety of English accents related to localities and regions . . . [n]o one form of English accent, however, is inherently superior to any other. What is necessary is that pupils should learn to speak clearly and intelligibly; and if their accent is difficult for those outside their speech community to understand, they should be able to modify it when necessary.
>
> (OR07:15)

This social evaluation of speech is not present in a tradition of less formally appraised dialogic

talk, seen as a central to classroom learning (OR03):

> . . . experience becomes richer when talked over and recreated. Its meaning can be clarified and refined, feelings about it are brought more into harmony and it becomes the basis for further learning. The achievement of many infant schools has been to build on and to extend children's experiences, to provide opportunities for talk about them and to create a warmth of relationships which encourages children to talk and to listen.
>
> (OR03:210)

Arguing for using classroom discussion to develop meaning and clarity, rather than language

proficiency, per se, promotes a pedagogic tradition linked to personal growth English.

Interpersonal pedagogic meanings here come through personal metaphors 'warmth', 'feelings',

'richer' and 'harmony', and metaphors of negotiation: 'experience' 'clarified' and 'refined'. The final metaphor 'create' indicates belief in affective learning and in social interaction as pivotal in pedagogy for improved language performance.

Whilst the wide cultural inheritance of language forms, analytical frameworks and local variations is recognised in the data, little is said about teaching about variation. Taking Leith's point that teaching language means some standardising of its analysis and its socially accepted forms (Leith, 1997:49), only in spelling, e.g. AG04 and AG10, does the data specify what standard forms are required.

This perspective of cultural and literary heritage is also constructed from a strand of discourse relating to reading, less frequently considered than writing (Dean, 2003). Reading as a search for cultural meaning forms a strand of this discourse that refers to England's literate culture. It implies judgements about literary quality that are regarded as valuable to learners, given the official lists of prescribed authors in England's curriculum for English (QCA, 2007a). Officially requiring some specific authors above others indicates official evaluation of the literary heritage. From a Bourdieuian perspective the cultural reproduction allowed by official agency to set the boundaries of literary culture for schooling young people is culturally restrictive (1977). From a Gramscian perspective the cultural hegemony implicit in selecting the nation's proper reading links the curriculum to authoritarian and mono-cultural tendencies (Gramsci, 1971). Official curriculum selection only partially conflicts with Matthew Arnold's intended liberating precept that school reading should provide pupils with 'the best that has been thought and said' as an antidote to unrestrained materialism, industrialism and individual self-interest. Literary cultural study, Arnold claims, has 'its origin in the love of perfection; it is a study of perfection' (Arnold, 1869/2009). Prescribing literary reading allows space for official selections that reflect social class, culture or aesthetics in a hegemonic move to direct education towards a prestigious artistic culture (Apple, 2004; Williams, 1965).

Text AG03 (1999) combines the twin intentions of stylistic and grammatical analysis through reading. Authors use the phrase 'noticing grammar' to signify how a deft grammatical observation can touch off an insight through critical reading. The purpose is understanding 'ambiguity and subtlety of both everyday life and literary texts' (AG03) and highlights a cultural challenge:

> Text study is increasingly seen as a starting point and sentence grammar is consistently linked to text grammar. Of course, words are made into sentences, and knowledge of how words combine into sentences can he deployed to give sentences a particular shape that is an important part of grammar study . . . if the aim is to encourage pupils towards more proficient use of English, it is definitely textual knowledge, the ability to put sentences *together* and to engage with *complete* [original emphasis] texts which marks overall proficiency.
>
> (AG03)

In its conclusion the authors integrate grammar with meaning, presenting the reader as being aware of language as a part of the reading process.

> Grammatical forms and textual meanings
> It will, of course, be seen from the title above that *noticing* [my emphasis] grammatical forms, recognising how such forms are used and responding to the effects produced by such forms is a far from seamless process. Taking the next step from responding to effects in sentences to interpreting meanings in texts is similarly complex.
>
> (AG03:20)

AG03's rhetorical structure uses a problematised proposition in its opening thesis statement, before following up with a single point about the influences of a reader's background - text knowledge and affective response – in assessing the impact of a text. This leads to the final sentence being a problem statement (Appendix D). Grammatically this text's use of the passive voice lessens the intensity of any claims, and the following sentence uses the 'next step' metaphor as a link to the final position that moving from 'responding to effects in sentences to interpreting meanings in texts' is a recognisable and complex pedagogical issue. It is presented in an argumentative exposition micro-genre, that contrasts with the hortatory expositions (White, 2005) elsewhere (e.g. text AG01:7) in which the use of high modality grammatical forms, 'should', assert rather than argue a case. This is a subtly argued case where the authors tentatively note:

> . . . much recent literary, linguistic and cultural theory underlines that forms can have different meanings for different readers according both to their models of culture and society and to the personal experiences they bring to the text. There can be no easy one-to-one correspondence between a grammatical form and a textual meaning.
>
> (AG01:7)

By contrast many AG texts logical make positivist claims, presenting grammatical awareness as an easy tool for insightful reading. AG03 cites broader contextual reasons for using grammar as an analytical tool when pointing to the scale of the policy and pedagogical tasks involved:

> One starting point for an agenda for such research would be to focus on the meanings generated in texts by *core* grammatical forms and choices. By *core* is meant basic features of grammar which are significant both in sentence grammar and in the textual worlds of reading and interpretation. They include: pronouns, tense, active and passive voice, noun phrases, clause and sentence structure. Coincidentally, several of these same features figure in national curriculum documents and have been manifest in the texts under examination in this article.
>
> (AG03:20)

Semantically this extract is interesting for the closed discursive loop that the phrase 'core grammatical forms and choices' develops, and whose definition is simply achieved by the adjective 'basic'. The succeeding list of grammar elements is not referenced to linguistics to secure its claim for 'significance' in text construction, nor is a rationale provided for referencing such features back to 'national curriculum documents' or 'the texts under examination in this article'. The semantic capacity of the terms 'core' and 'basic' generates an assumed, commonsense significance of the commonplace features cited, but without an supporting argument. As noted earlier, internally validated argumentation structures are a frequent yet hollow feature of instrumental AG texts.

5.5.2   Summary of the perspective of Cultural and Literary Heritage

Arguments constructing this perspective of 'cultural and literary heritage' forcefully rationalise grammar's value by (i) reference to precedent from language history, (ii) its linguistic scholarship, and (iii) learning by reading, recognising and practising literary authorial finesse.

Argumentation structures vary, with problem-solution framing the argumentative exposition (AG13). AG texts are consistently hortatory in their argumentation micro-genre, excepting AG03, where a carefully reasoned explanatory exposition links grammatical features with reading, meaning and authorial impact. The pattern of argumentation micro-genres in the perspective of Cultural and Literary Heritage is given in Table 5.6.

Corpus Group	The pattern of argumentation micro-genres in the perspective of Cultural and Literary Heritage
OR	explanatory exposition (2) hortatory exposition (3)
AG	hortatory exposition (4) problem solution (1) explanatory exposition (1)

Table 5.6   Argumentation micro-genres in the perspective of Cultural and Literary Heritage

In conclusion these texts look retrospectively and prospectively for cultural justifications for grammatical analysis. Two cultural histories underlie its arguments. First, that language's structural heritage justifies learning its elements and metalanguage, mainly from a prescriptive-structural perspective that blurs distinctions between grammar and stylistics. Second, that a cultural history of language use, e.g. literature, develops grammar's usefulness as a cultural analytical tool. No firm structural or cultural model of grammar emerges despite claims for cultural applications of grammar knowledge.

5.6   The perspective of Professional Knowledge and Competency

Linguistic knowledges officially recognised as sufficient for professional competency are identified in documents presenting rationales and recontextualising discourses for change in language and grammar teaching. These present prescriptive, descriptive and structural positions. Change in classroom practice is understandably outlined in OR documents, which are addressed to public, policy and professional audiences, and usually written in response to contemporary political agendas for language teaching. AG texts usually address professional audiences, through programmes of professional development, advice and guidance on

language and grammar topics. These often imply a knowledge deficit in teachers. Discourses developed through this perspective of 'professional knowledge and competency' identify sub-themes of (i) understandings of teachers' preparedness for language and grammar teaching; (ii) how teaching about language may maintain cultural traditions; (iii) grammar teaching and teacher identity; and (iv) frameworks for literacy and grammar teachers' professional development. My examining of each sub-theme forms the structure of this perspective's analysis.

5.6.1   Who is prepared to teach grammar?

Perceptions and requirements for teachers' grammar subject knowledge, background and experience are frequently negative. Official outlines of grammar's content knowledge that set agendas for teacher activity imply a low level of audience knowledge, especially in the AG group. Newbolt directly outlines a perceived serious deficit in teacher knowledge that is 'almost invariably the product of misunderstanding' and that is sufficiently widespread to 'make statements about the structure of the language which are, to say the least of it, open to question'. Newbolt bleakly argues here for greater depth of knowledge or an abandonment of its teaching across the then 5 to 14 age-range:

> An unpopular subject is generally a subject which is badly taught, and bad teaching is almost invariably the product of misunderstanding and lack of interest. Grammar is certainly badly taught as a rule. Indeed, in the opinion of some best acquainted with the schools it is rare to hear a lesson in grammar in which the teacher does not make statements about the structure of the language which are, to say the least of it, open to question. Whence comes this lack of interest and this inaccuracy?
>
> (OR01:282)

Similar scepticism is evident in AG03's synthesis of findings from a 1995 survey of teachers' confidence in their grammar teaching:

> The survey showed that teachers were uncertain about:
> – the meaning of the word 'grammar';
> – the relationship between implicit and explicit grammatical knowledge;
> – the terminology to use when teaching grammar;
> – realistic expectations of pupils' grammatical knowledge;
> – how to plan for continuity and progression in grammar teaching;

– the relationship between the grammar requirements, learning objectives and teaching activities.

<div align="right">(AG01:7)</div>

Norwood (OR02) debates the qualifications needed for secondary school English teachers' in the late 1940s. It argues against technical approaches to language teaching, and for English specialists able to recognise language's application across the curriculum. The identity of the English teacher here is claimed as one with 'sympathy' and 'equipment', the knowledge, to link English skills to 'other subjects' and through these teach communication of those subjects' knowledge.

> It is obvious that a degree in English has certain advantages . . . [n]evertheless we do not regard such a qualification as indispensable.
>
> . . .
>
> We think that our ends will best be served by fitting more teachers to teach more subjects than English, and for this purpose the general honours degree in three subjects or a degree involving English and advanced work in some other subject should be of great value. Teachers so qualified will be enabled by sympathy and equipment to make those contacts with English through other subjects which give added reality and naturalness to the study of the mother tongue, and through English itself to bring to bear upon other subjects power of comprehension and standards of expression.

<div align="right">(OR02:97)</div>

Arguing for teachers whose language knowledge has a related background, e.g. classics, modern languages or humanities, claims that language in use rather than in theory (KAL) should contextualise grammar teaching. Recontextualising the nature and role of the English subject specialist as a critic of cultural texts as much as instructor in writing techniques does not prioritise grammar at the potential expense of literature and wider cultural reading in the English curriculum; a perennial tension in the construction of the specialist English teacher (Peel *et al.*, 2000; Protherough and Atkinson, 1994).

The above concern for pedagogic approaches, as well as for grammar-specific knowledge, helps to develop an ideal of the subject specialist as one equally concerned with pedagogies

and subject knowledge. These are reflected not just on teacher qualifications but on teachers'

pedagogic training and the textbooks, examples and school grammars they might use:

> The kind of exploratory, data-based teaching about the forms and functions of
> language which is proposed in this Report requires teachers who are confident in their
> ability to handle the material and apply it to well-chosen and stimulating examples. Our
> proposals therefore have serious implications for teacher training programmes and for
> those who develop teaching materials as well as for the teachers themselves.
>
> (OR16: Section 4.271)

This authors' use of the first person plurals 'our' and 'we' in Text OR02, and below, develops a

discourse of professional involvement in future change, and makes more natural the four

bulleted requirements of school grammar (OR16), as well as making the modal auxiliary

'should' an acceptable proposition, couched as it is in the passive voice, as is the OR02

extract. The repetition of the term 'relevance', below, suggests linking grammar teaching to

wider purposes, representing something open to individual interpretation. It presents an open

approach to language study that introduces pupil inquiry as a pedagogy, for the first time in this

analysis.

> For grammar to be of relevance to English teaching, it should be:
> * a form of grammar which can describe language in use;
> * relevant to all levels from the syntax of sentences through to the organisation of
>   substantial texts;
> * able to describe the considerable differences between written and spoken English;
> * part of a wider syllabus of language study, as outlined in chapter 6.
>
> Knowledge about sentence syntax is necessary as part of a larger description which
> includes the structural organisation of whole texts, such as stories, and arguments. In
> paragraph 4.53 we give, as an example, a brief description of some connectives which
> provide one means by which discourses can be organised.
>
> (OR16: Sections 4.28-9[1])

Official statements about teacher uncertainty over the value of grammar content or pedagogy

are found in outlines of subject knowledge. A common discursive practice is to set up

oppositions between an assumed general rejection of previous practice, e.g. 'traditional'

grammar or 'exercises', in favour of whatever future proposal is being presented. Norwood

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1 On-line text: No page numbers in Text OR16

proposes 'exercises' to 'reinforce something he [an individual pupil] has learned' but rejects

much 'trivial' whole-class practice by use of specific examples and questioning its value and

veracity. The 1975 Bullock report reinforces this augment about teacher mediation of

pedagogy in grammar:

> What has been shown is that the teaching of traditional analytic grammar does not appear to improve performance in writing. This is not to suggest that there is no place for any kind of exercises at any time and in any form. It may well be that a teacher will find this a valuable means of helping an individual child reinforce something he has learned. What is questionable is the practice of setting exercises for the whole class, irrespective of need, and assuming that this will improve every pupil's ability to handle English.
>
> <div align="right">(OR04:171)</div>

Whereas this extract implicitly questions teachers' 'usage' knowledge and pedagogy, other

documents question teachers' grammar knowledge by setting out explicit content explanations,

as noted in 5.4.2 above. The next extract shows how elementary the recent official advice is; it

implies ongoing need to clarify the simplest grammar elements for teachers, demonstrating

how sentences are constructed from clauses and phrases:

The National Literacy *Strategy*   Grammatical knowledge for teachers

Module 1 Grammatical overview

Aim

Covering words and phrases, clauses and complex sentences, this module serves as a lively introduction to the online training on Grammatical Knowledge for teaching writing.

Introduction

'Grammar is the study of how we make sentences'
David Crystal

When the linguist David Crystal was asked to define grammar in terms a nine year old might understand, he suggested this definition. It is a very concrete definition, suggesting that sentences are *made* in the same way that a dress or a table might be *made*.

A table is made out of wood, put together according to certain conventions, so that it does the job it is intended to do. A sentence is made out of words, put together according to certain conventions, so they do the job they are intended to do.

Children are taught that a sentence is 'a group of words that go together to make sense'. Within that sentence, there are smaller chunks of sense.

. . .

> It is a hierarchic structure: the words build up to phrases, the phrases build up to clauses, the clauses go together to make compound and complex sentences.

(AG342)

Guidance on official grammar teaching schemes emphasises content knowledge and suggests teachers may be unfamiliar with its topics, shown above and, for example AG19. These examples may reflect a wider case of few English specialist teachers in primary schools. Official provision of online modular courses to develop teachers beyond their current grammar knowledge appears to take further control over the curriculum. AG34 above, controls teachers' development within the grammar knowledge base, framing what necessary content and purposes will suffice. It justifies the quality of its own provision in stating that 'this module serves as a lively introduction to the online training on Grammatical Knowledge for teaching writing'. Its capitalisation of 'Grammatical Knowledge' implies its self-assumed status, and its reference to using grammar 'for teaching writing' closes argument about it having other uses. This short text's rhetorical structure consists of one initial proposition, four points, only one example, and a conclusion.

For tuition material it makes surprisingly limited engagement with its audience; distance from the reader can be identified through lacking relevant examples or contexts. By contrast AG19 (Appendix D) combines six summarised grammar content items with a compressed argumentation structure that moves swiftly towards them from two initial propositions. Their focus on writing skills assumes considerable subject knowledge underlying the specialist terms used to frame its contextualising argument. This is unremarkable in that it addresses a Key Stage 3, secondary phase audience, assumed here to be expert in grammar. The initial three main verbs, 'aims', 'is' and 'takes', use the present tense creating urgency. The first sentence similarly links the scheme to 'motivate', 'progress', 'targets' and 'diagnostic process' in its

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2 On-line source, no page numbering

compelling pace, using three coordinated clauses within the verb phrase to compress the syntax and develop points without pause or elucidation.

Other texts urge on teachers' grammar expertise and guide grammar practice by citing textbooks and teaching guides. In this 1921 example a reference to 'grammars' used by unwary teachers is captured in a reported scathing debate about their efficacy:

> . . . grammar is still almost universally regarded as a body of rules governing correct speech. When Professor Wyld says, 'Men who write grammars do not suppose they can set up a model of English speech,' his leniency towards those who year by year flood the market with school text-books on grammar is generous to a fault. With the exception of his own admirable little treatise, there are very few class books on the subject which do not explicitly or implicitly 'lay down the law.' And if the text-books take this line, the teachers *a fortiori* do the same.
>
> (OR01:283)

This prescient observation from 1921 indicates a route by which teachers may be found culpable of diminishing learners' opportunities to think for themselves during the post-1998 era of national strategies. A 2009 Ofsted inspection review identifies how some schools' uncritical planning and teaching is precipitated by teaching advice, such as in those AG texts cited above, especially when historicised within an era of multiple and varied national initiatives:

> There have been changes to the National Curriculum in Key Stage 3 . . . an end to national tests at 14 . . . GCSE courses are being rewritten to include a new element of functional skills . . . [n]ew A-level courses began in 2008. At the same time, schools are being encouraged to personalise the curriculum . . . The best schools visited during the last year of the survey were revising their programmes in the light of national recommendations and this was leading to positive developments. Where the curriculum was least effective, the teachers had found it difficult to respond creatively to the new opportunities. They were implementing national policy changes unthinkingly, often because they had no deeply held views about the nature of English as a subject and how it might be taught.
>
> (Ofsted, 2009)

Ofsted's use of the terms 'school' and 'teacher' interchangeably when ascribing agency to changing curriculum 'creatively' or 'unthinkingly', clearly identifies teacher competency and philosophy as vital to bringing 'deeply held views about the nature of English as a subject and how it might be taught' to policy change at school level. Newbolt and Bullock make similar

claims (OR01, OR04). Ofsted's implicit claim that teacher beliefs are central to professional competency echoes English teachers' challenges to official sidelining of the professionals during the 1990s English national curriculum (Protherough and King, 1995b:11).

These examples of discursive action to identify, address, and change teachers' capacities for grammar teaching, highlight the importance placed in national official reports, statutory curricula and literacy strategies to question and recontextualise the identity of the literacy teacher and English subject specialist. They do so in favour of grammar structures, within a mixture of prescriptive and structural positions. This recontextualising of teacher identity forms an interdiscursive web of official doubt that teacher beliefs about language teaching may be trusted. This instance of discursive recontextualisation points to what McLaren identifies as developing public 'subjectivity' that 'give[s] individuals the illusion of free choice while masking the means by which the parameters that define such choices have been constituted' (McLaren, 1995:73). Protherough and King observe how in the context curriculum redefinition a public distrust of teachers' competency was cultivated in the 1990s; where policy voices within English teaching were 'seriously curtailed and placed in the hands of 'advisory' committees, hand-picked by the Secretary of State to ensure that only one viewpoint is simultaneously heard' (1995a:10).

5.6.2 Teachers who can maintain traditions of grammar teaching

Discourses of professional competency to teach grammar, focus on teachers' beliefs about grammar's usefulness and its pedagogy. OR texts frequently describe their own evidence about teacher belief and conviction on grammar to justify changing policy priorities. Newbolt (AG01) claims grammar knowledge is not enough and that some pedagogic conviction about grammar's purpose and value is a prerequisite to its credibility for learners:

> But teaching without faith is dead. Undoubtedly, therefore, an abatement of the traditional claims of grammar, a recognition that its position in the curriculum is justified because it is the essential groundwork of all linguistic study, and for no other reason, would go some way towards rehabilitating its prestige in the schools.
>
> (OR01:283)

Bullock justifies an openness about language's changing nature by reference to prescriptive ideological influence on grammar policy that now looks culturally antique:

> Many of the rules in use today were invented quite arbitrarily by grammarians in the 17th and 19th centuries, including the embargo on the split infinitive and on the ending of a sentence with a preposition. Before the 18th century they are both to be found in common use, along with other constructions proscribed today.
>
> (OR04:170)

This author challenges prescriptivist grammar positions, separating the past from the present, acknowledging grammar change as a normal cultural phenomenon. Official grammar discourse prior to the national strategies develops some descriptive ideology, using history to contextualise former grammatical shibboleths. Their argumentation depersonalises their case using the impersonal pronoun 'one' and the passive voice, resting the case on the evidence presented. However, questions over where new boundaries between unacceptable and admissible grammar change is to be drawn, who may draw them and by what principles, are not addressed. How public and professional beliefs about grammar are negotiated, how their educational discourse constructed, and how teacher's knowledge should fit into these questions are all left unaddressed. Only in OR13 is discussion over the kinds of grammar, and their analysis, directly addressed, in defining its own model of language:

> . . . we present a model of English. There can be no such thing as *the* model. Constant flux is inherent in the nature of language. The word 'language' is an abstraction: it subsumes all the means by which human beings communicate in vocal or written forms with each other. As human beings and their relationships change, so does their language. Moreover, because language serves as many purposes as there are needs for communication, any model of language must be, to a greater or lesser extent, *specific.*
>
> (OR13:Para.39)

5.6.3   Grammar, textbooks and professional development

Official discourse that sets boundaries between thinkable and unthinkable ways of seeing grammar limits teacher agency to select knowledge and pedagogic ideas. Bullock (OR04) is the first official report analysed here to indicate specific grammar knowledge needed:

> We believe these [language] features should certainly include punctuation, some aspects of usage, the way words are built and the company they keep, and a knowledge of the modest collection of technical terms useful for discussion of language. We must emphasise, however, that everything depends upon the teacher's judgement and his ability to ensure that what is taught meets the needs of the pupil in his writing. Explicit instruction out of context is in our view of little value.
>
> (OR04:172)

The author affirms teachers' responsibility to mediate curriculum by use of a collective 'we', in a cautious acknowledgement of 'the teacher's responsibility', but by using the softening pre-modifiers 'some', 'a' and 'modest' the author keeps the topics vague and unquantified. The discourse appears to anticipate opposition. Just prior to the national strategies Peel claims that teachers' agency in literacy and grammar teaching lies with whoever is able to specify its explicit technical content (Peel, et al 2000:44-5). Bullock is decidedly cautious when itemising school grammar's content, claiming it is habitually left to examinations boards and textbook writers, both of which still remain professional forces in contextualising and reframing English and literacy education in 1975, as I note in Chapter 1.

National curriculum and strategy grammar texts contain highly specific grammar content that sets demanding agendas for both teaching and professional development. As noted in Chapter 1 the role of textbooks is, in part, to sharply intervene in teachers' knowledge and pedagogic choices (Westbury, 1990). Early in official specification of national requirements for grammar HMI set broad 7-11 yr-olds' learning agendas:

> They should know:
> > The rules of spelling
> > The difference between vowels and consonants
> > The functions and names of the main parts of speech (noun, pronoun, verb, adjective and adverb), and be able to identify these in their own writing for the purpose of discussing what they have written
> > The difference between statements, questions, commands and exclamations
> > The terms 'subject' and 'object' and be able to identify them in their own writing
> > That a sentence has a subject and a verb, and that the two must agree.
> > That word order determines meaning.
>
> (OR12:8-9)

These criteria for pupils' achievement are contextual; they imply that concepts should be learned and used in discussing language use, rather than either governing learners'

understanding of how language *should* be used, or as lists of grammar features to be memorised. They leave teachers latitude in interpreting the scope and detail needed to apply such approaches. By 1988 Kingman moves the official discourse on in two directions by (i) both specifying teacher's knowledge requirements, and (ii) identifying practical language skills needed to remedy errors in a piece of pupils' writing reproduced in the report:

> Drawing together the various aspects of linguistic knowledge required of the teacher, we see from the above [piece of reproduced writing] that at least the following aspects are relevant:
> * punctuation and its relationship with meaning
> * use of pronouns
> * structure of phrase and sentence, including choice of verb tenses and US choice of adverbial expressions
>
> . . .
>
> Of course, a teacher possessing the kinds of knowledge listed would still need a good deal more, including a developing understanding of individual pupils' tendencies, weaknesses and strengths, a clear notion of the place of the exercise in an overall teaching scheme, the ability to organise time to allow for comment to the pupil on those points considered to be important - in general, pedagogic as well as linguistic expertise.
> (OR13:35)

Here, official discourse re-evaluates pedagogy and teacher identity as instrumental and practical; moving teachers' curricular responsibility towards meeting official requirements. In the late 1990s a further move towards re-positioning the teacher is achieved through listing greater subject detail in national strategies texts. AG41, for example, details origins of English spelling as a keyhole teacher training exercise, thereby reframing the teacher role towards implementing prepared classroom tasks. Re-framing spelling so specifically creates a teacher-as-technician identity, less intended to mediate good language knowledge but more to implement spelling programmes within the requirements of its 'main components' (Appendix D).

This perspective of 'professional knowledge and competency' is constructed from themes about

* who is prepared to teach grammar?

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- teachers who can maintain traditions of grammar teaching

- grammar textbooks and professional development

These ideological themes are found in 18 texts, 10-AG and 5-OR. The frequency of their

argumentation micro-genres is given in Table 5.7.

Corpus Group	Argumentation micro-genres in the perspective of professional knowledge and competency
OR	explanatory exposition (8) hortatory exposition (1) problem solution (1)
AG	hortatory exposition (4) problem solution (1) explanatory exposition (1)
CR	hortatory exposition (1) explanatory exposition (1)

Table 5.7   Argumentation micro-genres in the perspective of professional knowledge and competency

I have examined official claims that teachers' knowledge and competency in grammar be

raised. Teacher identity is found polarised between cultural expert and technician. The data

shows a tendency to control:

(i)   public attitudes to language change, first in favour of plurality but later towards more

         fixed directions,

(ii)   teachers' grammar knowledge, to retain credibility for their competency in grammar,

         and

(iii)   grammar pedagogies.

These later examples from the AG text group had statutory force until 2011. They show the

coercive use of publically available documents in a discursive drive to reframe teachers'

grammar knowledge, as a matter of professional competency.

5.7   Summary of Chapter 5

In this chapter I identify three important conceptual dimensions constructing official versions of school grammar discourse: subject knowledge, classroom practice, and teacher identity. Each dimension is a constituent of a discourse of heritage and authority, which I argue is a major official discourse of grammar. Identifying grammar's historical heritage as its provenance, and identifying grammar's authority as Standard English, addresses my first research question by establishing a first ideological construction of grammar in subject English.

Using Williams' (1971) theory of a selective tradition the ideologies of grammar seen in 'Discourse of Heritage and Authority' reflect ideals of (i) rule-driven rationales for grammar that draw largely on prescriptive traditions, (ii) frequent recourse to a cultural heritage of language history and literary practice to develop arguments about traditions of school grammar and its pedagogy, and (iii) grammar-knowledge competency models of teacher identity and professional development needs. These interpretations provide new insight into the representation of grammar in England's English curriculum. They contribute to understanding how in this ninety-year period an emerging official discursive tradition in policy texts have constructed grammar. Their insights are largely ideological, making largely prescriptive assumptions about language's rules and fixedness. However, some present open, descriptive positions on grammar rules and argue that teachers take an investigative approach by treating grammar as a changing phenomenon.

In addressing my second question I examine the linguistic characteristics of the data's discursive activity, particularly uses of lexico-grammatical features, e.g. modality and metaphor, and authorial argumentation strategies. This chapter reveals some consistent discursive activities at work. Particularly noticeable is the discursive impact of later national strategies texts, which focus on specific topics and create intertextual groups of publications.

The impact of national strategies documents appears intensified by developing their ideas and arguments in an intertextual web of converging ideas, presentation devices and requirements. These include masking some policy choices, arguing its own authority for grammar's place in the English curriculum, and developing a grammar ideology through identifiably constructed discourse of closed topic selection and tightly bounded pedagogic activities. The publications move over time from addressing public audiences towards addressing classroom teaching directly. This is particularly so in the era of national curricula and strategies.

Chapter 6   Discourses of English grammar: Standards and Control

6.1   Introduction

In this chapter I present my second discourse, of Standards and Control. Here I explore official policy ideas of the nature of language itself. I show how these influence policy ideals for educating school pupils into social norms of correctness, how they define language in learning, and are significant in maintaining discourses of cultural and social stability. The term 'Standard' with a capitalised 'S' signifies a recognised English dialect, 'that speech variety of a language community which is legitimised as the obligatory norm for social intercourse on the strength of the interests of dominant forces in that society' (Dittmar cited in Freeborn *et al.*, 1993:49). With a lower-case 's' 'standard' becomes socially judgemental and evaluative of language quality. As such, I argue that Standard English and 'standards' of English evaluate and thereby control both language use in society and the individuality and freedom of individual language users in school English.

6.1.1   The structure of Chapter 6

First I identify the concepts underlying this discourse through the corpus keyword count. I question what ideals of grammar and language constitute both 'Standard' English and 'standards' of English (Crystal, 2003:72-3; Quirk, 1972:30). I examine beliefs in the data that construct these concepts, and consider what social values sustain them (Millward, 1996:326-8). I draw on arguments for Standard language in educating the individual in a personal growth ideology of English (Dixon, 1975) in the data. I explore how ideals of linguistic conformity and individual experience operate in linguistic and social tensions (Ball *et al.*, 1990b:74-81; Bernstein, 1972:102-7). I draw on my argumentation strategy analysis and individual texts' lexico-grammatical features to recognise how policy texts address professional and public audiences in presenting their ideological positions.

6.2   The Discourse of Standards and Control

Coding documents for ideological positions on grammar in classroom use shows two broad factors as priorities of official grammar policy: (i) preserving the integrity of English language features, and (ii) constraining learners' uses of language. This in unsurprising as grammar subject content represents an element of the inherited culture of the English language, used through thought, writing and speech. In social policy learners represent the perpetuation of English culture within a social mechanism of cultural reproduction: the school English and literacy curriculum. A discourse of standards and control emerges that accounts for official ideals of language as Standard English, and of school learners constrained and yet legitimised as citizens by official English curriculum policy choices.

A discourse of standards and control is developed from 31% of the data texts. They are linked by keywords (see Chapter 5) constructing this discourse through the two emergent perspectives:

- Standard English and social expectation, and

- grammar as form and product.

Both perspectives are identified thematically, using the initial keywords analysis (Appendix B) for the data's main keywords and their significance. Their percentage recurrence within each of the data's document groups is set out in Table 6.1.

The keywords 'Standard', 'standards', and 'control' semantically indicate and chain regulatory discourses of grammar. These are developed through lexico-grammatical elements including metaphor, whose ideological significance lies in 'the relationship between alternative metaphors . . . for different metaphors have different ideological attachments' (Fairclough, 2001:101). For Fairclough deliberate use of contrastive metaphor creates both meaning and difference when developing ideological positions. However, Lakoff and Johnson (2003) claim that metaphor has deeper, unseen, controlling influences on thought, and initiate '[t]he concepts that govern our thoughts are not just matters of the intellect' (2003:1). They see

metaphor as a conceptual resource that we draw on in constructing real-world perception. For

Lakoff and Johnson metaphoric language:

> [g]overn[s] our everyday functioning, down to the most mundane details. Our concepts structure what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people. Our conceptual system thus plays a central role in defining our everyday realities . . . our conceptual system is largely metaphorical, . . . [that] structure how we perceive, how we think, and what we do.
>
> (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003:1)

Commonsense understandings of a capital 'S' Standard English may simply imply a fixed

variety of English, but the metaphoric capacity of the term 'Standard' draws on cognitive

association for its interpretation, as a military rallying point, a test of loyalty or an affirmation of

singularity. Therefore I assume ideational and interpersonal meanings are constructed

metaphorically, and as a significant discursive resource and coercive force. I read metaphors

for 'standard' as signifiers of normality, conformity and control over language variety and use in

this discourse of standards and control.

The initial corpus keyword analysis indicates an overwhelming priority for grammar teaching in

writing rather than speaking. Prioritising written English is consistent across all document

groups. Table 6.1 shows their five most frequently recurring terms consistently concerned with

learners and language forms from writing.

AG Keywods	Frequency Count	%		CR Keywods	Frequency Count	%
sentence[s]	537	16		pupil[s] / children	227	22
pupils	470	14		writing	137	13
writing	445	13		spoken/talk	86	8
grammar[atical]	309	9		English	62	6
words	237	7		narrative	59	6
OR Keywods	Frequency Count	%		SC Keywods	Frequency Count	%
language	321	17		writing/written	102	16
English	317	17		texts	71	11
pupil[s] / children	230	12		pupils	68	11
writing/written	155	8		language	46	7
grammar/grammatical	131	7		teaching/taught	45	7

Table 6.1 Corpus keywords freqency count

The keyword analysis prioritises written Standard English (SE) form is part of society's expectation in England's history as a literate culture (Crystal 2003:72-3). Therefore conceptions of Standard English construct the first perspective of this discourse.

6.3   The perspective of Standard English and social expectation

From the initial keyword count I assume that high-frequency word recurrence signifies major preoccupation with topics. 'Writing', 'pupils' and 'language' or 'grammar' were my first objects of interest; 59% of documents place pupils and learning as a prominent interest, I therefore explore pedagogic identity and activity, and what factors influence ideals of pupil identity in relation to Standard English as the second perspective in this discourse. The top two rows on my ideological map (Chapter 5) indicate a version of literacy that is instrumental, functional, impervious, 'autonomous' in Street's categorisation (Street, 2003). My map's keywords 'technical', 'formal', 'term[s][inology]', 'metalanguage', identify a requirement for a fixed variety of language, SE. Alongside SE comes the pedagogic approaches typified by the terms 'class', 'precision', 'control', 'competency', 'knowledge, 'basics', 'identify', 'teach'[er]', 'explicitness', 'structure(s)', and 'recognise[ing]' (Section 5.2.3).

6.4   Conceptions of Standard English

From a social-historical perspective Langacker identifies language standardisation as formed by three strong tendencies: individual communicative need, community identity and aspiration towards prestige language groups (Langacker, 1968:53-4). Crystal identifies 'reflect[ing]' and 'evaluat[ing]' usage as two principles by which a Standard English grammar occurs (Crystal, 2003:79). McCrum identifies social evaluation as a significant influence on Standard spoken English (McCrum *et al.*, 2002:12-13), and points to a social tendency to privilege literary, scholarly and elite social taste in evaluating 'Standard' forms of written grammar (McCrum *et al.*, 2002:132-6). Crystal identifies a constant flux in what are the accepted forms of lexis, syntax and morphology of Standard English, as they are hybridised by influences of world

Englishes and contemporary culture, in struggles for acceptance and legitimacy (Crystal, 2003:90-1). The following sections identify the ways my data claims SE as a concept is understood through how it ascertains and idealises SE, and how it explains SE's rules for writing, speech, KAL and framing 'formal' relationships.

6.4.1 Ascertaining a Standard variety of English

The data clearly requires the teaching of Standard English (SE); Official Reports (OR) show approaches to defining 'Standard' and justifying its place in the English curriculum. Text OR13 is the first major report on the nature of curriculum SE since Newbolt (OR01), and forms a starting point to analyse contexts in which these terms arise. Kingman (OR13) sets out opposition to teaching a 'structure and working' of Standard English as 'belief', and lists four unattributed beliefs as the propositions to be overcome as they form a contemporary 'distraction'.

> The distraction today is, in part the belief that this capacity [to control one's own language use] can and should be fostered only by exposure to varieties of English language; that conscious knowledge of the structure and working of the language is unnecessary for effective use of it; that attempting to teach such knowledge induces boredom, damages creativity and may yet be unsuccessful; and that the enterprise entails imposing *an* authoritarian view of *a* standard language which will be unacceptable to many communities in *our* [my emphasis] society.
>
> (OR13:Chapter 1)

Here, certainty that knowledge about the 'structure' and variety of the 'language' enables 'capacity' and 'effective[ness]' casts all alternatives views as 'distraction'. E.g. the 'an' mythologises or belittles the potentially pejorative term 'authoritarian' when referring to 'standard language' for its being 'unacceptable to many communities'. The term 'standard language' is preceded by the indefinite article, implying a vagueness that avoids becoming too specific about its definition. The final clause qualifies the term 'society' with the ambiguous possessive pronoun 'our', signifying (i) there is a single Standard English to be learned by all, or (ii) that social difference is identified by linguistic difference and 'our' indicates an unstated

'them'. Whichever way this is taken, social power appears to control Standard English for all groups through a prescriptive cultural hegemony.

Standardising and controlling cuts both ways in OR13. Whilst claiming a defined, regulated Standard version of English, SE is also seen as a means to control situations by using it productively. From prescriptive and structural positions this argument offers linguistic freedom, the facility to put the resources of standards language to use in one's own interests:

> Grammar is a means of enabling pupils to devote more control and choice in their use of language. The more we know about grammar, the better equipped we are to:
> * draw attention to how writers use language to influence us as speakers and readers
> * help pupils use language to create the effects they want in speaking and writing.
> We all have 'knowledge about grammar', but it is useful to review our knowledge and understanding to establish consistency and to fill in gaps. At Key Stage 3, grammar is primarily a means of ensuring that pupils become more skilful and confident in their use of language, and particularly in writing.
>
> (OR13)

From a cultural critical perspective this means hybridising one's own language group's forms of expression with SE, becoming like the rest, changing identity in order to get on, become confident and assertive, be listened to. This fusion of social and language identities is rationalised by asserting the variety of written form as different from talk, arguing it is essential to learners' language development.

> Children should practise writing in a variety of forms. They should develop the ability to write clearly and accurately in Standard English. But people who would reduce English teaching to 'basics' misunderstand the nature of written language. Quite apart from all the humanistic reasons for encouraging pupils to write stories and poems, there are sound linguistic reasons, because the activity gives them the opportunity to experiment with language, trying out forms they would otherwise never use. Some of the structures of written language allow us to assemble our thoughts and to link our ideas in ways that are not so readily available in everyday spontaneous speech. Once mastered through writing, these structures are available for use in speech if the occasion demands, thereby increasing the power and flexibility of the oral repertoire.
>
> (OR13:Ch. 2, Section 19)

From a linguistic perspective writing is a highly codified set of practices that constrain spontaneous expression within the 'forms they would otherwise never use'. Purposes for using these unstated 'forms' are not stated, but this extract's main verbs 'practice', 'develop', 'experiment', 'master' indicate an argument of channelling learners' linguistic and pedagogic

repertoires, and controlling language experience within the confines of Standard usage. This identifies a socially and linguistically selective approach; it identifies the learner as passive, a recipient of 'structures' for 'mastery', 'power' and 'flexibility'.

All three extracts adopt a distinct argumentation strategy using clear thesis statements in the first sentence and relying on bold general points in support with few specific examples. This removes the writer from the classroom, allowing space to develop more remote, uncluttered, abstract argument. In the first and third extract this argumentation structure is supplemented with a notional (not specific) counterargument used to develop the argument within its own terms.

Ascertaining SE in these extracts claims SE as a means to channel expression, linguistic freedoms and unstated social benefits. The language of social success is thereby assumed to be the 'Standard' variety.

The SC group states what language learning is statutorily required; in doing so it adopts a listing approach; headings, subheadings and bullet-point lists are its graphological semiotics. Listing instead of explaining assumes that teachers will devise their own notions of what grammatical forms of syntax and morphology will construct the Standard English the curriculum requires. This extract from the 1999 National Curriculum for Key Stage 1 (ages 5-7) shows how loose the terms of this requirement are.

> Standard English
> 6 Pupils should be taught some of the grammatical features of written standard English.
>
> Language structure
> 7 In composing their own texts, pupils should be taught to consider:
> a how word choice and order are crucial to meaning
> b the nature and use of nouns, verbs and pronouns
> c how ideas may be linked in sentences and how sequences of sentences fit together.
> (SC04:21)

Three bullet points identify how three levels of grammatical analysis – syntax, word class identification and discourse formation – become the governing principles for developing grammatical awareness. Their presentation as lists in SC texts as items combines discursively with their listed notional uses in AG texts, creating a form of combined policy genre that graphologically reinforces official discourse. Ascertaining the details of these requirements is left to the reader; weak or non-existent definitions of key terminology are noted in contemporary critiques of 1990s curriculum documents, e.g. OR18 and (Lockwood, 1995). The high modality form of its 'pupils <u>should</u> be taught' assertion is softened from an imperative tone by the notional tone of the determiner 'some' when referring to 'the grammatical features of written standard English'. Ascertaining Standard English grammar is seen to come predominantly from written English, and are thinly defined.

6.4.2   'Writing' as distinct from 'speech'

Much discursive effort is evident in the AG group to ascertain what is SE by distinguishing its writing from speech. E.g. AG04 distinguishes between writing and speech's contexts of use to define their differences:

> The grammatical characteristics of spoken language are different in significant ways from those of written language. These differences are related to the permanence of the written form, and the need to be concise and explicit, and because often the intended reader is separated from the writer by time and space. Whereas speakers often rely on context, facial expression, intonation, pauses, etc. to convey meaning and create effect, writers often use more explicit grammatical structures as well as other organisational features, such as paragraphs, headings and sometimes diagrams, to communicate ideas.
>
> (AG04:9)

CR07 outlines its definition of speech with syntacic and lexical forms, by which speech is classified:

> Discourse markers signpost and signal interactively how a speaker plans to organise a dialogue. Thus, people speaking face to face or on the phone often use *anyway* to show that they wish to finish that particular topic or return to another topic. Similarly, *so* can indicate that a speaker is summing up, while *okay* often serves to indicate that a speaker is ready to move on to the next phase of business
>
> (CR07:16)

In CR07 the issue of explaining uses of grammatical features, rather than simply identifying

them, is introduced, thus introducing the concept of formality in communication as a suitable measure of spoken grammatical 'appropriateness' for different situations. Here the author compares the nature of written and spoken in context-bound situations:

> . . . judgement about acceptability is more absolute in written language: in most kinds of formal, non-fictional texts destined for public readership, the occurrence of . . . dialectal features is not considered correct. Teaching about the reasons for using standard forms of the grammar in most kinds of writing and in certain occasions of speaking may be done in parallel with teaching about the core features of spoken English
>
> (CR07:12)

There is a clear descriptive approach adopted here in inviting teachers to look on the range of language signs that may be used in context-bound communication. Teaching 'the reasons for using standard forms of the grammar in most kinds of writing and in certain occasions of speaking' acknowledges the social dimensions of communication in both modes of language. Here, authors introduce speakers' need for judgement as a pivotal aspect of learning to understand and use spoken grammar:

> Discourse markers are the individual words and phrases that are used to mark boundaries in conversation between one topic or bit of business and the next (eg anyway, right, okay, I see, I mean, mind you, well, right, what's more, so and now). . .
>
> (CR07:16)

A similar descriptive position is taken in giving pragmatic advice about teaching EAL learners when monitoring and evaluating written work:

> What do good writers do?
> Hear a voice in their head relating to the audience, purpose and register of the writing.
> Gather ideas relating to purpose, audience and genre.
> Rehearse sentences out loud before committing them to paper.
> Reread what they have written to cue into the next sentence.
> Reread to check flow and continuity.
> Read back sentences to see if they 'sound right'.
> Try alternatives.
> Punctuate while writing.
>
> (AG11:32)

6.4.3   A standard grammar of spoken English

In defining ideologies of a standard grammar of spoken English Carter and McCarthy advise that all English grammar is subject to cultural pressure to change:

> different from standard written English grammar [and] 'standard' [is] a description of the recurrent spoken usage of adult native speakers. What may be considered 'non-

standard' in writing may well be 'standard' in speech. Speech and writing are not independent. Although some forms of spoken grammar do not appear in writing . . . there is considerable overlap and there is an increasing range of forms appearing in informal written texts which previously were only considered acceptable in speech.

(Carter and McCarthy, 2006:168)

In developing official discourse of grammar and speech (CR07) identifies desiderata for

spoken grammar, with examples to inform subject knowledge and teacher planning:

Characteristic 1: signalling the shape and structure of talk

In spoken communication, speakers and listeners constantly signal how they want things to be taken and interpreted. This spoken punctuation reflects the need for speakers to give structure and shape to their talk.

Feature
Where necessary and appropriate, speakers explicitly signpost things for the listener, showing how what is being said relates to what has just been said or to what is to follow.

Example
We use words such as *now* and *so* to indicate that we are changing from one topic to another or that we are concluding a stretch of talk: *Now, we have covered the fifteenth century. Today we do revision; so, let's discuss what we do after two o'clock*. In more formal talk, numerals such as first, second and third can be used.

(CR07:9)

Here the influence of an open, descriptive position is reflected in the uses of the auxilliary 'can

be' to denote speakers' choices and listeners' likely intuitive understanding, and offers

teachers and learners a conceptual framework and metalanguage with which to discuss and

evaluate talk. With so few AG, OR or CR texts addressing spoken grammar, these examples

form a more rounded than usual view of the corpus' positions on one topic.

6.4.4   Standard English and notions of 'formal'

Text AG01 defines 'formal' as the arrangement of words and phrases, from linguistics:

grammar is 'formal' in the sense that its subject matter is primarily the formal patterning of words and phrases in sentences, though the meanings and functions of these patterns have also been studied in detail.

(AG01:15)

However, in the requirements for grammar in many SC and AG groups 'formal' reflects

contexts of social interaction, e.g.:

> . . . formal contexts require particular choices of vocabulary and greater precision in language structures.
>
> (SC01)

Here the social context frames 'formal'; it also reflects language choices that distance the self

from the ideas in impersonal contexts of use:

> They should also recognise that writing is often more formal and more impersonal than speech: lexical and grammatical features of language both reflect and create these contrasts.
>
> (SC02:40)

The introduction to document AG04, 'Grammar for Writing', exemplifies 'formal' as specific

'impersonal' styles of writing:

> To reach a secure level 4 by the end of Key Stage 2, children should be able to:
> . . .
> - use formal, impersonal styles, eg consistent use of third person or the passive voice;
>
> (AG04:9)

The NLS framework identifies 'formal' as 'official language', and ascertained from examples of

language collected and discussed in classrooms:

> Y6 Term 2 S2 (Y6 Term 3 S3) OBJECTIVES
> S2 to understand features of formal official language through, eg collecting and analysing examples, discussing when and why they are used; noting the conventions of the language, eg use of the impersonal voice, imperative verbs, formal vocabulary; collecting typical words and expressions, eg *those wishing to…*, *hereby…*, *forms may be obtained…*;
>
> (AG02:52-3)

Here, features of 'the conventions of the language' are linked to authorial 'voice', defining SE

as a dialect codified through its verbal mood, socio-culturally mediated vocabulary, and

expression situated by social convention. The 1990 National Curriculum for English (SC02)

emphasises the links between assessment criteria and teaching grammar, through describing

a fixed, reified and prescriptive version of 'the impersonal style of writing . . . in academic - and

particularly scientific - writing [where pupils should] recognise the linguistic features, *eg. the passive, subordination,* which characterise it. This should be done by reading and discussing examples' (SC02).

Official difficulty in defining Standard English at the close-focused levels of the single sentence, clause, phrase or word leaves it necessary to give only general outlines and notional situations to express what should be taught about SE. In this example from AG04 'formal' and 'Standard' might be used interchangeably:

> Principles and explanation
> Some of the principal features of formal language are impersonality and 'distance' in approach (objectivity, avoidance of personal involvement), use of the passive voice, studied politeness, and the employment of formal vocabulary, including 'technical' words, and 'stock', conventional phrases. Whilst a degree of formality is sometimes called for in the context of a particular audience and purpose, this can easily be overdone. Too much formal language becomes gobbledegook and needs to be avoided. When unduly exaggerated, formal language can produce a comic effect – intended or otherwise!
>
> (AG04:138)

One further way a discourse of Standard English is developed is by using a further synonym, 'appropriate' for 'standard' or 'correct':

> They should be helped to think of <u>appropriateness</u> in written language in terms of these functions and of the range of audiences that writers address, considering the effects, for example, of <u>inappropriately</u> formal vocabulary in personal letters or of colloquial expressions in impersonal writing.
>
> SC02:40

'Appropriate' is particularly context-driven and dependent on uncertainty about style and grammatical forms; it avoids making evaluative decisions about the correctness of language choices in given situations (Cameron, 1995:233-6). In this section ascertaining what official discourse claims is 'Standard' English has examined ideas of the fluid nature of changing language, authorial voice, audience status and social context.

6.4.5 Summary of the perspective of Standard English and social expectation

This section shows six themes identified in the corpus, building a perspective of 'conceptions of Standard English' within a broader official ideological discourse of 'standards and control'. Their ideological themes are found in 17 texts, comprising 9 AG, 2 OR, 3 SC and 3 CR. Their argumentation approaches are predominantly exposition with hortatory exposition the most common argumentation micro-genre.

I now show how understandings of English grammar frame and control pedagogic relationships in school English, through a perspective of language as form and product.

6.5 The perspective of language as form and product

This perspective, in a discourse of language and control, identifies discourse of grammar that construct (i) models of learners' grammar progress, (ii) models of grammatical form, (ii) grammar as critical literacy, and (iii) progress in learning grammar. I explore these themes for their official discourses of pedagogic activity and relationships in school English and literacy.

> In the school curriculum English is unique: the child begins to acquire language before school, without it no other processes of thought and study can take place, and it continues to be central throughout life. These facts reinforce the desirability, which was frequently expressed in the evidence and which we accept, of a model of *language in use,* Consequently, we have constructed a model which takes account of the uses of language as well as its forms and techniques.
>
> (OR13:Para14)

6.5.1 Progressing in grammar

How does official discourse reflect learners' progress in grammar? Richmond (1990:24) questions the validity of recurrent claims that progress in language use requires, or even benefits from, systematic grammar learning ahead of using it. Few examples of progress come from classroom research; exceptions include CR07 and CR10. Many notions of grammar progress come first from itemised lists of objectives describing notional progress, in the AG and SC groups, where progress is expected or hoped-for. SC05 is typical in its use of itemised lists of grammar requirements, in this case for the end of Primary Phase schooling in writing:

Standard English
6 Pupils should be taught:
a. how written standard English varies in degrees of formality [for example, differences between a letter to a friend about a school trip and a report for display]
b. some of the differences between standard and non-standard English usage, including subject–verb agreements and use of prepositions.
Language structure
7 Pupils should be taught:
a. word classes and the grammatical functions of words, including nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, articles
b. the features of different types of sentence, including statements, questions and commands, and how to use them [for example, imperatives in commands]
c. the grammar of complex sentences, including clauses, phrases and connectives
d. the purposes and organisational features of paragraphs, and how ideas can be linked.
Attainment Target 3, Level 4:
Pupils are beginning to write complex sentences, extending meaning. Spelling, including that of polysyllabic words that conform to regular spelling patterns, is generally accurate.

(SC05)

Here, official assumptions are of progress in grammatical knowledge, understanding and use,

that can be tracked over time. Being elaborated by levels of age-appropriate teaching and

points for assessment implies a commoditisation of knowledge and proficiency, an idealisation

of the hard knowledge of language influencing individuals' own language performance.

First is an assumption that grammatical knowledge and language proficiency are as

interdependent as this model suggests. Second is that assessment of grammatical knowledge

(knowledge about language) is only to be recognised in writing capability. This commoditised

view of grammar and progression is also visible in Text AG05, which argues for the target-

oriented model of progress adopted by the Key Stage 3 strategy.

Over the three years of the Key Stage, the key objectives trace a critical path of progress for pupils. In some cases, the objectives address the same developing skills over three years, but sometimes the focus changes. This reflects the way certain strands rise in significance whilst others are secured and therefore assume less prominence.
It is hoped that teachers will use the objectives to:
- translate numerical targets into curricular objectives, defining what pupils need to do to achieve the standards expected;
- focus teaching on those things that will move pupils on;
- inform assessment tasks, so that critical indicators of progress are addressed.

(AG05:12)

AG05's argumentation structure shows a discursive approach using an initial thesis statement – the first sentence – followed by a contextualising fact, which is followed by an ameliorating opinion. These three discursive steps lead towards a modal statement of hope that splits into a three-bullet orientation of this hope that collectively forms a hortatory exposition micro-genre (White, 2005), thereby mapping hopes for future action, all within its own terms.

The discourse simply itemises language learning objectives linked to the 'numerical targets' of English curriculum attainment 'levels' and leaves language progress unrecognisable in any qualitative sense. This is not new in 2001 when AG05 was published; OR13 in 1988 was commissioned to model the language element of an English curriculum for the purpose of developing its teaching into recognisable stages through:

> a model of the English language as [a] basis for teacher training and professional discussion, and to consider how far and in what ways that model should be made explicit to pupils at various stages of education.
>
> (OR13)

A two-part conception of progress in language development is underpinned in Kingman's 1988 distinction between learners' intuitive knowledge of language and their consciously learned knowledge in OR13:

> . . . the child begins to acquire language before school, without it no other processes of thought and study can take place, and it continues to be central throughout life. These facts reinforce the desirability, which was frequently expressed in the evidence and which we accept, of a model of *language in use*. Consequently, we have constructed a model which takes account of the uses of language as well as its forms and techniques.
>
> (OR13)

That contrasts with notions of progression in many AG documents, where itemised grammatical features are listed as concrete tokens of success, '*the* [my emphasis] critical features which move pupils on':

> Key Stage 3 Literacy Progress Units have been informed and shaped by QCA analyses of Key Stage English test results in recent years, by the evidence from OFSTED and by

the emphases of the National Literacy Strategy. They focus on the critical features which move pupils on to Level 4 which are:

- developing effective strategies for information retrieval
- reading using inference and deduction
- using full stops, capital letters and commas accurately in longer sentences
- varying sentence structure
- organising texts in ways other than chronological
- using paragraphs effectively
- applying knowledge of spelling rules and conventions.

(AG06:vi)

In Section 6.4.2 I showed how the term 'Standard' is used as an acknowledged ideal form to be used when assessing grammar progression. However, more subtle explanations of progress are in official discourse. CR07 explains how recognisable forms of spoken grammar used in particular contexts can be made visible for both cognitive development and practical progress:

> This publication focuses on the grammatical features of talk that make possible the largely unconscious agility, rapidity and subtlety of spoken language . . . We put the language of talk under the microscope and increased teachers' and pupils' knowledge about the grammatical organisation of talk. This approach has both direct and indirect benefits to broader teaching agendas designed to increase pupils' competence in using spoken English.

(CR07:7)

In line with text OR13:Para14, cited earlier, CR07 gives a model of language development that claims to stand aside from teaching mere itemised features of spoken grammar, to combine using technical knowledge to inform understanding with practical analytical skills. This is an unusual but not unique claim in the data. In general the SC and AG documents construct progress as an assumed outcome of teachers following direction in (i) the prescribed grammar content, and (ii) official pedagogic choices. Here, policy documents themselves become teaching manuals that intertextually reiterate language objectives from national strategies frameworks for literacy when providing models of grammar pedagogy. These reiterations develop policy discourse and pedagogic control through greater specificity of grammar content and modelling age-related sequencing of learning, which in turn are assumed to represent progress in grammar.

6.5.2 Models of grammatical form

AG texts present official models of grammar's content and technical terms, possibly leading from a 1998 teacher survey, claiming (i) teachers' 'widespread uncertainty' about differentiation in grammar teaching, (ii) that sentence structure teaching was 'patchy', and (iii) that the grammar being taught was more implicit than explicit (AG01:30). National strategies documents show a discursive pressure to model grammar explicitly and sequentially, as in Primary Phase Year 6 objectives of text AG02:

> Pupils should be taught:
> Grammatical awareness
> 1 to revise from Y5:
> * the different word classes, e.g. prepositions;
> * re-expressing sentences in a different order:
> * the construction of complex sentences;
> * the conventions of standard English;
> * adapting texts for particular readers and purposes;
>
> 2 to revise earlier work on verbs and to understand the terms *active* and *passive;* being able to transform a sentence from active to passive, and vice versa;
>
> 3 to note and discuss how changes from active to passive affect the word order and sense of a sentence;
>
> Sentence construction and punctuation
> 4 to investigate connecting words and phrases:
> * collect examples from reading and thesauruses;
> * study how points are typically connected in different kinds of text;
> * classify useful examples for different kinds of text — for example, by position *(besides, nearby, by);* sequence *(firstly secondly...);* logic *(therefore,* so, *consequently);*
> * identify connectives which have multiple purposes (e.g. on, under, *besides);*
>
> 5 to form complex sentences through, e.g.:
> * using different connecting devices;
> * reading back complex sentences for clarity of meaning, and adjusting as necessary;
> * evaluating which links work best;
> * exploring how meaning is affected by the sequence and structure of clauses;
>
> (AG02)

As noted in Section 6.5.2, the discursive focus in these objectives is to limit the model to only compound or complex forms of sentence structure. The model specifies only written syntactic structures in a prescriptive approach that uses imperative verbs in each section (e.g. 'revise',

'note', and 'use') that denote conformity to a limited range of standard forms, with only 'investigate' suggests open, descriptive pedagogies. However the sentence structure of this requirement begins with a non-finite clause headed by the infinitive 'to investigate, to which its compounded main verbs 'collect', 'study', 'classify', and 'identify' suggest a more prescriptive position being proposed through their fixed anthropological metaphor. The modelling of a pedagogy requiring learners to 'transform a sentence from active to passive, and vice versa' is redolent of 'exercises' rejected in OR texts and subsequent professional advice (e.g. Wyse and Jones, 2001:173).

In similar vein language form is the prime focus of AG09, Section 10.2, instructing trainers about chairing teachers' meetings when analysing a sample of a child's writing, reproduced as a rhetorical structure analysis in Appendix D:AG09.

<div align="right">(AG09, Section 10.2)</div>

The main discourse of 'improvement' in AG09:Section 10.2 relates almost exclusively to sentence level features, many of which are recognised by their absence, and which relate not to grammatical but to stylistic analysis. Significant metaphors can be seen in this discursive activity of finding faults, a discourse of deficit in which learners' language use is described pejoratively. The writing style is described in terms of sickliness using metaphors such as 'weaknesses', 'suffers' and 'limited', metaphors connoting a commonsense concepts of insufficiency and inadequacy (Fairclough, 2001; Lakoff and Johnson, 2003). These metaphors identify a perceived shortage of pre-modification in noun phrase development. This form of grammar is related largely to style (Russell, 2001:247-9) and gives little intrinsic grammatical content. The discourse is one of prioritising a preferred model of written presentation, or rather a preferred style. Whilst the above example of writing should clearly be challenged for its approaches to making meaning and spelling, the persistent model in this discourse is of writing as a noun - its identifiable features, rather than as a verb – the thinking involved in the activity of text production in what for Street is an 'autonomous literacy' (Street, 2003).

The argumentation steps taken in AG09 (Section 10.2) form a problem-solution rhetorical structure for its problematising argument about the learner's writing. The text's concluding statement, a thesis restatement, requires trainers to '[c]onclude the module by drawing attention to the way that the grammatical analysis of these features has helped to signal important ways that the writer could be helped to improve.' This modelling of recognisably incorrect analysis and advice gives official discourse power to misinform through the medium of official document production, circulated through a closed loop of professional meetings. The correct modelling of grammar was recognised in the 2003 introduction to AG22, a literacy progress unit on sentence construction that replaced a 2001 version that was withdrawn after criticism of its accuracy.

Modelling grammar in official discourse can be seen as what Fairclough refers to as ideologically creating a new 'order of discourse' (1989), a process of recontextualising the topic in new overarching symbolic and political meanings that redefine and control the thinkable in policy. For Bernstein it is a 'recontextualising' of official discourse (1999) within the Realisation Model of his Pedagogic Device. This text seeks to close discussion and wrest authority for its own decided mode of action. It is, in this way, a discursive instrument of official policy in recontextualising official discourse prior to creating and transmitting new policy (Bernstein, 1996:36-8).

6.5.3   Critical literacy and grammar pedagogy

Two aspects of reading and writing performance, critical reading and fluent expression, form official aims in the AG and SC texts that can be associated with Street's (1984) distinction between (i) 'autonomous' literacy, the generic and socially expected use of reading and writing to get on in life, and (ii) 'ideological' literacy, a cultural critical understanding of literacy as a process of socialisation (Papen, 2005; Street, 1984). For Street 'literacy [as] a social practice [is] not simply a technical and neutral skill' (Street, 2003:77). Street's 'ideological literacy'

argues for learning literacy that is sophisticated by cultural insight into how texts denote social relations, providing a cultural metalanguage that addresses social relations. Text AG05 typifies the aims of national strategy documents in presenting an 'ideological' descriptive style of introduction, here in the reading aims for the Key Stage 3 Framework, suggesting that reading will be a cultural-critical study by use of the terms 'sophisticated', 'shrewd', 'independent', 'complex', 'layers of meaning', 'reflective' and 'critical'.

> The overall aim of the Framework is to enable all pupils to develop sophisticated literacy skills. By the end of Year 9, we expect each pupil to be:
> − a shrewd and fluent independent reader: orchestrating a range of strategies to get at meaning in text, including inferential and evaluative skills;
> − sensitive to the way meanings are made;
> − reading in different ways for different purposes, including skimming to pick up quickly the gist of a text, scanning to locate specific information, close reading to follow complex passages and rereading to uncover layers of meaning;
> − reflective, critical and discriminating in response to a wide range of printed and visual texts.
>
> (AG05)

The AG05 items for study, however, indicate this as a 'what?' exercise, recognising structures, unsophisticated by a need to identify a 'why' that might guide its KS3 learners to look through surface meaning to speculate on implicit meanings and values. This reductionist framing of literacy promotes teacher-dependent transmission models of literacy practice (Larson and Marsh, 2005).

An extract from the 1998 text AG03 for KSs1-2 gives principles of grammar pedagogy promising critical investigative approaches:

> Linguistic choices can be important for revealing or concealing particular attitudes and relationships. Choices in grammatical forms and structures also have a part to play in encoding particular 'readings' of texts.
>
> The following headlines taken from national newspapers are contrasted in the grammatical choices made by the writer.
>
> > Lorry drivers blockade ports
> > Ports blockaded by lorry drivers
> > Ports blockaded
>
> . . . The verb 'blockade' also clearly links the subject and the object. It is the active voice and it is a transitive verb. Such specialist terms as 'voice' and 'transitivity' are

economical and precise ways of referring to this important verb, but much more significant is the function of the verb 'blockade', which clearly makes the drivers responsible for the blockade: agency is unambiguously assigned to them.

(AG03:17-18)

For Street 'autonomous literacy' identifies a freedom of observation and interpretation; here the reader's technical competency is the skill to apply grammar knowledge to interpretive purposes through competent evaluation of syntactic features. The critical potential here is for what Janks' constructs as the 'resistant reader' (Janks, 2010:154-5), a reader with capacity to interpret text independently; a cultural critical literacy to enrich experience of daily life.

Fifteen years before, HMI considered the impact of grammar study suggesting it was driven by a 'ideological' conception of literacy through recognising a provisional nature to learners' text:

> 4.5 Any piece of language production or reception involves a complex of activity, and the relationship of the elements which produce meaning varies with the nature of the utterance. It is consequently never possible to arrive at a precise objective measurement of success in a piece of English work; attempts to do so usually concentrate on obvious surface features and ignore more important and complex elements.
>
> (OR07:Para.45)

Cautioning about the influence of assessment on English and literacy teaching the discourse here appears to acknowledge subjectivity and judgement by developing open perspectives on what regulates assessment policy.

> Assessment of work in English is not a matter of precise measurement, or, usually, of simply marking things as right or wrong. It is a matter of the application of judgement, based on experience and knowledge . . . language is always about something. It follows that assessment is not merely of a pupil's success in operating the 'skills' of language; it is inevitably and properly concerned with the quality of what is said - with the depth, validity and perspicacity of the writer's or speaker's thoughts, with the logic of their development, with the aptness and truth of his or her perceptions and the sincerity of his or her feelings. In teaching English we are teaching pupils to think clearly, to be self aware, and to be responsive to their experience of the world of people and things about them. We must therefore assess their progress as people using language for the purposes necessary to people, not as mere language operators.
>
> (OR07:17-18)

In evaluating the notions of language in use here, this argument separates analysis of two worlds: (i) the 'depth, validity and perspicacity of the writer's or speaker's thoughts' which identifies analysis of rhetoric, or the idiolect, and (ii) the social 'experience of the world of people and things about them'. Whichever view is central, the regulatory effect of assessment on classroom practice must square 'precise measurement' with 'subjectivity' and 'judgement' when constructing discourses of assessment, and the professional assessor. Bernstein (2000) notes that official discourse, in this case of the regulatory authority of literacy curriculum and assessment, contextualises the identity of the pupil-teacher relationship as transmission-acquisition (Bernstein, 2000). It implies that superficial performance language knowledge, as the (OR07) author above acknowledges, may simply be based on prescriptive, visible skills, often connected with vocationally oriented aims (Rose, 1999). Myhill (2010) however, argues that if we understand learning grammar knowledge as a set of instrumental writing skills, we may be creating a false binary opposition between whether to, or not to, teach grammar. She argues that the rhetoric of writing, the authorial voice, provides fertile ground for critical discussion in collaborative crafting of powerful texts (Myhill, 2010:138-9).

A further official example of claimed 'critical' reading becomes simply a means of requiring explicit and visible use of grammatical metalanguage in text AG24, a national strategies approach to grammar teaching, 'Grammar for Reading'. This training manual instructs subject leaders who in turn will instruct their school colleagues about the benefits of using grammatical analysis to make better sense of how texts construct and communicate meaning. Similar training manuals in the AG group of data include Texts AG09, AG15, AG16, AG19 and AG23.

Text AG24's title 'Grammar for Reading' links 'grammar' and 'reading' in the KS3 Strategy echoes the previously cited text 'Grammar for Writing' (DfEE, 2000) (AG04) for primary phase teaching. AG24's opening statement sets up a propositional link between 'grammar' and 'meaning' that readers may use as an analytical tool when linked to 'an author's grammar

choices'. This link sets up a theme developing two assumptions: (i) that writers do make distinct 'choices' about their grammar, and (ii) that recognising grammatical forms and describing them using technical terms will provide reading insights and improvements in learners' own writing performance. The focus on grammar's 'terminology' late on in this introduction serves to bridge the previous sentence's reference to success in formal tests, and the collocation of 'correct' with 'terms' that 'you and your pupils [capacity] to explain a text more efficiently'. The logic of this argument is to promote the technical capacity of language – presumably its syntactic and morphological features – to answer questions of textual meaning usually reserved to semantics. AG24's author also promotes the need for use of technical terms, particularly 'correct' ones, in 'securing' recognition that pupils understand grammatical patterns in written text. This idealisation of recognising grammar in written English is not isolated to text AG24 in claiming to advance critical reading whilst remaining within the bounds of Street's 'autonomous' literacy (Cajkler and Dymoke, 2005; Norman, 2010).

6.5.4   Constructions of the learner: the learner as inexpert writer

Documents from all groups provide social constructions of learners as users of Standard English and its grammar, and reflect what grammar and specialist vocabulary learners should know about and use. Reflecting official expectations in writing skills identify the learner as in a state of unawareness of grammar knowledge in two texts that reflect the claimed potential of language knowledge, e.g. CR07 and OR13.

> It is in the nature of school life to have to struggle to make one's writing meanings clear to others, even if only to a teacher. The use of language to clarify one's own feelings and thought, the kind of fumbling, tentative groping or meaning, is of utmost importance in school learning, as it is throughout life. Pedagogically, it is important for the teacher to be able to distinguish and accept such tentative language as a stage on the path to clearer expression.
>
> (OR13:Ch4, Sect.3)

Making 'meaning' is central to this analysis of writing skills and it appears to balance two understandings of the self: an affective 'self' through acknowledging a need to 'clarify one's own feelings and thought, the kind of fumbling, tentative groping or meaning', and a social 'self'

in recognising 'the capacity to communicate to an audience [and] make one's writing meanings clear to others'. This recognises tension between English and literacy as a project of the individual 'self', and as public education, which may be seen to constrain literacy within a socialising process of linguistic conformity and control. This social control of English is idententified by Ball, et al. (1990) who draw on Graff's (1987) social-critical conception of schooling as 'the vehicle of literacy for the promotion of values, attitudes and habits considered essential to the maintenance of social order and the presistance of integration and cohesion' (quoted in Ball *et al.*, 1990a:75). Here Ball et al. identify two tensions. First is one in which school English and literacy lie between developing the 'self' as an individual and the 'not-self', an actor within a social collective. Second is a tension between the self as a negotiated identity of an authenticly defined individual, and as a state authorised identity.

Ball et al. argue that the state's curriculum struggle is one to negotiate models of literacy that satisfy the needs of society, culture, political ideologies and the individual, a struggle they represented as a quadrant, and represented here as Figure 6.1:
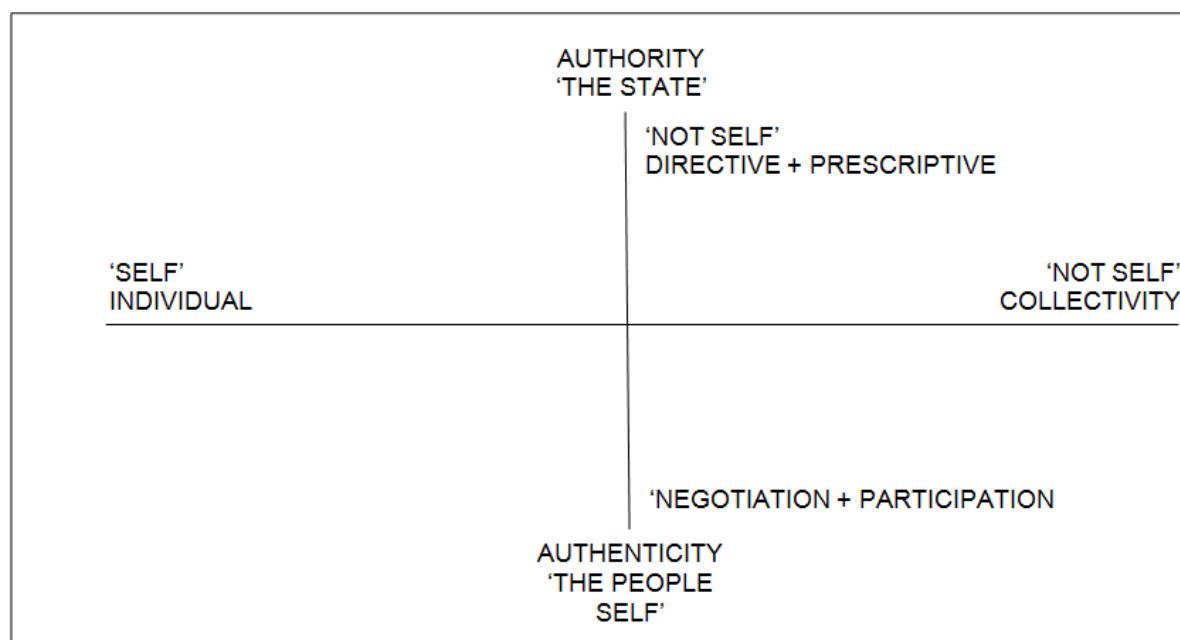
Figure 6.1   Literacy and the self, (after Figures 2.1 & 2.2 in Ball *et al.*, 1990a:75-76)

Pedagogic discourse in the previously quoted document, AG13, can be read as a negotiation within this model's vertical axis in a struggle beyween imperfections in the individual's writing and the authoritative requirementounts of state education. The author's use of the passive voice, impersonal pronouns and the present tense are noteworthy here, as is its rhetorical structure. The passive voice develops an emolient tone by removing agency or an identifiable policy identity. This separates the text from contrary views. The impersonal pronoun 'one' – whilst sounding socially distinctive – looks to develop a common view through which to build discursive agreement. The use of the present tense develops the common viewpoint by creating a timeless feeling of an ever-present event in 'school life' that is taken, unquestioned, for granted. Finally, the rhetorical structure of its argumentation places the learner in a anonymous context created in the first, orienting sentence.

This reading of an inexpert learner identity is set by the extract's nouns: 'feelings', 'thought', 'fumbling', 'tentative', 'groping' and 'meaning'. The extract's thesis statement, in the second sentence, introduces a relationship between individual thought and language. This description of language learning echoes the Personal Growth elements suggested by the data's keywords 'meaning', 'understand[ing]', 'interpret' that I use in the fourth row of my ideological map of grammar in English, Figure 5.2 in Section 5.2.3. However, Ball's model is a political model of the socio-cultural divisions that explain struggles to own, influence and control school English and literacy from the 1960s to the present time. What 'growth' English may more helpfully tell us is that for learning grammar more nuanced discussions of learning grammar are needed, as noted in Section 6.5.4. Hudson argues that acquisition of grammar skill need not always be explicit grammar. If we understand writing to be a social practice we recognise that tacit knowledge of grammar that helps writers write may not need to become explicit grammar knowledge for them to keep writing (Hudson, 2004a).

Text AG04 rationalises the borderlines between explicit and implict grammar teaching, starting

from an innateness theory of language development (e.g. Pinker, 1994), identifying structural

grammatical knowledge as a means to develop self-awareness and communicative efficiency.

Limited grammar is referred to as 'to generalise and improvise from . . . [intuitive] knowledge',

and placed in opposition to 'develop more confident and versatile language use' in a problem-

solution argumentation structure.

> We all use language to think and communicate. Language is systematically organised
> by its grammar which is inextricably linked to meaning and communication – we cannot
> make sense without shaping grammatical and linguistic structures. All pupils have
> extensive grammatical knowledge. Much of this is implicit, but they are able to
> generalise and improvise from this knowledge. Teaching which focuses on grammar
> helps to make this knowledge explicit, extend children's range and develop more
> confident and versatile language use.
>
> (AG04:7)

The learner persona as inexpert grammar user, hindered by unawareness of specific hard

grammatical knowledge, is developed further in text AG03 as a rationale for teaching

grammatical terminology.

> Central to the development of pupils' explicit grammatical knowledge is the ability to
> name linguistic features, structures and patterns at word, sentence and whole text
> level. Familiarity with the grammatical terms enables pupils to identify linguistic features
> correctly and thus comment more precisely and effectively about language structure
> and use. Such knowledge helps pupils reflect purposefully on examples, generalise
> from them and check the accuracy of their conclusions.
> . . .
> Explicit grammatical knowledge extends the choices available to pupils in speaking and
> writing, and enables them to evaluate the appropriateness and effectiveness of the
> choices made by speakers and writers in achieving their purpose.
>
> (AG03:5)

Here, three verbs, 'reflect', 'generalise', and 'check', identify the specifically claimed learning

that leads to 'understanding' and in turn produces a capacity to 'evaluate the appropriateness

and effectiveness of the choices made by speakers and writers'. Using the present tense

develops a sense that the opening orienting sentence holds an incontrovertible truth, valorising

the thesis statement in the second sentence. This combination of grammatical choice and

argumentation structure presents a solidly argued case, a case that forms a discursive chain of

ideas about how thought and interpretative skill are built only with the help of explicit grammar

knowledge. As an instance in this more broadly recognisable discourse of learners' incapacity

it analyses explicit grammar teaching as a transformative stage in learners' development. A final analysis of this text, and text AG37 below, identifies the learner as a passive participant in the development of his or her grammar knowledge and use.

CR07, focusing on spoken grammar, offers a developmental, rather than transformative view of the benefits of explicit grammar teaching for learners' language development and competency.

> The significance of work on spoken grammar for all pupils.
> . . . for pupils learning English as an additional language, knowledge of the cluster of grammatical features highlighted in this publication could significantly enhance their fluency in talk and contribute to a clearer understanding of how interpersonal relationships are negotiated through talk.
>
> (CR07:)

This author's claim for benefits in language development is limited to 'the cluster of grammatical features highlighted in this publication', recognising a contextual limitation to explicit grammar teaching. The author's use of the modal auxiliary 'could' indicates caution about the impact of this learning. The use of the indefinite article 'a' and the comparative form of the adjective 'clear' similarly constrains the claim. This discourse claims no single route to success in grammatical development and competency. The text touches a further concept revealed in Chapter 5 and in this discourse, that of 'formality'. This text's author modulates the identity of 'formality' in language by identifying social and idiosyncratic mediating factors that contextualise correct, formal or appropriate language in talk. The author indicates this by noting the conversational register in 'how interpersonal relationships are negotiated through talk'. This places the identity of the learner as developing rather than unknowing, the learner is an active, rather than passive, participant in his or her own learning; the learner is, ideologically, an agent whose own initiative is required in order to develop grammatical competence and linguistic fluency. The argument contrasts with much of this chapter's discussion of the standardising of language use, and the controls that SE gives teachers in an asymmetric pedagogic relationship.

6.5.5   The learner in deficit

A further aspect of learner identity in this perspective of language as form and product is the representation of the learner as though in deficit when confronted with the demands of grammar. AG06 refers to notional learners in its negative outline of writing characteristics and implied grammar needs.

> We know what we have to do to move pupils towards Level 4. The characteristic constraints for pupils who attain Level 3 at Key Stage 2, identified in relation to the three strands of the National Literacy Strategy, are:
> Word level
> - uncertain choices for long and unstressed medial vowel sounds
> - limited grasp of spelling rules and conventions
> . . .
> Sentence level
> - limited use of complex sentences
> - variable use of commas to mark boundaries within sentences
> . . .
> Text level
> - limited use of paragraphing and other organisational devices
> - limited ability to organise non-narrative writing
> - insufficient planning, reviewing and editing of writing for clarity, interest and
> . . .
>
> Key Stage 3 Literacy Progress Units have been informed and shaped by QCA analyses of Key Stage 2 English test results in recent years, by the evidence from OFSTED and by the emphases of the National Literacy Strategy. They focus on the critical features which move pupils on to Level 4 which are:
> - developing effective strategies for information retrieval
> - reading using inference and deduction
> - using full stops, capital letters and commas accurately in longer sentences
>
> (AG06:vi)

Defining the learner as currently needful of ever more specific instruction to catch up, or remedy structural linguistic deficits in writing is a recurrent theme of AG texts. Of particular note in text AG06 is its defining the learner as (i) in deficit through its uses of negative adjectives, e.g. 'uncertain', 'insecure', 'limited', and (ii) as in need of some highly specific, micro-managed language inputs that will 'move pupils towards Level 4' and away from [t]he characteristic constraints for pupils who attain Level 3'. As seen earlier in this chapter, classifying learners by commoditised language features objectifies grammar and its learning in a dialectic that implies (i) language can be acquired independently of the individual's interests,

and (ii) a gloss of some grammatical features, e.g. 'possessive apostrophes' and 'complex sentences', will alone develop linguistic and communicative capacity (Ivanič, 1990).

Finally, in analysing constructions of the learner in the context of grammar teaching, AG37 focuses on the learner's need for a grammar metalanguage, within which to think about language. Conceptualising the learner as unaware is used to impute power to the role of specialist grammar vocabulary for concept building. Text AG37 takes a developmental, rather than transformative view of grammar learning, focusing on the 'struggle' between conceptual uncertainty about the 'rules' and its claim that such learning will 'support them in developing both as critical readers and creative writers'.

> English grammar, like any other, is rule driven, but, as native speakers, we may struggle to describe what those rules are. Helping our pupils describe, in appropriate metalanguage, what writers are doing and how they do it will support them in developing both as critical readers and creative writers. The material fits the sequence for teaching writing as it supports exploring the text, defining the conventions and then takes what has been learnt into pupils' composition and independent writing. You may also find the Improving Writing leaflet, Building a bridge from reading into writing, useful.
> http://publications.teachernet.gov.uk/eOrderingDownload/0410-2003.pdf

> It is important that the department agrees on the metalanguage or terminology it will use, agrees it with the whole school and deploys it consistently throughout.
>
> (AG37:6)

The rhetorical structure used here prefaces its thesis statement, in the second sentence, with a contextualising certainty about the nature of 'rules' in an English grammar that is linguistically problematic (Crystal, 2003:190-197; O'Rourke and O'Rourke, 1990:267). However, it offers an apparently open pedagogic approach which suggests that 'exploring' and 'defining' are intrinsically necessary to developing concepts of rules and certainties about their status and usefulness in analysing and creating texts. The rhetorical conclusion conflates three considerable management tasks of some scale, when glossing over the complexities of developing a whole-school grammar policy.

Having analysed constructions of the learner in the data I now turn to how the pedagogical relationships and their implications for grammar pedagogies are constructed in texts in this perspective of language as form and product.

6.5.6 Pedagogy, grammar and language as product

Some grammar requirements are constructed as items, as the outcomes of writing and speaking events. The impact of the written curriculum, official reports and official advice discursively constrains and prescribes teachers' actions and pedagogic choices (Kauffman, 2005). Text AG16, part of a Key Stage 3 National Strategy professional development manual, focuses, often negatively, on grammatical items to be avoided:

> 2 Too many ANDs
> Target: Avoid excessive coordination using *and* and *but*
> Strategy: Alter paragraph or passage by using fewer coordinators / put in full stops / use adverbials (prepositional phrases) to begin sentences / use a range of connectives
> Teacher example: Changes
> Lady Macbeth was sleepwalking in the night and the doctor was called but he could not do much to help and so the nurse watched her all night.
> to
> During the night Lady Macbeth walked and talked in her sleep; when the doctor arrived he could not do anything to help her but simply asked the nurse to watch her closely.
> Pairs: Use the same strategy with:
> If I was the director I would . . . [remainder of text omitted here]
>
> AG16:3.5(1)

This author proposes a redrafting writing exercise should be adopted on the basis of (i) specifically itemised grammatical requirements, and (ii) a prescribed pedagogical method. Its implication is that over-simplistic sentence construction will become evident in learners' writing, similar to the exercises eschewed in Section 6.5.3. The instruction headings of 'target', 'strategy', 'example', etc. constrain pedagogic choice in instrumental teaching approaches, where teacher accountability may be measured:

> . . .[an] incompatibility between the kind of progressive education which is widely acknowledged by academics as being most effective in both bringing about meaningful learning and engaging students in school work, and the type of accountability agenda that gives priority to that which can be readily specified and objectively measured.
>
> (Taber, 2009)

A more open approach to pedagogical development is found in text CR07, which advocates

that teachers should reflect on the grammar of speech as the process of live communication

and not the product of a social prescription for language use:

> A sample stretch of talk: a grammatical perspective
> We have discussed some of the things we know about spoken language in general and some of the ways in which spoken language is distinctive as a mode of communication, especially when compared to written language. Now, with a focus on grammar, we look closely at an actual transcript of a stretch of talk.
> When we do so, perhaps the most marked problem we encounter is the frequent occurrence of units that do not conform to the well-formed 'sentences' that are often used to illustrate common patterns of language in traditional grammars.
>
> (CR07:12)

Here teacher's pedagogic role is of an expert language observer, with sufficient confidence to

question or explain others' use of language in lessons that move towards a final product by

way of teacher-learner dialogue and re-drafting.

CR08, a research report into early readers' grasp of morphology, meaning and spelling, gives

insight into a clearer official guidance on pedagogy, showing morphological knowledge as a

learning tool rather than an end, or product, in itself:

> The underlying principle of the morphology sessions . . . was to help children see how words could be divided into roots and stems, each contributing to the meaning (and the spelling) of the word . . . children were encouraged not just to answer questions but to give reasons for their answers, often discussing and working in pairs.
> As morphemes often have a grammatical function (plurals, past tense of verbs, changing a verb to a noun, etc.) the children did some exercises to familiarise them with how verbs, nouns and adjectives worked. . . . They were then introduced to a range of morphemes, starting with prefixes and suffixes such as 'un' and 'less', that changed the meaning of a word in an obvious way. Next, they worked with morphemes that changed the type of word, e.g. teach to teacher, verb to noun. They were asked to try out stems with different beginnings and endings, always thinking about how this changed the meaning, and there was plenty of fun around doubling consonants and so on. . . .
>
> (CR08)

This pedagogy of exploring the tensions between individual experience of words and standard

spellings signifies a concern to make learners commit to their own judgement, try out ideas

and speculate on word meanings and related spelling changes. The report shows a concern to

expose learners to a wide range of the morphological patterns in a difficult and historically complex language (O'Rourke and O'Rourke, 1990). The curriculum compromise implied here is of balancing the demands of complex subject matter, and its contexts of use, with a supportive inquiry-based pedagogy, without concealing the need for learners to commit themselves to observation and speculation.

The data identifies three further official concerns that affect pedagogic relations when directing learners' use of grammar: (i) addressing uses of non-standard grammar, (ii) differentiating pedagogy for different learners, and (iii) accommodating the affective responses of individual learners to grammar correction.

As noted earlier, most aspects of Standard English in official texts are ascertained from written English, thereby side-stepping concerns for learners' regional accents and dialects. OR16 avoids the issue of learners' dialects by advocating adding 'Standard English to its repertoire', and viewing a 'native' dialect as a curiosity for 'systematic' study.

> For pupils who do not have Standard English as their native dialect, teaching Standard English should draw on their knowledge of other dialects or languages. The aim is to add Standard English to the repertoire, not to replace other dialects or languages. It should also be recognised that non-standard forms are systematic and not haphazard.
> (OR16:Section 4.43)

In accommodating the affective needs of individual learners when teaching grammar, text OR04 notes that a .coaching. teacher and an .experimenter. learner identity should recognised as a precursor to 'correction', in an open approach to monitoring and advising on usage.

> If a pupil is progressively to develop control in his handling of language he needs opportunity to experiment with new forms, and to do so with security. The teacher's first response to a piece of writing should be personal and positive. Only after responding to *what* has been said is it reasonable to turn attention to *how*. Correction and revision are then of unquestionable value. The best approach to these is for the teacher to go over the pupil's work with him, discussing persistent errors, suggesting solutions where the writing has run into difficulties, and talking over alternative ways of phrasing something.
> (OR04:166)

This text is not unrepresentative in implying there is an unspoken code of teacher intervention based on personal knowledge of individual learners, their work and their learning dispositions. Distrust in teachers' pedagogic knowledge, decision making and recognising learner's needs is implicit in the AG texts cited earlier. Similarly in this section of this discourse perspective and in Chapter 5, teachers' knowledge-base and their capacity to teach grammar concepts is confronted with frequent official criticism and formidable professional development agendas. These aspects of the official discourse are discussed in Chapter 8.

I conclude this perspective of language as form and product with two models of grammar pedagogy as language investigation. The first is on spelling.

AG10 claims investigative tasks are open observations and pattern forming. However, the task asking '[w]hich spelling is most likely in combination with different consonants' may not link with the words collected and leads to no helpful theory of consistency or inconsistency in phoneme-to-grapheme correspondence.

> Group tasks
> ◆ Ask pupils to collect, list and categorise spellings of a long vowel sound by spelling pattern.
> ◆ Pupils could investigate:
> – Which spelling is most likely at the end of words? (ay) – Which spelling is most likely in the middle of words? (ai)
>
> . . .
>
> ◆ Sort the list of words below to discover the most common spelling patterns for long i and e phonemes when followed by t phoneme.

beat	cheat	flight	knight	mite	quite	site	tight
beet	eat	fright	light	neat	right	sleet	treat
bite	feet	heat	meat	night	seat	slight	wheat
bleat	fight	height	meet	peat	sheet	spite	white
bright	fleet	kite	might	plight	sight	sweet	write

> Notes
>
> ◆ A phoneme is the smallest unit of sound in a word. There are around 44 phonemes in English, which may be represented by 1, 2, 3 or 4 letters.

. . .

◆ The long i phoneme is spelled in one of three main ways – i–e (*slime*), y (*my*) or igh (*fight*).
◆ The long o phoneme is spelled in one of three main ways – o–e (*phone*), oa (*moan*) or ow (*show*).
◆ The long u phoneme is spelled in one of three main ways – u–e (*tune*), oo (*moon*) or ew (*flew*).

(AG10:v)

The final task is clear in its construction yet only leads to making two lists. The variety of

diverse spellings for words having similar sounds helps exemplify English's complex spelling,

but does not take investigation into any plausible real-life context, which could exemplify and

test learners' own hypotheses about spelling patterns.

A second investigation in CR03, advocates making a habit of investigations 'based often on

everyday texts and familiar and shared routines . . . [and] texts which are not everyday'. This

apparently open pedagogical approach leaves the choice of texts open, with space for

unexpected variation and a for need knowledgeable impromptu teacher intervention.

> This kind of investigative grammar class, based often on everyday texts and familiar and shared routines (for example, joke-telling is a common cultural practice in schools), can also help to prepare for the reading of texts which are not everyday, for example, reading grammatical and lexical ambiguity in canonical literary texts, where the total effects are normally much denser. For example, DH Lawrence's *Gloire de Dijon* begins:
> > 'When she rises in the morning
> > I linger to watch her;
> > She spreads the bath-cloth underneath the window
> > And the sunbeams catch her
> > Glistening white on the shoulders...
>
> The poem contains grammatical ambiguities which cross beyond sentence boundaries and involve the personal pronoun 'she' which can refer to the sun or to a woman, the use of 'white' as both a noun and adjective, as well as the subtle use of the simple present tense 'rises', 'spreads', 'catch' to convey recurrent and enduring actions.
>
> (AG03:16)

The example given is indicative only, identifying through the pronoun example a grammatical

ambiguity (Ivanič, 1990). In opening up a possibility for investigation it leaves teachers to

explore their repertoire of texts and grammar knowledge to build grammatical pedagogic capacity.

6.6   Summary of the perspective of Standard English and social expectation

In this perspective ideological themes are found in 17 texts, comprising 9 AG, 2 OR, 3 SC and 3 CR. Their argumentation approaches are balanced between explanatory exposition and hortatory exposition. This results from a balance of national strategies and statutory curriculum texts, which use more 'claim' and 'proposition' rhetoric on the one hand, and commissioned research texts, which tend to use more 'point' and 'elaboration' or 'reason' structures.

6.7   Summary of Chapter 6.

A discourse of 'standards and control' is developed here from texts that construct Standard English as a linguistic artefact and a taught product. The data reveals that Standard English is however predominantly a cultural and social expectation. Within the discourse of 'standards and control' this forms a perspective of Standard English and social expectation as combined in the data. This perspective on Standard English within school English frames beliefs about grammar as socially standardised and overtly constraining when applied as the only form of talk and writing in the English curriculum.

My second perspective within this discourse, of 'language as form, precision and product', reflects official constructions of how grammar and language are transacted in classrooms. It identifies formalising beliefs about learning and authoritative pedagogical relations. It frequently characterises learners as in deficit and unable to meet expected levels of grammar knowledge and skill. Similarly, in addressing teachers, much of the AG group's training materials prescribe both taught grammar content and pedagogy. In combination these two perspectives form a discursive chaining of notions of a standardised language and grammar to be taught in schools, and a commonly agreed pedagogic framework. AG texts present a

commom closed circuit of pedagogic messagess, chaining their own pedagogic solutions e.g. a 'Remember – Model – Try – Apply – Secure – Next' teaching sequence in AG10:46 and elsewhere. As with my analysis in chapter 5, SC and AG texts here are authored to give consistent discursive messages, whose discursive impact is to form an intertextual group that intensifies meaning. This is achieved through an intertextual web that converges ideas through key presentation devices. The developing impression is of a contrast in graphology and argumentation structure between, on the one hand AG and SC texts, and on the other CR and OR texts. Noticeably AG and SC texts develop a co-existent discursive pattern, or genre, of hortatory expositions or problem-solution argumentations. These favour their hoped-for and prospective arguments for clearly directed official ways forward in school grammar.

Chapter 7   The Discourse of Life Chances and Skills

7.1   Introduction

In Chapters 5 and 6 I identified two ideological discourses of grammar, 'Heritage and Authority' and 'Standards and Control' in my data set of official grammar documentation. Those analyses showed discourses of school grammar claiming its cultural value to learners for (i) skilled writing, and reading literature, (ii) knowing Standard English and linguistic scholarship, and (iii) facilitating personal thinking and communication. Policy authors also question English and literacy teachers' preparedness for grammar teaching, and frequently refer to learners as weak communicators, needful of the skills grammar is claimed to afford. These discourses polarise grammar between a prescriptive study of learner correctness, transmissive teaching and authority of Standard English, and more descriptive practice that claims to provide for personal growth in learners.

My analysis has so far revealed arguments about grammar sustained through

    (i)   recognisable argumentation patterns that make mostly hortatory claims for grammar study, and

    (ii)   intertextual cross-referenced arguments that mask alternative perspectives.

These activities are also realised through texts' identifiable rhetorical structures, grammatical structures, wording and significant metaphor. These findings addresses my second research question: 'How are official discourses constructed through official English curriculum documentation?'

7.1.1   The structure of Chapter 7

This chapter presents a third discourse of 'Life Chances and Skills'. Corpus keywords identify two social themes that align learners with social expectations of schooling. Their policy purposes include equalising language provision for all learners, teaching Standard English for

social acceptability and employment purposes, and raising individual communicative competency. In deducing this discourse I identify two ideological perspectives that ascribe forms of social capital to learning grammar:

(i)   a perspective of entitlement, Standard English and communicative competency learners;

(ii)   a perspective of growth, creativity and criticality.

Initial arguments polarise 'grammar' and 'growth' English in a dichotomy where each claims to foster individual learners' self-empowerment or capacity for employment. Keywords 'precision', 'control', 'competency', 'knowledge', 'functional', 'basics', 'explicitness', 'structure(s)', 'recognise[ing]', 'correct[ion]' 'skills' inform perspectives on grammar for social-evaluative purposes, including employability. I examine grammar arguments about social inclusion that link linguistic conformity to authoritarian norms of social conformity (Bernstein, 1972:102-7). Keywords 'culture', 'identification', 'categorise', 'analyse', 'practice', 'know', 'variety', 'literacies', 'noticing', 'appropriate' and 'choice' inform a personal growth perspective in this discourse. It is constructed from four themes, 'skills', 'creativity', 'criticality' and 'language change'.

These two perspectives address my first research question, examining divergent policy claims for grammar's impact on learners' entitlements, knowledge, skills and life chances. Within this discourse of 'life chances and skills' I examine policy claims for ideals of either state-oriented 'autonomous', or individually-oriented 'ideological' literacies, identified in Chapter 6.

Intertextual analysis of document extracts' keyword frequency identified the three most frequent keywords referenced 'learners', 'writing' and 'grammar'. Ideological interpretations of these keywords (see Figure 5.2) suggest a prescriptive paradigm of school grammar aligned to transmissive pedagogies. How these terms sustain those ideological meanings under thematic textual analysis of the data is this chapter's focus.

7.2 Learners, writing and growth

Before the 1980s' national curricula a 'personal growth' English held that the individual learner agency and growth defined the English curriculum (Dixon, 1975). In 1990 Protherough and Atkinson found teachers' notions of English being expressed through organic metaphors of 'human growth and development', 'nurturing individual development' and 'the centrality of the pupil' (1991:17). This view is questioned by postmodern inquiry, particularly from literary theory which holds that phenomena such as 'growth', 'pleasure' and 'the individual self' are not a single experience, but 'fabricated by the values of the society and culture in which we live' (Peel *et al.*, 2000:117). A growth view of English claims the learner's sense of 'self' is developed through 'self-expression' (Dixon, 1975:xvii), a process of taking learners' thinking towards language. Growth, thereby ideologically opposes objective-driven, instrumental language teaching that brings specific language elements towards the learner as a cultural requirement.

Ideological shift changed English's position through the era Dixon records. Reviewing cultural-political perspectives of the 1960s till 1990, Ball *et al.* find six political and subject tensions forcing ideological re-evaluation of school English:

grammar schooling	–	comprehensive schooling
literature	–	language
elite	–	mass
cultural heritage	–	cultural relevance
transmission	–	participation
Cambridge	–	London

(Ball *et al.*, 1990c:57)

They critique changes in English, moving from left to right along these polarities; since 1990 they see most changes having been reversed. For this study the English as 'literature - language' polarity is linked to the 'cultural heritage – cultural relevance'. Its focus on culture in daily life combines with attendant 'participation' rather than 'transmission' pedagogies. These starkly polarised values underpin my initial speculative map of grammar ideologies with its 'prescriptive – descriptive' divide (Figure 5.2), taken from the corpus keywords. For Ball *et*

al.(1990a), HMI (OR11), Kingman (OR13) and Cox (OR18) reports (1984 to 1989) lead to a written English curriculum reifying English and literacy as (i) drawn from a literary canon of 'high-quality' texts, (ii) language modelled and taught as fixed forms, and (iii) a teacher-as-instructor pedagogic identity.

Corpus keyword counts (Appendix B) finds 'learners', 'writing' and 'grammar' the most frequently referenced (Table 7.1).

Keywords	Frequency	% Occurrence
pupil[s] / children	995	13.75
writing/written	839	12.50
grammar[atical]	440	5.00

Table 7.1   Analysis of keywords

Direct references to 'grammar' and to 'sentence', 'clause' or 'structure' are combined in the 440 occurrences. Humans, 'pupil[s] / children', are combined, as are non-human elements constructing 'writing/written'. Full enumeration of the highest 300 occurrences is in Appendix B.

7.3   The perspective of entitlement, Standard English, and communicative **competency**

In this section I claim that grammar as writing skills in the data, brings standard grammar towards the learner, in a literacy project more concerned with social needs for literacy, than a 'growth' ideology of literacy and the 'self'.

References to 'learners' focus on written English for their arguments about individual language competency. National curriculum texts define competency as 'correct' or 'accurate' language, for example '[th]e basic grammatical structure of sentences is usually correct' (SC04:59). Hymes defines facility with language as 'communicative competence', a capacity to adapt language to changing situations (Hymes, 1967, quoted in Milroy and Milroy, 1999:100). Limits to individual competency are defined by two kinds of 'mistakes': (i) difficulties with regular linguistic patterns, and (ii) features of language style that feel 'quite natural to all native

speakers, and are a part of Standard English, as well as other dialects, but which many people still feel rather uncomfortable about' (Trudgill, 1975). Competency can therefore be defined by the sufficiency of individuals' language repertoires, from within their language community. Much discussion in the OR group considers language competency and language repertoires, yet many arguments imply that learners' linguistic habitus is a single, Standard English language community.

One example of competency, from the Plowden Report (OR03), considers trends in writing competency, and identifies the impact of writing skills on individual school and life-long success.

> There has been since the war such progress in the teaching of English that it might have been thought that . . . we might have treated it more briefly. But English permeates the whole curriculum as it permeates the whole of life. We cannot afford to slacken in advancing the power of language which is the 'instrument of society' and a principal means to personal maturity.
>
> (OR03:223)

Plowden recognises language as an element of learners' social capital, the 'instrument of society', emphasising an official urgency within the data to see improving written performance as a social competency definition of literacy. OR03 sees social competency as being literate, and its authors endorse schools' work in achieving this: '[t]here has been since the war such progress in the teaching of English'. Plowden identifies no moral panic over children's literacy, such as may be observed in later OR texts (e.g. OR07, OR12 and OR13), analysed in Chapter 5. On the contrary, by recognising post-1945 'progress in the teaching of English' Plowden recognises continuity, not change in teaching. In Plowden lies acknowledgement that the then current literacy teaching provided a proportionate approach to develop learners' practical, cognitive and metacognitive grammar knowledge over time. This approach to structuring an official report, by reflecting elements of individual learners' interests in the light of national demands for their progress, is not reflected generally across the OR group. Plowden argues for learning grammar to be proportionate to learners' on-going need, and claiming learners'

individual progress should drive next steps in learning. In what for the 1960s may seen a progressive perspective, Plowden's policy recommendations accept that a learner's growing literacy needs should be foremost in regulating the demands of the grammar taught:

> (a) Children are interested in words, their shape, sound, meaning and origin and this interest should be exploited in all kinds of incidental ways. Formal study of grammar will have little place in the primary school, since active and imaginative experience and use of the language should precede attempts to analyse grammatically how language behaves.
> (b) The time for grammatical analysis will come but it should follow a firmly laid foundation of experience of the spoken and written language.
>
> (OR03:222-3)

This child-centred perspective (Bruner, 1963), indicates an orientation away from competency, as learners replicating the prescribed 'rules' of Standard English. The orienting statement in the first sentence acts as a regulating theory for the thesis statement in the second sentence. That sentence develops an argument about learning through personal experience. This open approach to literacy, as a project of the self, reconciles grammar's inherent complexity with learners' individual needs. It calls for flexibility in the space for learning language skills, through an argumentative exposition micro-genre. This point is echoed in the succeeding paragraph:

> The growth of the study of linguistics, with its interest in describing and analysing how language works, the differences between written and spoken language and the influence of language on children's thought and mental development, will no doubt come to be reflected in teachers' courses and in classroom techniques. Already the linguist has done a good deal to clarify the vexed question of the role of grammar in teaching English by his distinction between 'prescriptive' and 'descriptive' grammar. Speech is how people speak, not how some authority thinks they ought to speak. The test of good speech is whether any particular use of language is effective in the context in which it is used, not whether it conforms to certain 'rules'.
>
> (OR03:223)

Here, a radically different rhetorical structure, of 'fact – fact – fact – claim' develops an assertive, hortatory exposition that raises an expectant tone of the final sentence, when claiming '[t]he test of good speech is whether . . .' (OR03:223). This sentence defines a hoped-for descriptive ideal of language teaching. Its assertive tone suggests some contrary position is being left unstated in the text, but is being refuted none-the-less in the final sentence. In projecting a 'growth' view of literacy OR03 affirms a descriptive grammar discourse, a move to

develop the discourse perspective about what defines an individual's language competency. It does so by taking its argument away from accepting that fixed prescriptive ideas about how language should define competency. When applied to language use, 'effective', and 'appropriate', cease to use standard language to define linguistic competency (Cameron, 1995). The authors reference the social identity of learners in their claims for what is both literate and socially useful. However, Fairclough questions a notion of 'appropriateness' that implies a universally agreed system of linking context with language, and argues that 'appropriateness' is normative and prescriptive; that it presents a discourse of marginalising learners' local speech, whose: 'varieties may be appropriate, but are pretty marginal and irrelevant' to alternative communities (Fairclough, 1992c:36).

7.3.1   Grammar as skills for life

Despite OR03's descriptive grammar stance, official discourse of language skills acquisition shows a tendency to privilege (i) social conformity, and (ii) rule-driven ideals of acceptable language forms, when defining communicative competency in social life. OR02 sharply records this when considering the grammar of learners' speech:

> We content ourselves with recording our belief that no school is doing its duty by the community which does not do everything in its power to bring its pupils to use such speech that everything they say can be easily apprehended in any part of the country. We have in mind mainly the correction of faulty vowel sounds and slovenly articulation, and we hold that the aim proposed can be achieved without complete stereotyping of the spoken word, and that it does not follow that dialect (whatever may be understood by that word) will be extinguished, even though the man who uses one speech in his native town or family circle may be using another when he is addressing strangers.
>
> (OR02:96)

The particular 'faulty vowel sounds and slovenly articulation' are not identified. However, a severe tone of official reprimand is evident in argumentation that is realised through the negative statements 'no school is doing its duty' and 'does not do everything in its power' when identifying school as the source of learners' life chances. The social identity of the speech varieties needing 'correction' is not explained, but national social conformity is clearly intended as a model for learners' wider life opportunities, notwithstanding the feint recognition of

regional speech variation. Its highly authoritarian stance on language and schooling is, undoubtedly, drawn from its mid-Twentieth Century times, but its sentiments on SE and conformity remain recognisable in many AG documents of the early 2000s.

What grammar defines socially acceptable or competent usage is not restricted to speech in the corpus. SC and AG documents select specific grammatical features to define age-related measurements of writing competency, features intended as tokens of competency. By being specified as assessment criteria they come to define competency. Specifying single grammatical features to conceptualise what is acceptable in school-level English tests reifies single features as required, necessary, and, by extension, imperative when justifying test results and examination grades. Such results are the access points to further educational success; grammatical forms therefore not only define school competency in writing but access to wider social goods. Text AG02, the National Literacy Strategy Framework for the Primary Phase, lists very specific grammar learning, and writing performance for eleven-year-olds' success:

> Pupils should be taught:
> Grammatical awareness
> 1 to revise from Y5:
> - the different word classes, e.g. prepositions;
> - re-expressing sentences in a different order:
> - the construction of complex sentences;
> - the conventions of standard English;
> - adapting texts for particular readers and purposes;
> 2 to revise earlier work on verbs and to understand the terms *active* and *passive;* being able to transform a sentence from active to passive, and vice versa;
> 3 to note and discuss how changes from active to passive affect the word order and sense of a sentence;
>
> Sentence construction and punctuation
> 4 to investigate connecting words and phrases:
> - collect examples from reading and thesauruses;
> - study how points are typically connected in different kinds of text;
> - classify useful examples for different kinds of text — for example, by position *(besides, nearby, by);* sequence *(firstly secondly...);* logic *(therefore,* so, *consequently);*
> - identify connectives which have multiple purposes (e.g. on, under, *besides);*
>   . . .
>
> (AG02)

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As noted in Chapter 5, the layout of grammatical requirements for assessment as itemised

lists, unrelated to contexts of writer intention, audience or stylistic necessity, creates the

illusion of grammatical usage being neutral, universally applicable and undifferentiated across

contexts and social domains. As a political project of reworking public discourse of grammar,

itemised lists become reframing devices in what Williams describes as expressing 'consciously

and unconsciously, certain basic elements of culture, what is thought of as "an education"

being in fact a particular selection, a set of emphases and omissions' (Williams, 1965:145).

Similarly, text SC05, the 2005 version of the English national curriculum, divides and

subdivides a commoditised list of grammatical features in heavily expanded noun phrases.

Presented in an imperative sentence beginning '[t]hey should be taught . . .' the ensuing listing

narrows the content to the status of object facts, offering no purposes or discursive contexts for

using this knowledge.

> Language structure
> 7 Pupils should be taught the principles of sentence grammar and whole-text cohesion
> and use this knowledge in their writing. They should be taught:
> a. word classes or parts of speech and their grammatical functions
> b. the structure of phrases and clauses and how they can be combined to make
>   complex sentences [for example, coordination and subordination]
>
> . . .
>
> d. the use of appropriate grammatical terminology to reflect on the meaning and clarity
>   of individual sentences [for example, nouns, verbs, adjectives, prepositions,
>   conjunctions, articles].
>
> (SC05:51)

Both texts are presented as rejections of learner's individuality as writers. They constrain

agency, in an urge towards defining the writer as being a sufficiently competent user of the

writing features in national tests. This national perspective on novice and experienced child

writers' competency narrows discourses of individual access to recognised literacy.

Narrowing grammar to 'skills' and 'competency' reflects longer-lived policy change towards a

utilitarian conceptions of English skills as life chances, noted by (Apple, 1988; Ellis *et al.*, 2007;

Peel *et al.*, 2000; Peim, 2009). Policy moves away from a personal growth literacy that had conceived 'language' and 'skills' as means of developing the individual self. Policy now frames grammar and skills as social rather than as individual development, moving official discourse away from the 'imagination' and the 'creative'. It develops the term 'communication' as a utilitarian activity. Figure 7.1 provides one model for this utilitarian English as 'communications and lifeskills'.

AUTHORITY
'THE STATE'

ENGLISH AS SKILLS
'COMMUNICATIONS'
AND 'LIFESKILLS'

ENGLISH AS THE GREAT
LITERARY TRADITION
'STANDARDS AND SENSIBILITIES'

'SELF'
INDIVIDUAL

'NOT SELF'
COLLECTIVITY

PROGRESSIVE
ENGLISH

ENGLISH AS
'CRITICAL LITERACY

AUTHENTICTY
'THE PEOPLE
SELF'
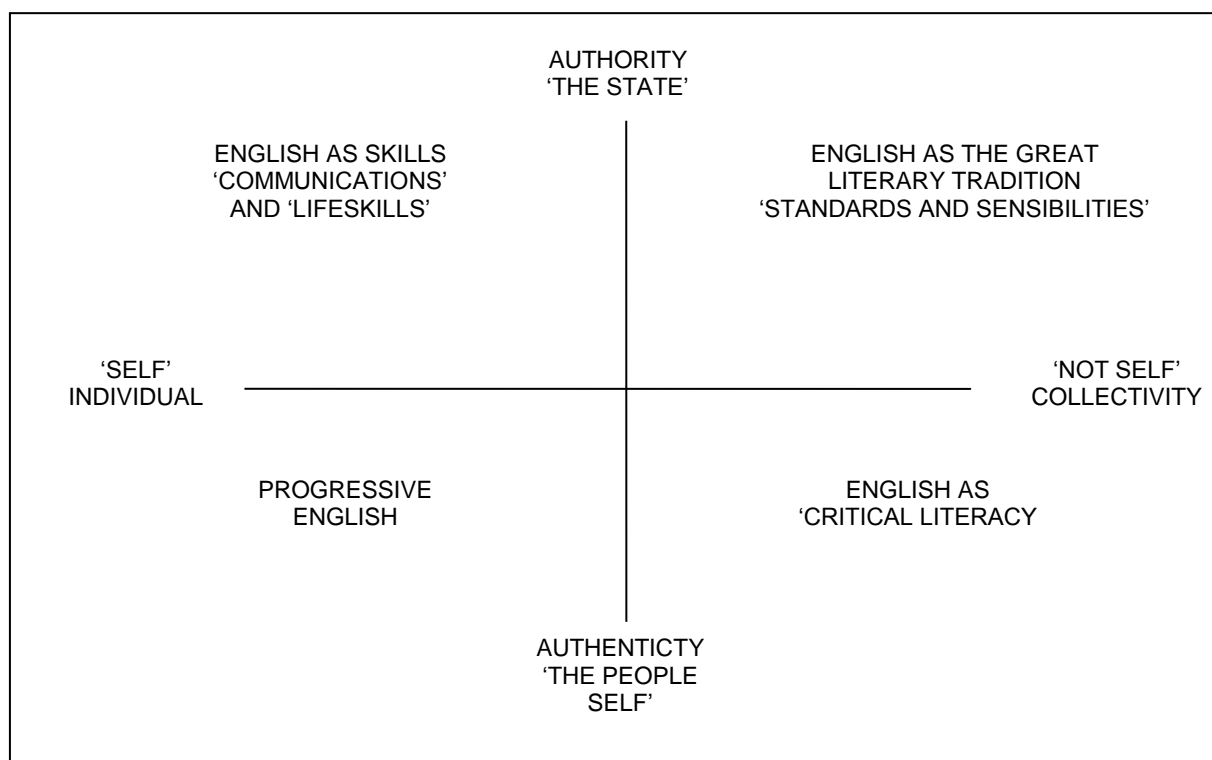
Figure 7.1   English, literacy and society   Source: (Ball *et al.*, 1990a:76)

This discourse of 'skills' as a functional handling of language items can be seen in AG22, which identifies 'skills' with handling specific sentence elements, for example, for low-achieving writers handling embedded phrases in sentences using commas:

> Commas to separate out adverb phrase in complex sentence and make it easier to read

(OR22)

AG22, a KS3 handbook for literacy progress units on 'sentences', uses graphology of hierarchical lists characteristic in AG and SC texts. This graphology implicitly assumes that the

reader is uncertain of its content knowledge base. It addresses teachers and classroom support staff audiences by defining the content knowledge base as a framework for its pupils' learning agendas. Here 'sentence' is explained:

> Sentences are not easily defined. Instead of definitions, we need to focus on common features to emphasise meaning.
>
> ¦ A sentence will make sense as a stand-alone unit.
> ¦ Sentences can be major (i.e. can be broken down into clauses; simple, compound, complex) or minor (less conventional sentences, often oral). Major sentences are what might be traditionally defined as a sentence, for example:
> – Mary and Farzana should have been at the lesson.
> ¦ Minor sentences make sense but are far more dependent on where they occur to make sense, for example:
> – No trespassing.
> – For sale.
>
> . . .
>
> ¦ The order and position of words is important; this is known as syntax and is rule-governed.
> ¦ Punctuation helps the writer and reader make meaning.
> ¦ Sentences begin with a capital letter.
> ¦ They end with a full-stop, exclamation mark or question mark.

(OR22:1)

Hierarchically listed language items as skills sets present what Fairclough calls a 'vocabulary of skills'. This indicates official rejection of a personal growth English, as a personal resource or capacity; it identifies language as functional, transacted through separate language units designed to become 'separately teachable and assessable, and can be bought and sold as distinct goods in the range of commodities available on the educational market' (Fairclough, 1993a:209). A 'commoditised' discourse of skills frames the SC group, in which the National Curriculum prioritises a version of English grounded on 'adult needs' and communication as 'lifeskills'.

This utilitarian 'skills' conception of literacy reflects three ideological policy positions on grammar. First is a tenaciously held determination to promote grammar as knowledge that of itself improves learners' writing skills, despite contrary evidence from an EPPI review of

empirical studies (Andrews *et al.*, 2004) that finds no such conclusive correlation (Andrews, 2010). Second, is a requirement from 2008 onwards for discrete literacy, 'functional skills' to be tested as an essential element for attaining Grade C or above in England's GCSE English, but later re-subsumed into the GCSE examination itself. The rationale was that '[f]unctional skills are vital to the personal development of all learners aged 14 and above' (QCA, 2008:3). Third is the introduction in the UK of Learning and Skills Councils, 'tasked with overhauling the 14-19 curriculum with a view to making education align more closely with the needs of employment' (Clark, 2010:49).

The SC texts SC03 and SC04, England's 1995 and 1999 National Curricula for English, develop this discursive presentation of discrete skills in three ways. First, the texts intertextually link to official publications that chain the discourse towards 'practical, manageable teaching plans' and provide the official definition of programmes of study as 'matters, skills and processes'. Second, attainment is conceived as 'knowledge, skills and understanding that pupils of different abilities and maturities are expected to have by the end of each key stage' in lists of 'attainment targets for English'. Third, in the extract below, the 'Knowledge, skills and understanding' use a recurrent non-finite verb construction in which '[p]upils should be taught to . . . choose . . . broaden . . . use . . .' and 'to communicate their meaning effectively' (SC05:29).

> Schools may find the DfEE/QCA exemplar scheme of work for key stage 3 helpful to show how the programme of study and attainment targets can be translated into practical, manageable teaching plans.
>
> 1 The Education Act 1996, section 353b, defines a programme of study as the 'matters, skills and processes' that should be taught to pupils of different abilities and maturities during the key stage.
>
> <div align="right">(SC04:6)</div>

> The attainment targets for English set out the 'knowledge, skills and understanding that pupils of different abilities and maturities are expected to have by the end of each key stage'2. Attainment targets consist of eight level descriptions of increasing difficulty, plus a description for exceptional performance above level 8. Each level description describes the types and range of performance that pupils working at that level should characteristically demonstrate.

The level descriptions provide the basis for making judgements about pupils'
performance at the end of key stages 1, 2 and 3. At key stage 4, national qualifications
are the main means of assessing attainment in English.

(SC04:7)

Knowledge, skills and understanding
Composition
1 Pupils should be taught to:
a. choose form and content to suit a particular purpose [for example, notes to read or
    organise thinking, plans for action, poetry for pleasure]
b. broaden their vocabulary and use it in inventive ways
c. use language and style that are appropriate to the reader
d. use and adapt the features of a form of writing, drawing on their reading
e. use features of layout, presentation and organisation effectively.

(SC05:29)

These formulations are connected implicitly with references to 'skills for life and, or, work',

which extends the meaning of communication beyond that of literacy skills. Cameron identifies

a cultural significance in the term 'communication' that references structural change in the UK

economy, a change in which she claims a traditionally male-dominated manufacturing base

moves towards a 'feminised' service sector. Here, communication skills are no longer simply

useful attributes of productive workers, but essential products themselves. Here, the

interpersonal function of communication becomes imperative, where 'communication' may be

seen as a possible link between personal growth and the developing utilitarian perspective of

the discourses of grammar and English. Cameron implicitly connects these perspectives in

claiming that 'educational value claimed for communication skills lies not only in their relevance

to students' job prospects, but also . . . in the contribution they are thought to make to students'

personal, social and – for some commentators – moral development' (Cameron, 2000:125-6).

The term 'communication' has two further connotations in Cameron's analysis of these recent

changes. First, she finds connection between a widespread discourse of communication and

what Giddens calls a 'reflexive project of the self', in which:

> [a] person's identity is . . . found . . . in the capacity *to keep a particular narrative going* [original emphasis]. The individual's biography, if she is to maintain regular interaction with others in the day-to-day world, cannot be wholly fictive. It must continually integrate events which occur in the external world, and sort them into the ongoing 'story' about the self.'
>
> (Giddens, 1991:54).

Giddens claims individual identity to be an on-going and recurrent project based on communicative interaction between self-awareness and relationships with others. Its purpose lies in achieving an ideal of a relationship, yet is increasingly reliant on 'expert systems' such as medicine and therapy. Cameron claims that 'communication' may also be classed as an 'expert system' (Cameron, 2000:4) and thereby must be seen in a prescriptive light. From this perspective discourses of 'communication' arising from the domains of both work and language skills teaching operates as an 'expert system', or for Fairclough is a 'discourse technology' in its own right (Fairclough, 1989:221-2).

These reflections on learners' written language, as used to assess wider success in schools, are broadened in OR04, where over- reliance on writing quality is recognised as an unquestioned assessment technology.

> Writing has always been accorded a high prestige in our educational system, and this is due in large part to its traditional use as a means by which students put on record what they have learned. Written examinations have contributed to this emphasis, since they became the principal medium for judging achievement in most subjects of the curriculum.
>
> (OR04:162-3)

The primacy of writing as a narrow channel through which eleven years of educational achievement is recognised is also reflected the study of English GCSE papers for language features found in use at specific grades A, C and E CR02. This 1998 QCA research presents 'technical accuracy' trends in language use, and gives indicators of success for teachers practice:

> The . . . important implication arising from this study is that it draws attention to features of writing that need more explicit teaching attention. Focused teaching of some of these linguistic features might enable pupils to improve their accuracy, to develop more

authorial control, and to understand better how to improve writing between drafting and final copy. Awareness of the way language operates within texts and upon readers may help young writers to develop a sense of the act of writing as a creative but skilled craft, in which *what* is written is complemented by *how* it is written.

<div align="right">(CR02:4)</div>

These texts from 1975 to 1998 acknowledge writing's technical demands and how its features judge learners' suitability for life opportunities, and acknowledge that required writing standards are left invisible. That carefully crafted writing is a valued social practice, art form and cultural artefact is recognised (Cameron, 1994; Crystal, 2005; Culler, 1997). But writing as an assessment technology, with requirements for measurable grammatical correctness, leaves invisible its barriers to individual success. Text CR02 above, and e.g. CR06, identifies 'improving' writing, rather than changing the modes of assessment as a remedy. This discourse of progress, through narrow writing 'targets', creates a behavioural pedagogy of extrinsic goals and rewards in which teacher-learner negotiation focuses on remedying individual failure. These are contextualised by demands for school performance 'improvement' through examinations data, competitive school league tables, and a demanding employment market.

7.3.2 Grammar and employability

Beyond using written language skills to assess suitability for employment, the 1926 Haddow Report on adolescent provision (Board of Education, 1926), and excluded from my data set for too little reference to grammar, identifies schooling and society's requirements for a literate workforce, as part of social stratification by occupation:

> In the last years of a pupil's school life, especially when he is nearing the leaving age, both his own attitude towards school work and that of his parents are strongly influenced by consideration of his future occupation' through which 'work bearing on commerce, where a higher standard in written English . . . may be attained'.
>
> <div align="right">(Board of Education, 1926:109-110)</div>

Newbolt, five years earlier, takes a broader view of writing, grammar skills and modes of English assessment, claiming that examinations should be testing learners' capacity for

'communication' not testing grammar by analysis. It recommends (i) testing learners' capacity

'to grasp the meaning of a piece of English of appropriate difficulty', and (ii) using spoken

examinations that 'should be resorted to more frequently' (OR01). Newbolt is of its era in

calling for Standard English to be required in all subjects of the curriculum. Two years before

Newbolt the Secondary Schools Examination Council recommended setting no separate test

of formal grammar as grammar knowledge could be recognised in candidates' own writing.

Neither report's recommendation was acted upon. The impact of public examinations is further

cited in OR04, for misusing English language performance as a token of other subject

competencies, particularly in what they claim to be poorly constructed tests (SSEC, 1964).

Although not included in the corpus, SSEC's report identifies criticises the then current practice

thus:

> the low standard of English among those who passed;
> the large numbers entered, and the fact that teaching became a series of practice
> performances in examination techniques;
> the negligible contribution of many of those techniques to the development of writing;
> the unreliability of the examinations;
>
> . . .
>
> the unreality of some of the summarising tasks, such as reduction to 'one third of the
> original';
> questions on the 'correctness' of a particular usage out of context;
> grammatical minutiae ('Some of the most eloquently critical of the replies we received
> from the schools were directed against these questions; we share the view that they
> are of doubtful utility in any examination of English language and that in their present
> form they do great harm').
>
> (SSEC, 1964)

The committee criticises grammar 'questions [being set] on the 'correctness' of a particular

usage out of context' or 'grammatical minutiae', reifying prescriptive grammatical correctness

and conflicting with descriptive demands for other, context-related, questions about

grammatical usage (Carter, 1990b). Understanding what language 'correctness' represents,

prescriptively or descriptively, appears to call for what Hirsch calls 'cultural literacy'. For Hirsch

'cultural literacy' represents knowledge of texts that develop understanding of diverse cultural-

linguistic perspectives (Hirsch, 1987; Maybin, 1996), and for Andrews is the capacity of

'rhetoric' to interpret what 'communication' means in school English (Andrews, 2011).

SSEC's observation that 'teaching became a series of practice performances in examination

techniques', conceptualises teaching as simply limiting the impact of highly prescriptive

language requirements in examinations. These criticisms lead to recommendations for:

- internal examinations with external moderation;
- improvements to the existing examinations;
- the separation of language and literature;
- tests of spoken English.

(SSEC, 1964)

Bullock's review of English examining reports on the impact of SSEC's lead on teachers:

> The speed and eagerness with which the suggestions [in SSEC 1964] were seized
> upon, after such a long spell of torpor, reflected the concern of the teachers and
> examiners who were making their own reassessment.
>
> (OR04:117)

Bullock in 1975 also criticises 16+ English examinations for language questions, used since

1921, including:

> . . . a précis, letter writing, paraphrase, analysis and other grammatical exercises, the
> correction of incorrect sentences, the punctuation of depunctuated passages and . . .
> an essay
>
> (OR04:177)

Examinations as discriminators of technical performance was revealed by evidence to Bullock,

claiming 'the *fact* [my emphasis] that to accept a pass in English Language at the Ordinary

level ha[d] proved an unsatisfactory means of ensuring that at entry to a university all students

are capable of using the English language with the degree of competence which is essential at

that stage' (JMB 1960, quoted in OR04:178). The DES subsequently funded a revision project

to ensure that universities might receive suitably prepared candidates for degree level work.

This acknowledges (i) the wash-back impact of examinations on teaching, (ii) the culturally

selective nature of public examinations (Williams, 2005), and (iii) the social power of well

placed interests to recontextualise the official discourse, of English grammar and writing in this case, in the interests of universities' needs, in spite of the needs of the majority of learners at this time (Bernstein, 2000).

'Skills' of 'reading', 'writing', 'speaking/talk', and 'spelling' are disproportionately spread across the corpus; only the SC group makes persistent use of the term 'skills', with a 5% recurrence. The SC group contains the national curriculum for English with its post-1999 introduction of the phrase 'key skill' (SC04:8), and repeated in the 2004 version (SC05). Skills and communication emphasise a discourse of 'relevance' by identifying 'skills' as communicative capacity in social life. 'Communication' may simply mean 'talk' as a single channel of language interaction in work, cultural, community and personal domains, as seen in a study of the social dimensions of talk (Cameron, 2000:14-21). The National Curriculum includes spoken and written language. However, the significances that Cameron attributes to spoken communication apply to identify learners' competency in both (i) linguistic content, and (ii) discursive activity. Both are implicit in 'communication' skills using speaking and writing.

Bullock (OR04) claims social empowerment as its reason for emphasising talk in English:

> As a consumer, a worker, a voter, a member of his community, each person has pressing reasons for being able to evaluate the words of others. He has equally pressing reasons for making his own voice heard. Too many people lack the ability to do either with confidence. Too many are unable to speak articulately in any context which might test their security. The result can be acquiescence, apathy, or a dependence upon entrenched and unexamined prejudices.
>
> (OR04:156)

Bullock's concern for speaking is predicated on critical literacy, in 'being able to evaluate the words of others', and exposition skills 'for making his own voice heard'. This follows claims that sections of society are 'unable to speak articulately in any context which might test their security' implying two curricular aims: (i) operating in unfamiliar and daunting situations, and (ii) articulacy, whether this refers to either elocution or precision - or both - is unclear. However intended, this ambition for learners' life skills and life chances is social and cultural, and neither

related simplistically to formal uses of language nor grammatical resources. Its claim that '[t]oo many people lack the ability to do either with confidence' reflects Mead's notion of the 'self' as a self-oriented actor who:

> [i]n order to act . . [can] note and interpret the actions of others, size up his[sic] situation . . .figure out what to do . . . and frequently spur himself on in the face of dragging dispositions or discouraging settings.
>
> (Blumer, 1971)

This not uncommon sociological perspective on the 'self', for example Bourdieu and Passeron, (1977), argue for critical engagement with the demands of society's opportunities and barriers through the medium of listening, speaking and self-awareness. Bullock indicates a socio-cultural teaching agenda, but conflates social-critical language analysis with individual cognitive language learning in this final sentence:

> A priority objective for all schools is a commitment to the speech needs of their pupils and a serious study of the role of oral language in learning.
>
> (OR04:156)

From a cultural perspective 'speech needs' presage reconceptualising school English as 'new rhetorics' in the sense of developing 'communicative arts' (Andrews, 2011), or developing learner agency and political awareness in listener-speaker relationships (Green, 2008).

7.3.3   Grammar and entitlement

The previous text identifies a strong concern for language study and teaching to provide access to social goods and promote social inclusion, seeing use of language in social interaction as an educative opportunity and entitlement for all learners. I further identify document authors using the term 'entitlement' as a synonym for 'curriculum' thereby creating a false consciousness about the social status of Standard English, learners' needs and their writing. Jones defines 'entitlement' in official discourse of the curriculum as 'a single type of authorised knowledge [for which teaching is planned] to ensure that students can successfully access this authorised form' (Jones, 2003:149). Semantically 'entitlement' balances the

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individual right, which is a self-oriented dimension, against the willingness of a community to

grant benefits under specified circumstances, a socially oriented dimension. In building an

argument for a social need to marginalise the self-oriented, or individual, text OR13 claims that

low written achievement in examinations should be seen in polar opposition to social needs,

i.e. a need for a 'rising generation to be adequately equipped to meet the demands of

contemporary society and the competitive economy nationally and internationally'. In this

extract:

> . . . examples of what could be achieved in schools where the language work was
> strong showed that the picture need not be bleak.
> Similar evidence from other areas of the curriculum led to a growing belief that the
> problem lay in the patchiness of provision. Greater consistency was essential [for] all
> children would receive their proper educational entitlement . . . essential for the rising
> generation to be adequately equipped to meet the demands of contemporary society
> and the competitive economy nationally and internationally.
>
> (OR13:2)

Patchy education and the need for an economically competitive workforce are linked by the

term 'entitlement' in the extract's argumentation structure. For OR13 'entitlement' is combined

with national economic viability, it becomes the gift of the state in the national economic

interest, not an unfettered right of the individual, in what Medway calls 'skills in the portfolio

that authorises the flexible worker to enter the free market economy as a tactical player'

(Medway, 2005). This separation of the individual and the social is extended beyond the

economic sphere in Kingman, to delimit the varieties or dialects of English to which the

individual is to be 'entitled', in the following two examples of official 'entitlement' discourse.

> . . . while we are convinced that there must be scope for some variety in patterns in the
> teaching of English, we have equally no doubt that, since all pupils are entitled to an
> education which will equip them to use the English language to the best of their abilities
> (OR13:4)

> Chapter 5 offers the Committee's view of the educational entitlement of children, in
> terms of their knowledge about language; and proposes some targets for the
> knowledge, skills and understanding they might be expected to display at various
> educational stages
> (OR13:4-5)

This final example creates a semantic field that links 'entitlement' through 'knowledge' and 'targets', in a discursive proposition about social expectations of an individual's language knowledge performance according to socially prescribed normative 'targets'. The 'self', as described by Cameron (2000), is thereby removed in this conception of an entitlement curriculum.

The 'self' and the 'social' are addressed as potentially reconcilable entities, in terms of individual entitlement to public education in language knowledge, in this extract from text OR16, in 1989. Here a notion of competence in skills is juxtaposed with an affective notion, 'appreciation', in reconciling the social and the self to learning to use language competently, even though these broad aims are to be reduced to hard objectives in for an English national curriculum:

> 1.13 Our fundamental assumption is that all pupils are entitled to an education that will provide the opportunity for them to develop to the best of their abilities a competence in and appreciation of English. We have therefore developed our recommended attainment targets and programmes of study from our view of the knowledge, skills and understanding within English that are necessary to meet young people's personal and social needs. These aims and objectives are set out in chapters 2 and 3.
>
> (OR16:1.13)

Entitlement to one variety, Standard English, becomes not only a discursive means of prescribing a technically standardised requirement for learners' success in schooling, a cultural prescription that regulates dialect varieties in a document that elsewhere identifies cultural analysis as one of five curriculum models for English:

> This chapter is intended to illuminate the references to grammar and to Standard English in the programmes of study in chapters 15 to 17. It has five main topics:
> * pupils' entitlement to Standard English;
> * the definition of Standard English, and its relation to non-standard varieties;
> * misunderstandings about Standard English and grammar;
> * grammar teaching in schools;
> * teaching Standard English.
>
> (OR16: Section 4.3)

In a broad reading of the Cox Report there is a case for questioning the report's association of grammar with 'cultural analysis'. This is a necessary analysis, assuming that the reference

above to a 'definition of standard English, and its relation to non-standard varieties' is derived

from critical linguistics and critical literacy. Fairclough (1992c) questions Cox's presenting

Standard English as an 'entitlement' without which access to life's opportunities are limited.

Fairclough questions how Standard English may or can be added to an individual's repertoire,

without affecting local identities: 'How is it possible to teach pupils a variety of English so much

more prestigious and powerful than their own dialects and languages without detriment to the

latter?' (Fairclough, 1992c:35-6). This question is reflected in text OR23, feedback from a QCA

survey 'English 21' that questioned what should be included in a future national curriculum:

> You can't get through 21st century life effectively unless you are functionally literate …
> it's more fun to go to the match if you can read the programme. Others speak of the
> necessity for wide reading in literature and an understanding about language. Some
> teachers accept everyday functionality as an important entitlement, but others fear it
> leads to reduction, limitation and loss of creativity: describing a particular form of
> English as functional and separating it from other forms of English makes it appear a
> discreet and arid entity and 'basic' to English is a mind that connects, interprets,
> questions, associates, values and imagines.
>
> (OR23: Section 28)

It is evident here that the inception of England's English national curriculum is, and cannot be

anything other than, a social project. The calls for teaching conformity and raised literacy

'standards', identified in the extracts analysed above, can be historicised in the late 1980s

Conservative national curriculum project, and New Labour's late 1990s national strategies

agendas for education. Both were times of national economic hardship and political

questioning over the competitive capability of the national workforce. The social conformist

arguments analysed in the earlier texts can also be seen reflected in the significant metaphoric

wording of the 1995 English Orders (text SC03), in identifying Standard English as the only

'accurate' variety, and 'self-expression' as an act bound by social rules and not creative or

individual. This was something that the incoming government would not need to change. Text

SC03 'General Requirements for English' from 1995, foreshadows the 'Third Way' ethics of the

soon to be New Labour approach to balancing the social and the individual by closely

intertwining social prescription with an 'inclusivity' policy rhetoric:

> In order to participate confidently in public, cultural and working life, pupils need to be able to speak, write and read standard English fluently and accurately. All pupils are therefore entitled to the full range of opportunities necessary to enable them to develop competence in standard English.
>
> (SC03:2)

This social conformity-and-inclusivity rhetoric is also developed in the 'Speaking and Listening: Key Skills' section of text SC03, which implies a social regulatory role for Key Stage 3 learners themselves in their participation in classroom discussions. Here they:

> . . . should be encouraged to take different views into account. . . [and] in taking different roles in group discussion, pupils should be introduced to ways of negotiating consensus or agreeing to differ. They should be given opportunities to consider their choice of words and the effectiveness of their expression….in order to develop as effective listeners . . . pupils should be encouraged to ask and answer questions in the light of what others say.
>
> (SC03:17)

The above curriculum requirements, presented as a hortatory exposition (White, 2005) and designated as 'key skills', closely associates formalised speech acts within subject English with Citizenship or PHSE classes. There the learner as a citizen is directed towards the social good, the cooperative and conforming society, where individuality is restrained for the cohesion of the whole. In learning the 'key skills' of argument, as elaborated in SC03, 'skills' such as analysing and questioning inherent assumptions in arguments are omitted. Limiting the use of spoken language, as described in text SC03, and reiterated in SC04 in 1999, reflects a socially prescriptive perspective on learners' linguistic behaviour, and thereby limits the aspects of language being learned. A contrary view is found in text CR07, where a description of linguistic behaviours in argument is followed by a short exemplification of what spoken grammar characterises interlocutors' argumentation strategies.

Feature	Example
Spoken language is full of expressions, above and beyond the modal verbs, which help speakers negotiate and adapt the forcefulness or certainty of what they are saying, depending on the responses of their listeners. This is one of the ways speakers adjust their points of view and develop meanings together.	Modal expressions such as *possibly*, *probably*, *maybe*, *I guess*, *I suppose* and *perhaps* help us to negotiate what we mean in an essentially non-assertive way.

(CR07:11)

Learning 'to negotiate what we mean in an essentially non-assertive way' promotes notions of active learning and personal growth in knowledge and skills that are open-ended and unique to individual circumstances. Active learning and personal growth recognise what Marion Young considers to be democratic communication and inclusion in a democratic society. For Marion Young two ideals of democratic engagement in society are (i) self-determination through 'being able to participate in determining one's action and the condition of one's actions', and (ii), self-development through opportunities 'to learn and use satisfying and expansive skills in socially recognized settings, and . . . to play and communicate with others or express their feelings and perspectives on social life in contexts where others can listen' (Marion Young, 2000:32). Though not rejecting notions of standard spoken English, text CR07 identifies spoken grammar to facilitate open discussion and personal growth through experience of a variety of communication types.

7.4 Summary of the perspective of entitlement, Standard English and communicative competency.

This perspective is constructed from 21 texts focusing on the main themes of life-skills, employability and an entitlement to Standard English. These ideological themes are found in 8-AG, 8-OR, 3-SC and 2-CR texts. Their argumentation approaches are mainly hortatory exposition, particularly where claims for grammar's benefits in public examinations are used as a circular context for its teaching.

In the previous section I develop evidence of official discourses of 'entitlement' as a discursive focusing device for developing notions of social conformity of the individual. I also develop the analysis of 'Standard English' shown in Chapter 6, as it becomes used as a lens through which to advance narrow notions of language competency. I also identify how notions of competency are developed through public examinations and become both barriers and access points to claimed life chances. My analysis develops these themes through instances of:

- how varying conceptions of competency develop the purposes of learning standard English and its grammar,

- how grammar is conceived as acquiring skills for life,

- how grammar is equated with employability,

- how grammar and entitlement are linked in a social project that marginalises individuality.

Now, I set out my analysis of how understandings of English grammar in curriculum may be found to reflect notions of learner identity as seen through official positions on language development and change, creative pedagogy, and criticality in school English. These themes form a discourse perspective of language as form and product.

7.5   The perspective of growth, creativity and criticality

This perspective, of personal growth, creativity and criticality, in a discourse of skills and life chances, identifies ideas on learning grammar that relate to (i) descriptive grammar and criticality, (ii) grammar as growth through English, and (iii) creativity through learning grammar. I explore these discursive themes and their perceived impact on social and individual identities in school English.

7.6   Personal growth and creativity

As seen in Section 7.3, grammar requirements of the 1995 national curriculum (SC03), indicate a utilitarian prescriptive view of learners' needs and teachers' pedagogic identity. Their provisions, as seen in the extract below, require skills drawn from an eclectic mixture of (i) competency in using structures from traditional grammar, (ii) recognising language variation – with some inter-lingual observation – drawn from sociolinguistics, and (iii) developing grammar skills naturally in the spirit of an egalitarian social argument from personal growth English:

> In order to participate confidently in public, cultural and working life, pupils need to be able to speak, write and read standard English fluently and accurately. All pupils are therefore entitled to the full range of opportunities necessary to enable them to develop

competence in standard English. Where appropriate, pupils should be encouraged to make use of their understanding and skills in other languages when learning English.

(SC03:2)

The requirements for 'Standard English and Language Study' in the 'Speaking and Listening' section present factual knowledge to be 'taught':

Pupils should be taught:
- about the main characteristics of literary language
- to consider features of the vocabulary and grammar of standard English that are found in different text
- to analyse and evaluate the use of language in a variety of media, making comparisons where appropriate
- about different genres and their characteristics, including language structure and organisational features
- to analyse techniques.

(SC03:22)

However, in the outline of grammatical knowledge to be used for writing the verb 'taught' only appears once; this lowers an authoritarian tone developed by the high modality 'should', to develop a liberal tone through the abstract terms 'opportunities' and 'encouraged' associated with personal growth English and the 'reflexive project of the self' (Giddens, 1991):

a. Pupils should be encouraged to be confident in the use of formal and informal written standard English, using the grammatical, lexical and orthographical features of standard English, except where non-standard forms are required for effect or technical reasons. They should be taught about variation in the written forms and how these differ from spoken forms and dialects. Pupils should be given a range of opportunities to use the syntax and vocabulary characteristic of standard English in formal situations, and to distinguish varying degrees of formality, selecting appropriately for a task. They should be encouraged to relate their study of language to their reading and their previous linguistic experience, written and oral.

(SC03:24)

The phrase '[p]upils should be encouraged to . . .' is interesting semantically, but conceals a prescriptive agenda for teachers. Its call for 'using the grammatical, lexical and orthographical features of standard English, except where non-standard forms are required for effect or technical reasons' sets high cognitive and practical demands. The emollient terms 'clarity', 'appropriateness' and 'effectiveness' instead of 'correct', 'good' or 'proper' fail to conceal primacy of a prescriptive 'Standard' grammar.

That text SC03 and its 2004 successor SC04 both appropriate terms from personal growth discourse, sociolinguistics and traditional prescriptivism. However, this mix does not hide their prescriptive requirement for the explicit grammar teaching assumed to develop writing skills. This is shown clearly in AG01, which argues that using 'explicit knowledge' and 'traditional terms' in grammar:

- is important in understanding how meanings are made are made and how particular effects are achieved. Pupils who are able to articulate how language use and choice contribute to meaning and effect are more likely to be more responsive and critical as listeners and readers;
- is relevant to all written and spoken texts. Pupils' progress as language users depends on their increasing familiarity with and competence in, a wide range of forms and styles. Explicit grammatical knowledge enables them to recognise and understand the particular linguistic demands of different kinds of texts and contexts;
- is relevant to other subjects in the way that knowledge is constructed. Although each subject has its own vocabulary and technical concepts, explicit grammatical knowledge can help students use the language of the subject area appropriately, for example when describing events, reporting a process, or explaining what they have learned;
- provides a basis for the investigation and study of spoken language and how it relates to personal and social identity;

(AG01:21)

The extract elaborates a complex web of claims for grammar's potential to provide a personal growth model of learning. It suggests an open, sociolinguistic pedagogy based on linguistic critique and individual response to text. Both link spoken language to social identity and context-dependent relevance. Personal growth English accepts knowledge as being socially constructed through textual devices and reader response, thereby providing arguments for grammar teaching's place across the curriculum. It identifies with all five of Cox's views of English teaching in text OR16 making grammar a most widely applicable element in the school curriculum.

One aspect of official discourse not hitherto addressed in this chapter is how dialogue is established between official discourse and that of its assumed professional or expert readers. This dialogue is particularly in the AG and OR groups, where intertextual referencing is used, thereby claiming policy consistency with previous consultations and review exercises. For example, the Cox committee's consultation about the English curriculum uses no more than

references to its own responsiveness to advice when arguing new positions on teacher-learner identities:

> In our first Report we included a statement from a recent publication of the National Association of Advisers in English [footnote omitted], describing the characteristics of successful teaching and learning in language. We believe that these characteristics are applicable to good practice in primary and secondary schools and we therefore repeat them below:
> - very high expectation of success for the learner;
> - an "apprenticeship" approach to acquiring written and oral language, in which the adult represents the "success" the child seeks and yet offers endless help;
> - maximum encouragement and support whilst errors are mastered;
> - motivation for the learner to make sense of and acquire control over language and the power which it can have;
> - constant respect for the child's language.

The document continues by defining the needs of learner and teacher:

> ". . . . the learner needs expectation of success, the confidence to take risks and make mistakes, a willingness to share and to engage, the confidence to ask for help, an acceptance of the need to readjust, and the teacher needs respect for and interest in the learner's language culture, thought and intentions, the ability to recognise growth points, strengths and potential, the appreciation that mistakes are necessary to learning, the confidence to maintain breadth, richness and variety, and to match these to the learner's interests and direction (ie to stimulate and challenge), a sensitive awareness of when to intervene and when to leave alone."
>
> (OR16:Section 3.1)

This contribution to a (1998) public debate about grammar and language knowledge in English is included in text OR16. It uses intertextual referencing to develop official discourse. In characterising 'successful teaching and learning in language' and explicit 'good practice in primary and secondary schools' the authors draw on resources of personal growth English, namely learner-teacher negotiation. There is here a skilful discursive device, an appropriation of professional discourse into official discourse to negotiate a way between the learner and the social. Quoting the phrase 'the learner's language culture, thought and intentions' the author identifies a plural learner-teacher relationship by its reference to dialect and idiolect, even though language growth may be seen to be in opposition to 'acquiring control'. However, a then political contest between conservative and liberal positions on teaching grammar in schools necessitated alliances between this text's authors and professional opinion. This text shows similar instances of discursive accommodation to overcome a persistent and public

difficulty this committee has in officially endorsing 'that we need both accurate descriptions of language that are related to situation, purpose and mode . . . and prescriptions that take account of context, appropriateness and expression of meaning' (Cox, 1991:35).

7.6.1 Grammar as skills

The single, most persistent objective for teaching grammar throughout the corpus is that of improving writing. As noted through items quoted in Section 7.3.1 the data reproduces an unproven yet constantly repeated link between (i) knowing about grammar, (ii) using particular grammatical resources, and (iii) better writing (Clark, 2010:47). This official discursive rationale for recontextualising grammar as writing skills makes a discursive opposition between ideologies of writing as (i) technical skills for growth, and (ii) the creative act of writing as self-expression and development. In considering how official grammar discourse develops, discussion of how literacy benefits learners' motivation, cognition and creativity are cited here. According to Francis (1987) one benefit of learning about language, in combination with using language, is to dissociate language as 'truth' from the people children interact with. This allows learners space to develop a metacognitive awareness of how language creates text, ideas and meaning. This insight recognises how uses of language may be questioned, seen as not always literal; it can enable learners to argue about language, use language and reflect on language in abstract ways. Implicit to this perspective is a necessity for learners to be involved in, and not apart from, the contexts and purposes of learning through language. Francis (1987) argues that only by being able to recognise and respond to language in personally significant contexts can they reflect on creative uses of language. Franken argues that such activity is, from a motivational point of view, deeply creative because it draws on three human needs:

    (i)   novel, varied, and complex stimulation
    (ii) communication of ideas and values
    (iii) solutions to problems

<div align="right">(Franken, 2006:396)</div>

In statements of principle the 2004 Curriculum (SC05), argues the purpose of reflection is for 'improving [one's] own learning and performance' and links this to the term 'creative'

(SC05:21), thereby setting expectations of creative dimensions to skill-focused agendas. As identified earlier in this chapter there are circularities in this argumentation strategy, using indirect intertextual chaining to develop self-valorising support for areas of official discourse. 'Skills' here has a seemingly generic applicability, and whether valid or otherwise, the claim for raising 'communication' skills here is made without a sense of method or context:

> Some skills are universal, for example the skills of communication, improving own learning and performance, and creative thinking. These skills are also embedded in the subjects of the National Curriculum and are essential to effective learning. Opportunities for teaching and learning all these skills across the key stages can be identified when planning. Pupils can be encouraged to reflect on what and on how they learn, and how these skills can be applied to different subjects, different problems and real-life situations.
>
> (SC05:21)

As seen earlier in this chapter some authors use the emollient verb 'encouraged', more in keeping with 'growth' pedagogy, to develop a claimed open discourse about teaching. However, here the main verb is hardened by using the indicative auxiliary 'can' to build a verb phrase in the passive voice that removes agency. Authors then confidently assert that reflection on communication can stretch learning across the curriculum and across other areas of life. As seen elsewhere this hortatory approach in some official textual argumentation states ideas as fact that, at best, are hoped-for or unproven assertions. There is little of the hinted creative and encouragement in this discourse of skills.

Skills, as part of creativity in learning are implicit in a document excluded from the corpus for too little explicit reference to grammar. However, this Ofsted inspection finding, that claims teachers involved in 'writing with pupils, explaining their choices of words and phrases, and amending their work as they produce it', identifies a link between creating, discussing and evaluating writing as a process by which clarification, change or improvement can be made.

> One of the most positive developments over recent years has been the increasing tendency for teachers to demonstrate writing for their pupils. At its best, this involves teachers in writing with pupils, explaining their choices of words and phrases, and amending their work as they produce it. Evidence from the USA, where there is a long-established National Writing Project for teachers, suggests that pupils' work improves when their teachers regard themselves as writers.

The tone of this report is assertive of a radically different pedagogic relationship from that assumed by many in the AG group of texts (see Chapter 5). Similar to the 'apprenticeship' model offered in the extract from OR16 above, Ofsted gives an adult working alongside the learner, or in-front-of the learner, image of the classroom pedagogic relationship. Here the teacher is considered to be both expert and reflective, modelling the thinking behind improving writing. The authors assume that teachers should demonstrate expertise; likening this view to a coaching pedagogic approach drawn from some USA experience. However the 'increasing tendency' in this 'positive development' is a discourse of following bold classroom action, and demonstrating that improvements to writing rely on discussion and judgement about language forms, and not appropriation and unthinking use of fixed forms of language in themselves.

This pedagogic perspective on creating text coincides with OR04, that in 1989 trod a difficult course in accommodating the individual learner's needs in creating grammatically supportable text, and the social need to uphold discourses of writing standards combined with language and pedagogic authority:

> However, many people feel that with the rejection of grammar teaching much of value was lost. We would agree that a certain analytic competence has been lost, and with it the valuable ability to talk and write explicitly about linguistic patterns, relations arid organisation. We recognise also the fear among some teachers that teaching grammar, under whatever name, will mean abandoning the study of real language in use and a neglect of the subjective, creative, personal and expressive.
>
> . . .
>
> The anxieties are understandable, given the history of attempts to teach about language in schools, but they are nevertheless based on a criticism of poor practice in the past, and not on the potential of good practice in the future. Teaching grammar does not mean mechanical parsing drills. However, some form of analysis (which may be more or less explicit) is necessarily a part of the interpretation of texts and of the production of accurate writing.
>
> (OR16: Sections 4.26 & 4.27)

7.6.2 Grammar as creativity

One aspect of official discourse of grammar relates to creativity. Frequent reference to the authority of hard grammar knowledge often avoids recognition of exactly how this knowledge is transacted in classrooms. Whilst it appears somewhat facile to note that official reports are written in response to politically driven requests, policy audiences include public, professional and political interests, not excluding the media. Scott advises that media interest cannot be discounted in reconciling how the facts from policy texts are selected to enter the public arena and become intertwined with journalists, media producers and political forces that have interests in developing public opinion about these facts (Scott, 2000:99). This may have influenced the textual presentation of Cox (OR06), which prefigured the first English National Curriculum, and when grammar dominated debate and political discourses of 'standards', 'improvement' and 'national identity' (Sealey, 1994), it is possible to recognise how some sub-textual meanings may be obscured by overt reference to these dominant discourses.

Here the overt discursive perspective is of (i) clear requirements on teachers and training implications, (ii) frequent reference to specific areas of grammar knowledge, and (iii) reference to the relevance and purposes of grammar to wider success in English.

> The kind of exploratory, data-based teaching about the forms and functions of language which is proposed in this Report requires teachers who are confident in their ability to handle the material and apply it to well-chosen and stimulating examples. Our proposals therefore have serious implications for teacher training programmes and for those who develop teaching materials as well as for the teachers themselves.
> For grammar to be of relevance to English teaching, it should be:
> * a form of grammar which can describe language in use;
> * relevant to all levels from the syntax of sentences through to the organisation of substantial texts;
> * able to describe the considerable differences between written and spoken English;
> * part of a wider syllabus of language study, as outlined in chapter 6.
> Knowledge about sentence syntax is necessary as part of a larger description which includes the structural organisation of whole texts, such as stories, and arguments. In paragraph 4.53 we give, as an example, a brief description of some connectives which provide one means by which discourses can be organised.
> Language study: how language uses grammatical patterns to create both predictable and new meanings.
>
> (OR16:Sections 4.27-4.30)

This extract suggests that change is afoot, that study will be grounded in hard, traditional grammar knowledge and that learners will benefit from clarity about the method and purpose of its study. However, one further perspective is implied. First is a frequent use of pre-modifying phrases in which teaching will be 'exploratory', where learners will study 'a form of' grammar, and grammar will be 'part of' language study. With four references to 'descriptive' grammar and no reference to rules this text identifies more clearly with descriptive than traditional approaches, a discursive attempt to address both professional and linguistics agendas.

Fourteen years earlier Bullock (OR04) balanced its own assessment of skills and creativity without taking a particular side, although it refers to limited 'skills' teaching being evident in schools. However, it also includes a minority report from former 'Black Papers' author Stuart Froome. His contribution points to a political climate of right wing concern that discursively weighs current practice in a balance of skills and creativity:

> My own observation in a number of schools leads me to the belief that in the zeal for 'creativity' by teachers today, there is not the rigorous critical marking of spelling, punctuation and grammatical errors which there used to be, while the traditional systematic 'doing of corrections' is fast disappearing . . .
>
> I believe the Committee is in error in putting undue emphasis upon talking as a means of learning language. It has its place, but in my view, one of the causes of the decline in English standards today is the recent drift in schools away from the written to the spoken word."
>
> (OR04:526)

The term 'creativity' seems gratuitous in some AG texts, as here in text AG10 when discussing spelling competence:

> Competence in spelling releases the creativity of the writer. Young writers need to be so confident about their spelling that they can concentrate on composing ideas and making stylistic choices at word and sentence level that reflect the purpose and the context of their writing.
>
> (AG10:iii)

Exactly how '[c]ompetence in spelling releases the creativity of the writer' is unexplained, but this text states, as do other AG texts adopting a similar hortatory argumentation approach, its ideas as fact yet its authors provide no support for its assertion. 'Creativity' is one of the four

'Key Concepts' that frame the aspirations for learners to be taught through the 2007 version of the English national curriculum (SC06 and SC07). Its aspirations for a creative dimension to language learning focus on experiential learning and cognition. Cogitation is reflected in the keywords 'connections', 'ideas' and 'solving problems'. Experiential learning is indicated through terms including 'experience', 'playing with' and 'arguments'.

> Creativity
> a. Making fresh connections between ideas, experiences, texts and words, drawing on a rich experience of language and literature.
> b. Using inventive approaches to making meaning, taking risks, playing with language and using it to create new effects.
> c. Using imagination to convey themes, ideas and arguments, solve problems, and create settings, moods and characters.
> d. Using creative approaches to answering questions, solving problems and developing ideas.
>
> (SC06:62)

The text's use of present participle verbs in a series of non-finite clauses creates notional, aspirational activities, but with neither clear contexts nor agents. This textual construction is radically different from all previous versions since 1989. In previous versions agency is clearer, although not always specific in the framing of exactly who is required to do what, as in this example about writing from 1990 (SC02):

> KS1 Breadth:
> Children should have opportunities to write in different contexts and experiment with written forms, both chronological (diaries, stories, accounts of tasks, or personal experience) and non-chronological (lists, captions, labels, invitations, greetings cards, notices, posters) as well as word play.
>
> (SC02: Section B6)

The high modality form 'should' does regulate the activity of any agent, be they learner or teacher, by defining the range of learners' writing curriculum as 'opportunities', with lists of examples. There is clarity about the content of the writing experience in SC02, being firmly rooted in recognisable cultural text forms. SC06 on the other hand gives definitions of 'creativity' as actions, in an attempt to capture its abstract feel using lists of non-finite clauses. SC06 is the first version of an English national curriculum to address perennial contests between English as knowledge and facts versus English as experience and imagination

(Shayer, 1972:165) in this overt way. Whereas text SC02 places its clarifications in brackets within the text, SC06 uses the visual device of placing the 'Key Concepts' as paragraphs separate from 'explanatory notes' panels, thereby keeping detail away from the original aspirations quoted above. The SC06 explanatory note contains further definitions in its first and third sentences. These show keywords 'unexpected', 'original' and 'surprise' in its description of what creative activity looks like, and is described as 'essential' in the final sentence.

> Creativity: Pupils show creativity when they make unexpected connections, use striking and original phrases or images, approach tasks from a variety of starting points, or change forms to surprise and engage the reader. Creativity can be encouraged by providing purposeful opportunities for pupils to experiment, build on ideas or follow their own interests. Creativity in English extends beyond narrative and poetry to other forms and uses of language. It is essential in allowing pupils to progress to higher levels of understanding and become independent.

(SC06:62)

Discursively SC06 is tentative about the place of creativity as a clearly defined facet of learning about language. As I note earlier in this section, official documents address multiple audiences that constrain the pedagogic discourse. This text's constraint is evident in its need to speak over the professional audience to a politically charged public audience, one that has been sensitised to debates about standards, grammar and creativity in nearly twenty years of public debate. It shows official power to recontextualise the discourse.

Historically 'creativity', as SC06 describes it, did not really exist even in primary schooling until the 1950s, being preceded only by 'progressive' educationalists, e.g. Nunn, using phrases such as 'individual development' and 'self-creative growth', thereby indicating a development of ideas and a 'growth' philosophy through the Twentieth Century (quoted in Shayer, 1972:93). These practices of creative writing and individual response to text is criticised as running counter to some learners' interests, favouring learners in possession of Bourdieuian 'cultural capital', and thereby disenfranchising 'many children from any real understanding of the social, learned nature of writing and reading, and to deny them access to the obvious power of cultural literacy' (Gilbert, 1993:260). 'Creative' is ill-defined in the data, and its many mentions

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suggest a discursive sleight of hand, claiming it as a policy objective but leaving it unsubstantiated in official requirements.

7.6.3 Grammar and criticality

Criticality in subject English, on the other hand, is central to studying literature, media or language in order to make visible the interconnectedness of cultural, political and social practice (see e.g. Wodak and Meyer, 2009). Cox's inclusion of 'cultural analysis' as one 'view' of English in its report (OR16:10) signalled official inclusion of cultural-critical literature and language study. Social-critical language study had been in school English, in some form, since the 1960s (Barnes D *et al.*, 1969; Doughty, 1968). 'Criticality' as critical theory in language study is recognised by Dixon in his (1975) revision of 'Personal Growth English', a revision that develops the learner's role from a 'spectator' of language use into a 'participant', one who uses 'language to confirm, advise, persuade, report, invite, request, instruct' (Dixon, 1975:123).

Dixon draws this insight from a need to develop understandings of language in social use:

> Language in the spectator role 'focuses our attention on how we represent the world to ourselves, and ourselves to the world' (Britton). Our interest is in the imaginative processes involved and in the adequacy of language to represent experience[s]. The central process is the act of *representing**. When we shift focus to include language in participant roles, the central process becomes the act of *communicating**. This is much more open to scrutiny and to public discussion . . . [* author's italics]
>
> (Dixon, 1975:128)

Dixon's 'act of representing' refers to critical linguistics theory, as echoed officially in the 'personal growth' and 'cultural analysis' views of English in OR16.

> A 'personal growth' view focuses on the child: it emphasises the relationship between language and learning in the individual child, and the role of literature in developing children's imaginative and aesthetic lives.
>
> (OR16:9)

This definition recognises the social and pedagogic potential of examining the 'representing' of ideas, values and ideologies through language in use. It accounts for the contexts in which meanings are recorded. The learner is characterised as 'individual', 'developing' and

'aesthetic', in a negotiated, dynamic model of a language-learning relationship. Recognising the 'imaginative' and the 'aesthetic' indicates official acceptance in the discourse of the growing cultural identity of the learner, reflecting apprenticeship pedagogic relationships noted in Chapter 5.

Dixon's reference to the 'act of *representing*' identifies with the learner's wider experience of life, culture and social relations, all as pragmatic resources through which to examine text. There is concern here to balance the importance of (i) language and values, (ii) retaining an English subject identity amid English specialists' wider literacy responsibilities, (iii) making visible the ideologies underlying cultural artefacts, and (iv) recognising language's distinctive role in participating in democracy and social life.

> A 'cultural analysis' view emphasises the role of English in helping children towards a critical understanding of the world and cultural environment in which they live, Children should know about the processes by which meanings are conveyed, and about the ways in which print and other media carry values, Some of these views look inwards: either in the sense of developing the individual child or in the sense of developing English as a separate school subject . . . Another distinction is that some of the approaches concern essentially the child's developing use of language, whereas others concern the knowledge about language and literature required of an informed and educated citizen in a democratic society.
>
> (OR16:10)

The final reference to 'the knowledge about language and literature required of an informed and educated citizen in a democratic society' introduces a hybrid argument that conflates (i) individual capacity to access individual rights in a democratic state, and (ii) having sufficient literacy capacity to respect a traditional culture and thereby be 'the good, cooperative citizen' (Halstead and Pike, 2006:34).

SC texts begin with statements of values and purposes that explain their principles of intent. As seen in Section 7.6.1, most such statements of values outline aspirations using a hortatory exposition, claiming benefits without support for assertions. Text SC06 unsurprisingly shares many such stylistic features with its 'creative' counterpart analysed in Section 7.6.1.

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Critical understanding
a. Engaging with ideas and texts, understanding and responding to the main issues
b. Assessing the validity and significance of information and ideas from different sources
c. Exploring others' ideas and developing their own
d. Analysing and evaluating spoken and written language to appreciate how meaning is shaped

(SC06:63)

The 'engaging', 'assessing', 'exploring' and 'analysing' agendas reflect a critique of language echoing Cox's 'cultural analysis' in English, giving two repetitions of 'ideas' and a claim to be promoting an evaluative approach to language's forms and functions. There is no mention of using linguistic terminology, and in this it echoes the aims of the 1971 'Language in Use' project (Doughty *et al.*, 1971). Doughty's teaching takes a linguistic stance to analysing everyday language in use. It does not advocate teaching linguistic terminology to describe language features or their functions. This reflects the then current practice that saw terminology as redolent of context-free grammar teaching, Street's 'autonomous literacy' (Street, 1984). 'Language in Use' comes from a 'language awareness' movement (Riddle, 1982); its impact on language study was to demonstrate how '[l]anguage came to be seen as a mediator in the personal and social lives of individuals [and] its potential as an area for development was readily appreciated . . .by English teachers, many of whom replaced literature with 'language', as their main focus of attention' (Riddle, 1982:33).

This thinking aligned with Bullock (OR04), which recognised the cultural critical language agendas of 'language awareness' English, to be supplanted by the national curriculum. Its approach was revitalised by the circulation of unpublished teacher training materials from the government-funded Language in the National Curriculum project, LINC. Although never officially published, its training materials were circulated by its chairman, Ronald Carter at Nottingham University. Carter published a linguistics-informed reader on KAL in practice (Carter, 1990b) and LINC ran over 300 in-service training events (Carter, 1992). This continuum of linguistics-informed critical enquiry for classroom use met few expectations of the

then government, keen as it was to see something akin to 'traditional' grammar with terminology return to classrooms. Cameron identifies one reason why this profession-lead approach to grammar failed to excite positive public interest. She argues that in an era that looks for grammatical certainty, 'correctness' of usage sounds deceptively clear, sensible and authoritative. Professionals who talk in vaguer terms, for example, 'appropriate' language use, sound publically vague in their definitions. She challenges linguists to be more convincing in the public discourse of grammar, to counter weak linguistic reasoning with clearer rationales for the complexity of language that makes criticality required language learning (Cameron, 1995:235). In the light of the above chain of linguistics-informed projects, and the demanding agendas of the LINC materials, the SC06 agendas for 'criticality' appear pedestrian and uninformed, unsophisticated by social critique of contexts.

7.6.4   Language variety and change

Two aspects of official discourse I have not as yet addressed are (i) the impact of SE on learners' regional and social identities, and (ii) how stable is 'Standard English' as a language variety in a time of rapid cultural change.

Addressing the first point some OR documents recognise geographical variation of language in statements about understanding Standard English but offer little guidance on where it is required. I show in Section 7.3.3 how Fairclough responds to the marginalising of non-standard varieties, including geographic varieties, but he makes no reference to diachronic language change as a complicating factor in reconciling learners' language identity. However, Fairclough's model of analysis is essentially sociolinguistic, drawing on single, situated studies, unlike historical linguists such as Leith (1997) and Trask (1996), whose studies track social difference in language over time.

SC and OR texts link references to 'models' of language to criticality in arguments developing learners' understanding of language register or to change their own usage. SC05, for example, suggests that knowledge of 'variation' may inform learning about textual meaning.

> Language structure and variation
> Pupils should be taught to draw on their knowledge of grammar and language variation to develop their understanding of texts and how language works.

<div align="right">(SC05:48)</div>

The innocuous phrase 'their knowledge of grammar and language variation' implies that systematic teaching of variation is commonplace. The absence of parenthetic commas around 'grammar' and 'variation' implies that such systematic knowledge refers to variation in both grammar and language, but why separate them? Why is grammar not assumed to be one part of language? This small comment, ostensibly about learning, and not about teaching language content, indicates an official assumption - or tacit coercion - that grammatical theory is being taught in sufficient depth to use within textual interpretation. The phrase 'how language works' is added without reference to a potential variation according to context. Its inclusion implies learners should have been taught frameworks that explain the impact of varying syntax and morphology on meaning. However lightly official programmes of study outline curricular requirements, their discursive brevity raises questions about the realistic range of grammar content that is truly believed to exist, or is manageable in school English. As a rhetorical flourish this discourse gives rise to many potential impressions, what one might call discursive 'potentiality'. This has potential to easily satisfy the desires of readers whose own preconceptions of grammar in schools are activated by the text's inclusion of potent keywords, while equally leaving professional readers unable to gauge their own teaching task.

On the second point critical observation and interpretation of diachronic language change is needed for learners to recognise the living nature of their language environment. English is developing as a worldwide language; learners will hear various world Englishes (see e.g. Crystal, 2003:350-355) daily through social interaction and the media. Within the UK, lexical,

grammatical and phonological variations make the designation of a Standard English problematic (Crystal, 2003:110-111) in ways no curriculum documents critically address.

I spend what may look like disproportionate space analysing this small section of an official requirement, but do so for the reason that Cameron establishes when talking about public misuses of language which may 'mislead or falsify' and which require linguists 'to demonstrate . . . [how authors'] propositions are covertly embedded in a piece of discourse, and to explain how certain linguistic strategies and choices may induce us to entertain . . . objectionable propositions' (Cameron, 1995:232-3). That '[p]upils should be taught to draw on their knowledge of grammar and language variation to develop their understanding of texts and how language works' is hardly an objectionable proposition in itself; that it is the official account of the linguistic teaching over a three-year long key stage, appears an authorial sleight of hand for public and professional audiences alike. There appears to be a public suggestion in the earlier quotation from text SC05 that critical analysis of language variation is being taught, when what may really underpins the quotation is that SE is to be taught at the expense of any wider study.

The OR group of texts are, by their nature and purpose, more expansive on the kinds of language frameworks and study involved in teaching about language and grammar's change and variation. Texts OR04 and OR16 both present ideas about language variation, grammar and prescription in their definitions of Standard English. OR04 for example uses a historical argument for raising scepticism about extreme elements of prescriptivism for teaching forms of Standard English grammar, referring to notable language critics for arguments about grammatical usage. Its examples come from Johnson, Swift, Montaigne, Shaw and Churchill, largely critical of arcane point-scoring and favouring so-called commonsense rulings over correctness, acceptability and standards (OR04:170). Whilst rejecting Latinate prescriptivism, noted in Chapter 5, Bullock fails to settle the argument about how to define the implied rules of

Standard English grammar in schools. When criticising a prescriptive grammar, for the purposes of writing, Bullock criticises textbooks which give negative approaches:

> school textbooks, which often put the emphasis less on knowing what to say than on knowing what to avoid. Pupils not too certain of their ability with language would thus be looking for the gins and snares, to the equal detriment of their confidence and their writing. This kind of teaching has often inhibited a child's utterance without strengthening the fabric of his language.
>
> (OR04:170)

Bullock's description is of a learner 'not too certain of their ability with language' in the face of demands for Standard grammar recognises that learner identity matters when considering Standard language pedagogy. Learner identity defines the pedagogic relationship between language and the learner. In this case an individual, rather than a social identity, indicates an ideological opposition between:

(i)   a prescriptive language position in which individual learners study language autonomously, subject to the requirements of language as an authority governing their communicative and cognitive identity, and

(ii)   a descriptive language position in which standard language as a cultural artefact, is felt to be rooted in social groups, whose own social variety gives shape to learners' language as it is 'maintained' by their social group's norms (Milroy and Milroy, 1999:49).

Framing the learner as a lone student of language Bullock may consider the learner free from a tyranny of punitive textbooks, but even in 1975 Bullock ignores any sociolinguistic realities of groups marginalised or distanced by the social requirement for Standard English. Milroy and Milroy recognise such linguistic marginalisation as coming from (i) Standard English's derivation from elite written literatures as Bullock does acknowledge, and (ii) the UK's many ethnic and cultural communities whose linguistic backgrounds draw from Englishes other that UK SE speech, such as European, Asian or Afro-Caribbean dialectal groups (Milroy and Milroy, 1999:69-76 & 87).

Linguistics classifies speech dialects as rule-driven varieties, whose regularities identify distinct

geographical and social identities and traditions. However all varieties are not taken as equal.

Whereas standardising written variations has been developed for geographical access to

cultural texts and technological convenience in printing (Crystal, 2003:56-7; Leith, 1997:39-44;

McCrum *et al.*, 2002:79-80), some non-standard speech forms excite prejudicial challenge as

'careless' (Macaulay 1977:109) cited in (Milroy and Milroy, 1999:87). OR16 reinforces the

social aspect of prescriptive positions in its definition of 'Standard English':

> *Standard English as social dialect*
> Although Standard English can be analysed as a dialect, this does not mean that it
> should be regarded as just one among many. Standard English is a dialect of a special
> kind. It is no longer a geographical or regional dialect. For example, there are only very
> few grammatical differences between the forms of Standard English used in London,
> New York and Sydney. It is, however, a social dialect, that is, the native language of
> certain social groups.
> The nature of Standard English is, in part, defined by the uses to which it is put. It is
> conventionally used for a wide range of public purposes, unlike regional dialects, There
> is a particular relation between Standard English and written forms, This is in turn
> related to the smaller amount of regional variation in Standard English compared with
> non-standard dialects.
>
> (OR16: Sections 4.11-4.12)

Differentiating learners by their social identity, culture and educational background is bound in

with official, prescriptive notions of accurate speech, particularly its morphology and

grammatical concordance. These are signifiers of a national identity formed from the assumed

inclusivity afforded all speakers through their use of Standard English. On this assumption lies

much official discourse of Standard English in the English curriculum. In the sections from

OR16 below, Cox argues for a recognisable distinction between random irregularity of casual

speech and the principles on which the status of non-standard dialects may be classified.

> *Standard and non-standard dialects*
> 4.13 Standard English and non-standard dialects have much in common, However,
> people are very conscious of a small number of non-standard *features* which mark
> social group membership, e.g we was; he ain't done it; she come here yesterday; they
> never saw nobody; he writes really quick; theirselves; etc,
>
> 4.14 Many people are highly critical of such forms, and they are undoubtedly a social
> irritant . . . such forms do not cause real communication problems because it is unlikely
> that they would ever be misunderstood, There are dialect forms which do cause

misunderstanding, but because they are not so widespread they do not attract the opprobrium of the examples above. All these forms are grammatical and rule-governed in non-standard dialects, but the rules are different from those of Standard English. For example, Standard English does not distinguish between *do* as a main verb and as an auxiliary verb: *He did it, did he?* Many non-standard dialects do make this distinction, which is not available in Standard English: *He done it, did he?,* The non-standard dialect is not a haphazard variant, since no speakers of non-standard dialects would say *He done it, done he?* or *He did it, done he?*

<div align="right">(OR16: Sections 4.12-4.13)</div>

Whilst the distinction above may have coherence within its own official argument, the sources of its assertions about the occurrence and frequency of the non-standard items listed are left undisclosed. How KAL may affect speech is unclear. Two factors influence such assertions. First, is the linguistic tendency towards forming pidgins from neighbouring languages or varieties to communicate and interact socially (Crystal, 2003:346), and which develop rather than fix varieties. Second, is the tendency of English's strong verbs' morphological tense inflection to diminish over time, due to speakers using analogy with more regular endings and gradually changing internal vowel changes to weak verb inflections. Leith points out, any tendency to reduce the modern English tense forms of strong verbs, e.g. give, given, gave, to two forms give, give and gave, is currently resisted on grounds of social pretention (Leith, 1997:103). The arbitrariness of this, and other forms of the linguistic sign, is undisputed by linguists. The varying social standing or stigma of particular forms changes over time, produces new socially derived 'do's' and 'don'ts'.

Young people's social interactions in text messaging and social networking, for example, are changing their on-screen standard usage in closed social communities, particularly in non-standard spelling (Shortis, 2007). Whether social choices of words and grammatical forms are derived from the literary culture, authoritative versions of speech identifying it with high social prestige, the grammatical resources speakers and writers choose lies in part with their social identity, and in part with the kinds of social and cultural capital they bring to their evaluation of 'good' or 'bad' language (Bourdieu, 1991; Milroy and Milroy, 1999).

7.7   Summary of the perspective of personal growth, creativity and criticality

In this perspective claims for the 'creative' and the 'critical' are ill-aligned to open pedagogies and individual uses of language associated with a 'growth' model of English, which would claim to develop individualised language development. The main themes construct oppositions between ideals of 'good' speech and writing, learners' uses of Standard English, and perceived failure to use in SE. That such failure leads to becoming socially and economically marginalised is a dominant message.

I have found evidence of beliefs about individual learner's growth through engagement with school grammar. Two themes emerge. First is a claim for a creative potential within school grammar, presented as an opportunity to develop thinking and imagination, that reference creativity as individual learning. Second is a claim that grammar provides for critical thinking, for example in language change and how to critique language use. Whilst constructing models of the grammar learner as observer and, or critic, the policy discourse simultaneously refers back to limited, prescriptive writing and speech skills that learning KAL will facilitate.

Both themes refer to 'growth' as a metaphor for learning grammar. Both align their claimed benefits with learning the elements of Standard English and writing skills. Official notions of individual growth construct the learner variously between the individual and the social, presenting mixed epistemologies of grammar as a potentially creative language resource, and as a social requirement for success in life.

7.8   Summary of Chapter 7

A discourse of 'life chances and skills' is deduced in this chapter from constructs of standard English as a linguistic artefact, and as part of an epistemology of skills, correctness and social conformity in school English. The data reveals notions of the learner of Standard English

grammar as restricted linguistically, and constrained within cultural and social expectations for accuracy and correctness. These expectations are largely socially-oriented national requirements for Standard English, which carry public expectations for examinations success and employability.

The data accentuates these expectations through propositions about learners being 'entitled' to Standard English, and through the form that grammar is presented in attainment targets that employ bullet-points and other textual devices that incrementally order its demands. This combination of text designs, with repetitions of lists from AG and SC documents, is coercive, bringing together the atomised items, uses of numbering devices and stepped listing, the combinations of which idealise hierarchical understandings of not only grammar but all other aspects of English. These listing devices, alongside the texts analysed promote discourses of learners' grammatical development that are claimed to be instrumental to develop learners' writing

The data yields weak definitions of grammar in the curriculum and notions of grammar 'skills' remain largely framed as atomised linguistic features. Claims to develop individual achievement through standard grammar prompt questions over how this public expectation may be realised within a society of diverse cultural and social language communities (Jones, 2004:154; Milroy and Milroy, 1999:154-7). A tension between claims that school grammar provides for individual growth, and social expectations requiring that individuals conform to social-linguistic norms, frames a dichotomy between widely differing epistemologies of 'learning' grammar.

Chapter 8   Findings, reflections and Conclusions:

8.1   Introduction

Two aspects of my study's findings stand clear as its main outcomes in response to my study's research questions. First, is the inescapable role that discourse plays in constructing ideologies of grammar within English and literacy policy text, to reposition the subject, its values, its agents and the reader. The manner in which I classify grammar ideology, within three broad discourses of 'Heritage and Authority', 'Standards and Control' and 'Skills and Life-chances', indicates a constructive use of a CDA approach. Having said that, the discursive web of grammar ideas, practices, identities and purposes in the data shows a fragmentary nature to the policy genres, authorial voices and argumentation approaches found. They variously frame arguments and express school grammar policy's purposes to diverse audiences over time.

Research of ideological meaning does not produce definitive, crisp conclusions that are instrumentally applicable to policy or professional activity. This applies no matter what analytical approach or ontological standpoint the researcher takes. Its conclusions may be particularly questioned here, where an apparent mixture of methodologies and analytical methods are used to develop what are expected to be coherently identified policy discourses. My findings and conclusions offer no single alignment of research procedure, analytical method or overall methodology. The study's premise was to find a coherent and elaborated explication of how grammar policy documents positioned grammar within subject English. It was a project I hoped would validate of my own former professional discomfort at what I believed in the 1990s to be a professionally coercive and intellectually insupportable grammar policy change in England's English and literacy teaching. However, that grammar content is not the same as 'English' or 'Literacy' became a difficult division within my analysis, largely due to periodic changes in English and Literacy's focus over the ninety years from which my data

comes. I tried to separate what is grammar content within the data from broader conceptions of school English, which do include grammar, by initially using a word-count to gain an overview of grammar's main topics. This was then used to direct my critical textual analysis towards presenting a hoped-for nexus of the part that grammar has played in English, drawn from their combined subject curriculum documentation.

My combination of analytical approaches shows my alternation between quantitative and qualitative methods, and therefore between a positivist and a postmodern methodology. This mixture of positions is reflected in the uncomfortable division of terms used when presenting 'ideas' and 'topics' in a content keyword-count provisional ideological 'map' (Figure 5.2) yet discussing 'perspectives', 'discourses' and 'ideologies' in the critical analyses of Chapters 5-7. In spite of these incongruities I argue that the value of using these different interpretive frameworks, separately, does produce clear and robust enough discourses as my study's main findings.

In this chapter I summarise my main findings in Section 8.2, and reflect on my approach to data analysis and interpretation in Sections 8.3-8.7. I then conclude with tentative ideas on how this critical discourse study may usefully support further policy discourse analysis.

8.2   Summary of findings: three discourses of English grammar policy

a) Using the data's keyword-counts shows grammar's major topic foci are 'writing', 'rules', 'formality' and 'context', with very little focus on critical language analysis or on spoken grammar. Grammar's pedagogic keywords are 'instruction', 'traditional', 'explicit', 'instruction', teaching of 'structures' and using 'metalanguage' to build grammar 'knowledge'. Outcomes from grammar teaching are characterised by keywords including 'comprehension', 'correct', 'basic', 'structure', 'precision', 'control', in Chapter 5, Figure 5.1. Identifying topic interest in this way may indicate a largely prescriptive grammar being at the centre of its place in the English and literacy curriculum. But, its value to identifying

approaches to school grammar is marginal when compared with my qualitative discourse analysis.

b) A historically driven influence of prescriptive ideals about language in use is also evident in all document groups. It is particularly articulated in the SC group's grammatical forms to be taught, whereas the AG and OR groups' constructions of grammar teaching and emphasis on metalanguage to be used. However, the OR group covers the full time span of this study and reveals the greatest change in discourse. This is classified within the discourse of 'Heritage and Authority'.

c) A distinct knowledge-authoritative teacher identify is evident across all document groups, but is most clearly articulated in the OR and AG groups where teachers' need for knowledge content and pedagogic training is elaborated. This is classified mainly within the discourse of 'Heritage and Authority' but also within the discourse of 'Standards and Control', both of which see a public questioning of teachers' preparedness in grammar persisting over this study's ninety-year time span.

d) A limited range of contexts for grammar teaching cited in the data support a finding that discrete grammar teaching is officially claimed to be instrumental knowledge, necessary particularly to develop writing skills. This is classified within the discourses of 'Standards and Control' and 'Skills and Life-chances'.

e) Across all data groups there is a constant regard for teaching Standard English grammar, and a determination to maintain its primacy as the variety favoured with high cultural status. This finding illustrates the singularity of much grammar discourse, which shows little recognition of social and cultural plurality in official policy for public language education. This singularity is classified mainly within the discourses of 'Heritage and Authority' and 'Standards and Control'.

f) The grammar policy data's ideological directions are recognised largely by their classifiable argumentation types, argumentation types that reveal the degree of intellectual certainty with which authors' claims about grammar policy are made. My argumentation analysis is used to track ideas within arguments in all three of my grammar discourses. These reveal

that many authors' argumentative certainty is unsupported by reference to public sources of research or professional information. References to sources of information for their discourse on grammar reach little beyond their own closed policy reviews.

g) There is much evidence that grammar policy is a site for discussion and prescription of what society at large is entitled to gain from, and give to, its young people. This is found in the claimed affordances of grammar knowledge as part of what is suggested to be an individually transformative English language education, and a social demand for young peoples' compliance in learning grammar as writing skills for employability. This tension between grammar being a benefit to society, and/or a benefit to the individual, is classified across two discourses, 'Standards and Control' and 'Skills and Life-chances'. This tension frames my discussion of the deeper purposes of grammar policy in Section 8.6.

h) My analysis offers a way of moving from a quantitative method of classifying keywords, as indicators of grammar's content ideas, on to a qualitative method, one that critically evaluates ideological meanings and social critiques of official discourses of grammar. This movement of the analysis between a quantitative content method and a qualitative critical method can only work one way, towards the qualitative critical analysis. The content analysis is limited to being a rudimentary positioning device, identifying content topics and pedagogical roles that are of themselves devoid of real contexts.

8.2.1   Reflection on the overall findings

My two research questions focused directly on how official discourse of language education might expand up (i) why grammar is deemed a necessary and purposive element in school English? and (ii) how is its necessity argued? The question of its necessity and purpose is fragmentarily seen in the discourse of 'life chances and skills' which persistently links 'skills' with 'communication', and 'integration' with 'analyse'. I suggest that these terms indicate grammar should provide a transformative education for learners, although the range of 'skills' identified in Chapter 7 appears small and largely functional. Seen through the two main tenets of critical theory the terms 'analyse' and 'integrate' identify how grammar knowledge might

provide 'enlightenment' about the power of language in social use. 'Skills' should 'emancipate' learners through more active 'communication' skills seemingly with intentions to promote a descriptively conceived, individualised personal growth English.

Where the data makes claims for teaching 'formal' grammar knowledge this critical transformative potential is placed in tension with more prescriptivist constructions of grammar. Resolving this tension, even through a facilitative 'structural communications' discourse of grammar, is incompatible with the authoritarian pedagogic relationships and pedagogies connected with the keywords 'pupil errors' and 'effectiveness', and simple fixed writing elements 'sentence', 'paragraph', 'punctuation', 'writing'. They indicate a firm focus on correctness and fixed structures of language to be learned; structural elements of writing rather than the act of writing. From this perspective grammar is technically authoritarian and pedagogically transmissive. It is tempting to reflect that whatever grammar content is taught, if its teaching were proportionate to communicative necessity it would actively satisfy a pedagogic 'concern for language as a means of expression and communication' (Dixon, 1975:128). In that way grammar might remain as distinct linguistic 'knowledge', 'integrated' as a facilitative practical method into subject English, and made so through more open pedagogies.

8.3   Reflection on the data set and data handling

Handling such a large and uneven data set was a challenge. On the one hand it was too much material, and on other it was inconsistent. Not knowing what discourse threads I would find in the complete data set made my ways into the analysis both experimental and speculative. I realised in my early reading of the documents that so varied a collection would need several methods of analysis, and not initially a full CDA analysis. As noted in Chapter 4 I chose to use keywords as indicators of grammar topics and pedagogical roles, and to do this by indentifying grammar topics and people through the analytical instrument of White's (2005) quantifiable participant identification analysis. This suggested using a corpus approach, but with so large a

number of documents, which varied so much in length, presentation format and written style, developing a small corpus of a selected section from each document seemed the only practical way forward. However, an identification analysis tracking text participants means including full texts so as not to lose track of any one item or person. This being incompatible with using text samples, and the data set being so large, I made no identification analysis. I decided that a limited corpus approach would (i) produce indicative keyword counts of grammar topics and pedagogical activity, (ii) supply stretches of text sufficient to make an supportable argumentation analysis, and (iii) provide rationales, introductions or statements of purpose from every text in the data set that I could import into QSR NVivo. This created a corpus for devising themes in NVivo. The section from each document would initiate my analysis of ideological perspectives that would develop into coherent top-level discourses. The remaining, unselected sections of documents became contextual material, used to develop ideas drawn from the corpus analyses, and included in the critical discourse analysis discussions in Chapters 5 - 7.

A final challenge in handling the data was to see if the data was classifiable by any text typology useful to the study. Being a discourse analysis a sense of publication purpose was one helpful way of looking for characteristics of documents' intended audience. Many documents' publication contexts were either ostensibly political or professional, being commissioned at particular times by official governmental organisations or government itself. In this regard their audience types and discursive purposes became a guide to reading them. As noted in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.2, documents claimed to have specific official purposes, yet their pragmatic purposes clearly varied. However, their commissioning introductions explained their broad purposes and objectives for English and literacy policy, their intended audiences and their expected outcomes. These aspects of their authorship and intended impact formed the basis for grouping the data, and in a way that later revealed distinct textual and discursive characteristics, for example, identifying patterns in some document groups' argumentation structures.

8.4   Reflection on research methods and methodologies

As I note in at the beginning of this chapter my methods of analysis started with a short, corpus analysis of word-frequency to make a keyword count (see Chapter 6, Table 6.1). This count helped to provisionally map my initial view of the grammar topics in the data corpus in Chapter 5, Figure 5.1. This was to orient my initial understanding of the data's main emphases, its raw ideas as I note in Section 8.2(a). But this approach has clear limitations. For example, single words' meanings reside to a large extent in their contexts of use. One example of the use of 'control' came from a sentence which referred to learning to control a pencil; clearly the only way to read keywords qualitatively is through the original text. Quantifying single terms is a quantitative approach that has no direct relationship to discourse. But, it allowed me to map frequently used terms, and to speculate on them as initial ideas to look for in my critical discourse analysis. This mix in analytical methods did not adjust my methodology too far from a critical approach. But by highlighting keywords in QSR NVivo I developed discourse codes that quickly grew, identifying ideological constructions of the English language, of teacher and learner identity, and of pedagogical relationships. These then formed one basis of my eventual three discourses as I explain in Chapter 4.

I note in Section 8.3 that my data set was very large, and the initial QSR NVivo coding used only the document's selected extracts. The remaining sections of the documents provided considerable supplementary and contextual data its own right, and in the intertextual stage of my discourse analysis.

8.5   How useful is critical discourse analysis to understanding English grammar policy?

One claim for CDA's usefulness is that it can help identify stories being constructed about a text's topic, to habituate the reader to its ideas, arguments and applicability in commonsense understanding. Further, CDA's capacity to identify and explain plurality of understandings on a

given topic makes it possible to develop subtle insights into the range and trends in discourse. The stories of grammar in official documents are therefore the intended, officially sanctioned stories, albeit written by many authors over the ninety-year timescale from which I take my data.

One such story is official claims for grammar's creative opportunities, its openness to interpretation and to communicative freedoms it affords, even when the curriculum agendas being described are primarily skills-focused or inherently prescriptive. Critical discourse analysis is particularly helpful in following argument and clarifying authors' discursive purpose.

An example of such an argument being clearly developed comes from the discourse of 'Life Chances and Skills', in which some authors link 'skills' with 'communication', and 'integration' with 'analyse'. The term 'communication' suggests either a transformative discourse or a facilitative discourse of grammar in subject English. Where the data suggests integrating grammar knowledge as transformative skills the intention appears to be to promote a descriptively oriented, personal growth English. This suggests 'skills' and 'communication' would be in tension with prescriptive constructions of grammar. But, any such resolution of this tension, even through a facilitative discourse of grammar, is incompatible with the authoritarian pedagogic relationships and pedagogies connected with the texts' evaluative terms 'errors' and 'effectiveness', and writing elements 'sentence', 'paragraph', 'punctuation', 'writing'. These terms indicate a firm focus on correctness and fixed structures of language to be learned; they signify the prescribed means of writing rather than an individual act of writing. Grammar from this perspective is technically authoritarian and pedagogically transmissive. There is a minor discourse of 'integration' that became one theme in the initial textual coding of the data, a coding that appeared as a way of accommodating 'skills' and 'communication' with 'integration' and 'analyse' noted above. This accommodation is to see grammar discourse as facilitative, as a source of language-analytical method within English teaching, akin to identifying and explaining tropes in poetry. Such an accommodation would have been possible if grammar's

place in subject English were restricted to moments when it was 'relevant' to current 'needs' and its teaching proportionate to necessity, with a pedagogic 'concern for language as a means of expression and communication' (Dixon, 1975:128). In that way grammar might remain as distinct and informative knowledge, to be integrated as a facilitative practical method into reading and writing skills.

However, that discursive possibility is not realised across the data, and this is particularly so in the AG group. Any such facilitative integration conflicts with grammar's persistent prescriptive identity, an identity made visible by its being separated from other activities for writing, reading or talk. This separation of grammar from other English and Literacy activities can be seen within the discourses of 'Standards and Control' and 'Life Chances and Skills'. It is particularly constructed through the SC group's textual structure, with its listing of curriculum content presented in age-related hierarchical form. When this ordering of national requirements is linked to the AG group's use of potentially prescriptive terms as discourse markers, such as 'correct' English and pupil 'errors', it masks other ways of seeing 'communication' as other than prescribed functions of specific language features. It is certainly not a broader, facilitative communications curriculum in which 'knowledge' might be balanced with 'judgement' to develop a more individually oriented discourse of personal 'skill', without a commoditising plural 's' (see Figure 8.1).

Critical examination in this thesis has also identified argumentation strategies used to present grammar policy perspectives, summarised in Appendix C and exemplified in Appendix D. My argumentation analysis of rhetorical structures and micro-genres drawn from new rhetoric studies, identifies an authorial tendency to use 'hortatory expositions' through which to argue hoped-for ideals of grammar's benefits where a prescriptive line of argument prevails, rather than empirically supported arguments. Arguments constructed as hortatory expositions tend to open and close their cases using high modality phrasing and be written in the passive voice, naturalising the discourse as commonsense by avoiding ascribing agency to particular

individuals. My rhetorical structure and micro-genres analyses contribute an original analytical approach to policy text analysis. My formalised argumentation structure analysis offers a novel way of approaching discourse argumentation in a close-focused, consistent and comparative way.

8.6   Coherence and dissonance in grammar for English and Literacy policy

My findings about grammar ideologies bring one controversial tension in English and Literacy curricula into sharp focus, a tension between grammar as 'knowledge' or as 'skills'. The significance of this distinction is both practical and social-philosophical. In practical terms it questions whether grammar's practical affordances are to be facilitative in educating a capacity to think in and use language in ways that inform and develop individuals' handling of language of daily life. It also considers whether the practical affordances of grammar are simply instrumental. Are they simply considered the skills for correctness of expression and functional literacy for meeting workplace demands in an economy where communicative competency displaces manual skills in its requirements for employability? This becomes a social-philosophical divide in the light of the argument I cite in Chapter 6, Giddens' distinction between constructions of the learner as being educated for individual or collective usefulness; educated as an individual or as a part of a wider social project (see Fig. 6.1 in Section 6.5.4). In the terms of my critical theoretical frame for this thesis, grammar is a site of social tension between an instrumental, Fordist, skills-oriented construction of education, and an education for individual social enlightenment and emancipation (see Section 2.0).

That English has been thought of as an individually transformative subject draws on both its culturally conservative Arnoldian and Leavisite approaches to literary appreciation, and its Liberal Humanist Personal Growth agendas for literature and language learning (see Section 4.7). In this transformative frame the learner may be constructed as a more rounded figure than I find in the official discourses of learners, and which I explain in Chapter 6, Sections 6.5.4-6.5.5. But I find there remains a paradoxical discourse of the learner in English. The on-

going dominance of Liberal-Humanist notions of the individual 'self' may be essential to learning and participating in the goods available in the national and global economies, yet she/he will always bring a potential threat to systems that appear to reserve power to institutions rather than individuals. This essentially functional view of English language education and a vehicle for social and economic advancement is difficult to see as other than a limitation on official discourse when addressing so many policy audiences beyond simply the English teaching and school management professional groups. It may be a finding that to some degree addresses my initial motive for this research into grammar policy documents' discursive marginalising of teachers in policy decisions. Education's wider policy forum runs further than schools, and thereby extends the reach of policy discourse to stakeholders who look upon public education as the property of wider social and economic projects.

That said, official constructions of grammar's transformative potential are visible in its presentations of Standard English in particular. As seen in Chapter 6 definitions of 'Standard English' may be a major model of language for learning about, however SE is more vehemently idealised as a set of rules and forms for 'getting it right', and almost exclusively applied to writing. The idealisation of correctness and accuracy is only fragmentarily described. Its use is explained using terms of 'use', 'knowledge' and 'understanding' that create broad certainties about SE from a distance, but which fragment into generalities about 'rules', 'features' and 'patterns' on close examination (see Sections 6.4.1-6.4.2).

Alongside thinly defined notions of SE are large claims for its teaching and learning, which include assumptions about learners and language implied in such terms as 'enjoyment' and 'originality'. Reconciling the broad elements of a current standard variety of English with pedagogies that allow for 'enjoyment' and 'originality' is clearly work in progress. Its resolution is today as likely to be as it has ever been, mediated by individual teachers in their classrooms.

In returning to my initial keywords map in Chapter 5, Figure 5.1, my positivist use of a collection of terms from the data that held certain autonomous potential to denote either prescriptive or descriptive thinking about language needed rethinking. This is unsurprising, as noted in Section 8.4; simple ascription of meaning to decontextualised words has long been regarded as dubious semantic work. Working from that early model (Figure 5.1), I reframed my map into a more fluid conception of the analysis, using terms taken from my analysis to create a more discursive picture.

Figure 8.1 summarises my three discourse findings, framed in a matrix with short listings of keywords as tokens of prescriptive and descriptive discourse. More helpfully this re-mapping of my critical findings links each of the data's three main discourses to three major themes within perspectives I identified as their constituents. The three main themes are 'ideologies of grammar in English and literacy', 'grammar's learner-teacher identities' and 'grammar pedagogies'. However, no such mapping can achieve absolutely clear divisions between these polarised positions. Terms here are used in different semantic fields and thereby carry different meaning or emphasis in differing contexts. Terms are also tendentiously used, creating impressions of, for example 'creativity' where modelled and replicated practice is the true picture. Terms are also interchangeably and, or, may be interpreted differently by readers. For these three reasons I create a grey row between the discourse to clarify terms which are used variously in constructing official discourse. I also use double-headed arrows in these rows to indicate these terms porosity, where they are found to be variously or ambiguously used in the data. An early example of this ambiguity is in the term 'form', as it denotes both a fixed prescribed understanding of written or spoken style, and an observable pattern that is subject to variation according to context.

This second mapping of keywords indicates the value of the corpus approach I took in assimilating the topic words early on in my intertextual analysis, to raise the range of ideas that should at least be investigated. This I initially did using a search facility in NVivo. The limitation

of using a corpus keywords approach in the context of a qualitative analysis is clearly visible in the form that Figure 8.1 had to take in order to accommodate single words' variable potential. This second mapping therefore also shows the degree to which my analysis needed to move away from the positivist reliance on 'keywords' that were my initial quantification of notional ideas, and move towards the critical study of discourse it really was. The discourse map in Figure 8.1 lightly identifies the three prominent themes that run across all official grammar discourse. These themes' inherent value to developing policy text authors' discourse is exemplified when we read across the rows for the semantic links between terms used when referring to the subject's topics, their pedagogic activities and pedagogies. This study has built robust discourses that show these three elements as the central to policy texts' authors concern to call into question teachers knowledge and classroom activities across the ninety years' span of the data.

	Ideologies of grammar in English and Literacy	Grammar's learner-teacher identities	Grammar pedagogies
Heritage and Authority	**Prescriptive ideals** language as tradition of features (AG, CR, OR, SC) 'knowledge', SE as form & function (AG, OR, SC)	**Prescriptive ideals** knowledge-authoritative teacher (OR, AG) 'teacher training needs (OR, AG)' 'instruct', teach, learn (AG, SC)	**Prescriptive ideals** practice in identified forms (AG, SC) 'imitate' ideas, 'method[s]' (AG) 'procedure', 'metalanguage' (AG, OR,SC)
	'know', 'practice' (OR,SC) tradition of 'forms' (OR, SC) 'recognise' SE (SC)	use language styles, 'text[s]' (OR, SC, AG)	language practice (OR,CR) 'traditions of composition', 'create', language as a practice (OR,CR)
	Descriptive ideals '(in)formality', language variation, 'identification', categorise, 'analysis', practice (OR, SC)	**Descriptive ideals** Reading[s] aloud, 'listeners' (OR) 'support[ive]', 'guide[ance]' (OR,AG)	**Descriptive ideals** 'investigate[ion]/literature' (OR) pupil 'ideas' (OR) 'interpretation' of meaning, 'understand[ing]', 'enjoy', 'think' (OR, AG)
Standards and Control	**Prescriptive ideals** English language (OR,CR) '(in)correctness, 'under control' (AG,OR,SC) 'correct[ion]', 'product' 'accurate[cy]', 'standard[s]' (AG, SC)	**Prescriptive ideals** 'written', 'apply' (AG) 'speaking'/'speech' (SC, AG) 'expert' & 'precise' (OR, AG)	**Prescriptive ideals** language teaching, 'practice[se]', 'follow', 'study phrase' model, demonstrate (AG) 'correct', 'produce' (AG,SC) critically evaluate (OR)
	Standard English 'precise[ion]', 'grammar[tical]' (AG,SC)	reading, 'language styles', 'text[s]', 'teach', 'explain' explicitness (AG,OR,SC)	'word classes' implied, knowledge, identify, investigate, pupil[s], appropriate (AG,CR), create (AG)

Life chances and Skills			
	Descriptive ideals 'recognise[ing]', (OR, AG) 'dialect', 'variation[ety]',	**Descriptive ideals** 'identify' (OR) study phrase, 'clause', 'words', 'word classes' (AG,CR)	**Descriptive ideals** 'integration', 'notice[ing]', 'learn', 'appropriate', 'choice', 'purpose[s]', 'learn', 'question', 'model'
	Prescriptive ideals Grammar knowledge as listed items (SC) 'competency', 'basics', 'functional skills' (OR) 'structure(s)' and 'form', 'method', 'tool' (AG)	**Prescriptive ideals** correct pupil 'errors' (OR,CR) 'sentence construction', 'paragraph', 'verb' (AG,CR)	**Prescriptive ideals** use 'metalanguage' (AG, OR,SC) 'paragraphing', 'spelling', 'skills', 'practice' (AG, OR,SC) 'punctuate[ion]', 'writing' (AG, OR,SC) 'skills' (plural) as transacted commodities (AG & SC) 'effectiveness'(AG, OR)
	'features', 'form' (AG,SC)	'communicate[ion]' (OR,CR) 'use', 'metalanguage' (AG,SC)	'imitate forms', 'method[s]' (AG) 'writing skills' (AG)
	Descriptive ideals order[ed], literacy, transferable, know[ledge] use of features (AG,SC)	**Descriptive ideals** 'study English language', 'identification[fy]'	**Descriptive ideals** 'integration', 'participation', 'process' 'discussion', 'argue', 'explain' (OR,SC)

Figure 8.1   Mapping ideological discourses of grammar in English and Literacy

I now find that dissonance between Standard English as rules and personal growth English is only reconcilable by recognising Standard English a social-ideological problem, one of how to clearly define a language variety in a national policy discourse. Furthermore, it is a problem of increasing challenge in a more linguistically diverse society, which in 2011 had over one million UK school learners for whom English was not a first, or a spoken-at-home, language

8.7   The impact of grammar debates on English and literacy policy discourse

The various so-called 'grammar debates' bring school English and literacy into uncomfortable public view. They allow wide-ranging opinions on the prescriptive-descriptive spectrum to influence official documents and condition their discourse.

Whilst grammar teaching is only a small portion of the components of the English and Literacy curricula, it carries both a symbolic presence of structural rather than cultural critical English, and a prescriptive linguistic significance that is closely related to notions of Standard English. Grammar is an ideological token of power in education. It is debated in this data set through arguments that claim its prominent place in society and the English curriculum, and its

constructions of learners' individual language needs are vigorously prescriptive. Whilst it is easy to reify ideologies of grammar as, for example, either prescriptive and descriptive, these two ideological terms themselves are contested within debates about grammar in curriculum (Graddol, 1994; Locke, 2010). This study's approach to a comparative analysis of curriculum discourses provides theoretical and ideological insights that would inform further study of forthcoming (2013) literature or language study changes in England and other English-speaking countries' English curricula.

8.8   Implications for further policy text interpretation

This project began as a case study, inquiring into a single case of ideological perspectives on grammar in English's era of the written curriculum. The anticipated outcome was expected to reveal new insights into how official policy documentation constructed ideological perspectives on grammar and presented these over time. It did so, as set out in Sections 8.2-8.7. The discussions of findings show new ideological standpoints on English and literacy, albeit within an established dichotomy of English as growth or grammar, and how they are discursively developed in the political arena during a ninety-year period.

Official discourse is argued through public documents that are not ideologically unified, but linked as a group of heterogeneous materials. My analysis gives a somewhat static model of curriculum discourse production, as a broad view of its positions in Figure 8.1. This differs from much current policy document research, as noted in Chapter 2, which examines policy text through single, or small document group, cases.

However, my research data was organised into groups, AG, OR, CR and SC, which I found to be an enabling device to classify different discursive activities according to document origin and stated audience. This remained as a helpful division of texts when examining their argumentation approaches, as some traces of audience awareness in different groups were particularly visible within the OR and AG groups. The SC group presents a unique presentation

style in the data set. The interests of different policy audiences I raise in Section 8.6 may go some way to explaining why these document groupings may also prove useful to authors when constructing official discourse.

Originating at different times, and in different formats, the three policy discourses I developed do become a dynamic 'intertextual web' that I call a 'policy multi-genre'. In this research a curriculum policy multi-genre is proposed as a recognisable, dynamic model of curriculum discourse production. The term 'multigenre' originates from Romano's (2000) creative, school writing projects, ways of developing and presenting rich and multi-faceted ideas through learners producing single texts that include multiple written forms and genres (Romano, 2000; Smarjesse, 2000). My conception of a 'policy multi-genre' conceptually echoes Kress and van Leeuwen's recognition of multimodality, as applied to multiple texts. I see this data corpus bringing diverse curriculum perspectives on the single topic of grammar together in an 'intertextual web' to form a coalesced form of expression. This coalesced form of expression becomes a strengthening device for the discourse's power to constrain its reader's interpretation and response. It is one realisation of policy discourse as seen through Bernstein's concept of the pedagogic device. This is recognised within my analysis in Chapters 5 - 7, and the commoditisation of language items is particularly intense when seen in Chapter 7. Documents present hierarchical listings of curriculum requirements, often in bullet-point layouts, to create strong textual semiotics that are intended to confirm both public and professional understanding that these items have currency and orthodoxy in school grammar. When so many such documents coalesce as a strong single group they present a combined transmissive pedagogic instruction for teachers. This grouping of texts is what I see as a grammar policy multi-genre.

This grammar policy multi-genre is developed initially through an 'intertextual web' of many texts, each with identifiable rhetorical structures that develop identifiable argumentation micro-genres, as individual texts do. Their micro-genres, in turn, re-present their topics intertextually,

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not only from different ideological perspectives, but though mixed argumentation strategies and presentational forms, and through using mixed graphological and lexico-grammatical methods that reinforce their collective meanings. In this study of grammar policy texts I claim that a 'policy multi-genre' is developed through use the following publication steps:

(i)   official reports .establish discourses of previous ideologies in existing practice, generate cases for new conditions and argument for policy change, and provisional policy;

(ii)   official reports and commissioned research .develop lines of argument responding to new conditions, generate new policy rationales, accommodate new requirements to the existing conditions that require policy change; and

(iii)   statutory curriculum and corresponding advice and guidance develop practice requirements for responding to new conditions, coordinate publication sequences that coalesce to create a snowballing restatements of policy arguments, new requirements and change in practice to meet the demands of new conditions.

My conception of a policy multi-genre contains a recognisable sequence of discursive actions for the case of grammar, especially recognisable in the final twenty years of this study's period. But it may contribute to explanations about the impact of recent curriculum policy discourse.

8.9   Final reflection on three discourses of English grammar

Throughout my text analysis in Chapters 5 - 7 I explain the close-focused analytical approach that CDA affords and summarise the broad findings for each discourse. One question remains for me about relationships between what may appear to be falsely or artificially separated discourses. My question is about how my three discourses relate to one another.

The three discourses and their perspectives indicate a frequent official concern to develop arguments and cultivate some unity of cultural value in:

(i) the forms of the English language that should be 'respected' and used in social life,

(ii) the regulation of teacher expertise, to underpin public confidence in standards of grammar teaching in English and literacy classrooms, and

(iii) the alignment of school grammar with the language needs of adults in the workplace.

These discourse themes do cohere in their articulation of official concerns to retain a distinct grammar content in school English, and to reinforce one role of schooling as moulding conformity to social norms of formal communication.

Through my textual analysis in Chapters 5 - 7 I considered how the focus moved from one discourse to another. I considered whether there was a logic or sequence in play to identify some progression through the discourses. The deductive way the three discourses' categories were developed, as explained in Section 4.6.1, shows a simultaneous compilation of separate ideas which form no discernible sequenced development over time. For this reason the seemingly historical approach suggested by my thesis title is not realised in this respect. The study's purpose is more to assimilate a compilation of discourses and discursive activities from across the data's ninety-year time span, and as such addresses my research questions with tangible outcomes.

My final reflection is about whether there is a single, dominant or overarching discourse running through the data. Again, from my earlier reflection on the coherence of the discourses I deduce, I find the three discourses cohere to develop mutual articulation of the ideological themes I note earlier in this section. If there is an ideological position straining for prominence it is the frequently referred to social requirement for Standard English. This requirement is claimed to provide some authority and language provenance for the kinds of grammar promoted through the data and was a focal point of the 1980s and 1990s 'grammar wars'. In England's curriculum debates about what grammar should be in school English, and how it should be taught, a rising number of second-language learners in England's classrooms in 2011 may create a need to further sophisticate continued policy discussion of these questions.

Appendix A   Data Corpus Contents

Corpus groups:

OR - Official Reports

SC - Statutory Curricula

AG - Advice and Guidance

CR - Commissioned Research

Data #	Publication	Year
OR01	Board of Education (1921) The Newbolt Report, London: HMSO Ch.9 The Problem of Grammar	1921
OR02	Board of Education (1943) Norwood Committee Report (1941-3) NA(ED 12/480), London: HMSO	1943
OR03	DES (1967) Children and their Primary Schools: The Plowden Report, London: HMSO Ch. 17: Aspects of the Curriculum	1967
OR04	DES (1975) A Language for Life: Literacy in theory and practice (The Bullock Report), London: HMSO	1975
OR05	DES (1978) School Examinations (The Waddell Report), London: HMSO Ch. 2: English (Language and Literature)	1978
OR06	HMI (1980) A View of the Curriculum: Matters for Discussion No.11, London: HMSO	1980
OR07	English from 5 to16 Curriculum Matters1, London: HMSO Section 1p;	1984
OR08	English from 5 to16 Curriculum Matters1, London: HMSO Section 3	1984
OR09	HMI (1965) Education 8 to 12 in Combined and Middle Schools: A survey by HM Inspectors of Schools, London: HMSO	1985
OR10	DES (1985) Education for All: Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups (The Swann Report), London: HMSO	1985
OR11	HMI (1985) The Curriculum from 5 to 16: Curriculum Matters No. 2, London: HMSO / the Queen's Printer for Scotland	1985
OR12	HMI (1986) English from 5 to 16 The Responses to Curriculum Matters1 London: HMSO	1986

OR13	DES (1988) Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Teaching of English Language (The Kingman Report), London: HMSO	1988
OR14	NCC (1989) English 5-11 in the National Curriculum, York: NCC (Attainment targets and programmes of study in English at key stages 2, 3 and 4)	1989 Nov
OR15	NCC (1989) English 5-11 in the National Curriculum, York: NCC (Attainment targets and programmes of study in English at the first two key stages)	1989 March
OR16	DES/WO (1989) English for Ages 5-16 (The Cox Report), London: DES/WO Sections 1-7, 17	1989 June
OR17	NCC (1992) National Curriculum English: The Case for Revising the Order, York: NCC	1992
OR18	DES (1993) English for Ages 5-16: Proposals for a Revised English Order, London: HMSO	1993 April
OR22	QCA (2005) Taking English forward: Final proposals for a revised English NC following English 21, London: QCA	2005
OR23	QCA (2005) English 21 consultation feedback for a revised English NC, London: QCA Section: 'Why Study Language?'	2005
OR24	QCA (2005) Taking English Forward: The 4 Cs: Four presentations: conference on 9 November 2005, London: QCA Section: Transcript of presentation	2005
OR25	QCA (2007) Functional skills standards 2007 (QCA) QCA/07/3472 Pilot Functional skills standards English, Mathematics, ICT, London: QCA	2007
OR26	DCSF (2009) Independent Review of the Primary Curriculum: Final report, London: DCSF	2009
OR27	SCAA (1994) English in the National Curriculum: Draft proposals (Consultation on a revised English NC), York: SCAA	1994 May

SC01	DES/WO (1989) Attainment Targets and Programmes of Study in English at the first key stage, London: HMSO	1989
SC02	DES/WO (1990) English in the National Curriculum (No.2), London: HMSO	1990
SC03	DfE/WO (1995) English in the National Curriculum, England and Wales, London/Cardiff: DfE/WO	1995
SC04	DfEE/QCA (1999) English: The National Curriculum for England, London: DfEE/QCA	1999

SC05	DfEE/QCA (2004) English: The National Curriculum for England, London: DfEE/QCA Programmes of Study and Attainment Targets KSs 3-4	2004
SC05a	DfEE/QCA (2004) English: The National Curriculum for England, London: DfEE/QCA Programmes of Study and Attainment Targets KSs 1-2	2004
SC06	QCA (2007) English: Programme of study for key stage 3 and attainment targets, London: QCA	2007
SC07	QCA (2007) English: Programme of study for key stage 4 and attainment targets, London: QCA	2007

CR01	QCA (1999) Improving writing at key stages 3 and 4, Sudbury: QCA	1998
CR02	QCA (1999) Technical accuracy in writing in GCSE English: research findings, Sudbury: QCA	1998
CR03	QCA (2001) Standards at KS3 English: A Report on the 2000 national curriculum assessments for 14-year-olds, Sudbury: QCA	2001
CR04	DfEE (2002) Key Stage 3 English: Roots and Research, London: DfEE	2002
CR05	QCA (2003) Standards at KS3 English: A Report on the 2002 national curriculum assessments for 14-year-olds, Sudbury: QCA	2003
CR06	QCA (2004) Standards at Key Stage 3: Year 7 progress English standards report, London: QCA	2004
CR07	QCA (2004) Introducing the Grammar of Talk En KEY STAGES 3–4, QCA/04/129 (pp3-7), London: QCA	
CR08	QCA (2005) Why morphology matters and comprehension counts, London: QCA	2005
CR09	QCA (2005) Texts and technologies - Eve Bearne (QCA) outlines the scope of this strand of English 21., London: QCA	2005
CR10	OfSTED (2009) English at the crossroads: An evaluation of English in primary and secondary schools, 2005/08, London: OfSTED	2009

AG01	QCA (1998) The Grammar Papers: Perspectives on the teaching of grammar in the national curriculum, London: QCA Paper 2	1998
AG01a	QCA (1998) The Grammar Papers: Perspectives on the teaching of grammar in the national curriculum, London: QCA Introduction	1998

AG02	DfEE (1998) National Literacy Strategy: Framework for Teaching, London: DfEE	1998
AG03	QCA (1999) Not whether but how: Teaching grammar in English at key stages 3 and 4, Sudbury: QCA	1999
AG04	DfEE (2000) Grammar for Writing, London: DfEE	2000
AG05	DfEE (2001) Key Stage 3 National Strategy and Framework for Teaching English: Years 7, 8 and 9, London: DfEE	2001
AG06	Key Stage 3 National Strategy Literacy Progress Units - Writing Organisation, London: DfEE Introduction & Session notes	2001
AG07	Key Stage 3 National Strategy Literacy Progress Units - Spelling, London: DfEE Introduction & Session notes	2001
AG08	DfEE (2001) Literacy across the curriculum Writing style, London: DfEE	2001
AG09	DfEE (2001) Key Stage 3 National Strategy: English Department Training 2001, London: DfEE Section 3	2001
AG10	DfEE (2001) KS3 National Strategy Year 7 spelling bank, London: DfEE	2001
AG11	DfEE (2002) Key Stage 3 National Strategy: Grammar for writing: supporting pupils learning EAL, London: DfEE	2002
AG12	DfEE (2002) Key Stage 3 National Strategy: Access and engagement in English, London: DfEE	2002
AG13	DfEE (2002) Key Objectives Bank: Yr 9, London: DfEE	2002
AG14	DfEE (2002) Key Objectives Bank: Yr 7, London: DfEE	2002
AG15	DfEE (2002) KS3 National Strategy: English department training 2002/03, London: DfEE Year 8 Course Handbook: Addressing individual and group writing targets through guided work	2002
AG16	DfEE (2002) KS3 National Strategy: English department training 2002/03, London: DfEE Year 9 Course handbook: Section 3.5, Handouts 1 & 2	2002
AG17	DfEE (2003) KS3 National Strategy: Teaching Writing, London: DfEE	2003
AG17a	DfEE (2003) KS3 National Strategy: Teaching Reading, London: DfEE	2003
AG18	DfEE (2003) Key Objectives Bank: Yr 8, Sentence Level, London: DfEE	2003
AG19	DfEE (2003) KS3 National Strategy Writing Challenge: Handbook for school organisers, London: DfEE Course tutor's notes	2003

AG20	DfEE (2003) KS3 Strategy Writing Challenge: Handbook for school organisers, London: DfEE	2003
AG21	DfEE (2003) Key Stage 3 National Strategy Targeting level 4 in Year 7: English, London: DfEE	2003
AG22	DfEE (2003) Key Stage 3 *National Strategy* Progress Unit Sentences: English, London: DfEE Replacement for earlier withdrawn edition	2003
AG23	DfEE (2003) KS3 National Strategy: Reading Challenge, London: DfEE Handbook for school organisers and coach trainers	2003
AG24	DfEE (2003) Key Stage 3 National Strategy course designed to offer detail about the nuts and bolts of English grammar for teachers, London: DfEE	2004
AG25	DfEE (2003) KS3 National Strategy: Grammar for reading, London: DfEE Course tutor's support/guidance notes for running all five sessions	2004
AG26	DfEE (2003) KS3 National Strategy: Grammar for reading, London: DfEE Course handbook	2004
AG27	DfEE (2004) KS3 National Strategy: English department training 2004/05, London: DfEE Course handbook: Improving writing 3, Sustaining and extending improvement	2004
AG28	DfEE (2005) KS3 National Strategy Progress: Ensuring the attainment of white working class boys in writing, London: DfEE	2005
AG29	DfEE (2006) Primary National Strategy - Literacy across the curriculum: Primary Framework for literacy and mathematics, London: DfEE	2006
AG30	DfEE (2006) Secondary National Strategy: APP Assessing pupil Progress English subject leader development materials, London: DfEE	2006
AG31	DfEE (1998) The National Literacy Strategy, Teachers Notes – Module 3: Sentence Level Work, London: DfEE	1998
AG32	DfEE (2007) Excellence and Enjoyment: Learning and teaching for bilingual children in the primary years, London: DfEE	2007
AG33	DfEE (2007) Curriculum and Standards - English subject leader development materials Summer 2007, London: DfEE	2007
AG34	DfEE (2007) Primary National Strategy - Grammatical knowledge for teachers:. Five concise self-study modules review key grammatical concepts, London: DfEE	2007
AG35	DCSF (2010) The National Strategies, The Framework for secondary English, London: DCSF	2010

AG36	DCSF (2008) The National Strategies: Secondary **Teaching for progression: Writing**, London: DfSF	2008
AG37	DfEE (2007) Secondary National Strategies: Grammar for reading and Writing, London: DfEE	2007
AG38	DCSF (2008) Revised The National Strategies for Secondary English, London: DfSF	2008
AG39	DCSF (2008) Primary National Strategies, Assessing Pupil's Progress (APP) Assessment Focuses for Writing, London: DfSF	2008
AG40	QCA (2009) Cross-curriculum dimensions: A planning guide for schools, London: QCA	2009
AG41	DCSF (2009) National Strategies materials within the Primary Framework: Support for Spelling, London: DCSF	2009
AG42	DCSF (2009) The National Strategies, Secondary: Improving writing: a handbook for Key Stage 3, London: DCSF	2009

Notes on data enumeration:

1. Data is listed in datum order, with publication date.
2. Where data items were removed during coding for reasons of insufficient grammar relevance, their numbers were removed, leaving some gaps the chronological sequence.
3. Items not in chronological order were added late into the corpus, and given numbers from items removed during coding.

Appendix B   Corpus Keyword count: 300 most frequently occurring words

Rank	Word	Frequency		Rank	Word	Frequency
1	pupils	839		57	complex	110
2	writing	755		58	purposes	108
3	english	630		59	reader	107
4	language	626		60	time	106
5	teaching	373		61	particular	105
6	sentence	363		62	clause	104
7	grammar	339		63	develop	103
8	sentences	323		64	writers	103
9	words	300		65	formal	102
10	reading	281		66	school	102
11	level	280		67	narrative	95
12	range	253		68	support	94
13	work	245		69	help	92
14	children	244		70	development	91
15	texts	239		71	including	91
16	knowledge	238		72	schools	91
17	word	216		73	read	89
18	text	213		74	able	85
19	spelling	208		75	explicit	85
20	need	186		76	subject	84
21	example	179		77	examples	82
22	meaning	178		78	speaking	82
23	using	177		79	group	81
24	teachers	173		80	important	81
25	learning	170		81	include	80
26	features	169		82	main	80
27	year	168		83	talk	80
28	standard	167		84	effective	79
29	clauses	166		85	well	79
30	structure	166		86	learn	78
31	written	165		87	form	77
32	grammatical	164		88	noun	77
33	punctuation	160		89	national	76
34	ideas	158		90	pupil	75
35	forms	153		91	understand	75
36	phrases	150		92	ability	74
37	understanding	148		93	choices	74
38	write	148		94	teacher	72
39	stage	147		95	listening	71
40	appropriate	135		96	number	71
41	taught	135		97	subordinate	71
42	spoken	131		98	focus	70
43	effect	125		99	clear	68
44	purpose	123		100	linguistic	68
45	order	121		101	types	68
46	study	120		102	class	67
47	variety	120		103	strategy	67
48	ways	120		104	structures	67
49	information	119		105	literacy	65
50	paragraphs	116		106	task	65
51	skills	116		107	connectives	64
52	curriculum	114		108	discussion	64
53	objectives	113		109	readers	64
54	speech	112		110	terms	64
55	verb	112		111	writer	64
56	vocabulary	111		112	effectively	63
				113	primary	63

114	activities	62		175	question	48
115	context	62		176	awareness	47
116	course	62		177	organisation	47
117	opportunities	62		178	rules	47
118	provide	62		179	technical	47
119	verbs	62		180	view	47
120	evidence	61		181	means	46
121	experience	61		182	report	46
122	patterns	61		183	research	46
123	points	61		184	teach	46
124	progress	61		185	test	46
125	analysis	60		186	changes	45
126	following	60		187	consider	45
127	sense	60		188	errors	45
128	specific	60		189	explore	45
129	effects	59		190	links	45
130	framework	59		191	planning	45
131	change	58		192	recognise	45
132	cohesion	58		193	training	45
133	differences	58		194	useful	45
134	simple	58		195	clearly	44
135	detail	57		196	greater	44
136	present	57		197	languages	44
137	uses	57		198	paragraph	44
138	years	57		199	standards	44
139	accuracy	56		200	techniques	44
140	create	56		201	terminology	44
141	attention	55		202	thinking	44
142	needs	55		203	together	44
143	unit	55		204	clarity	43
144	common	54		205	model	43
145	levels	53		206	non-narrative	43
146	questions	53		207	sequence	43
147	strategies	53		208	session	43
148	working	53		209	sometimes	43
149	audience	52		210	contexts	42
150	paper	52		211	correct	42
151	story	52		212	discuss	42
152	classroom	51		213	individual	42
153	literature	51		214	organise	42
154	overall	51		215	particularly	42
155	passive	51		216	people	42
156	point	51		217	process	42
157	shared	51		218	active	41
158	tasks	51		219	activity	41
159	apply	50		220	control	41
160	commas	50		221	ensure	41
161	conventions	50		222	interest	41
162	critical	50		223	just	41
163	identify	50		224	know	41
164	tense	50		225	literary	41
165	developing	49		226	minutes	41
166	material	49		227	objective	41
167	phrase	49		228	secondary	41
168	place	49		229	throughout	41
169	adverbs	48		230	assessment	40
170	aspects	48		231	pronouns	40
171	dialect	48		232	sound	40
172	groups	48		233	style	40
173	learners	48		234	wide	40
174	letters	48		235	additional	39

Appendix C Summary of intertextual rhetorical structure and micro-genre analysis of document extracts

Summary of the Stage 1 analysis: micro-genres and rhetorical structures

Data code #[1]	Micro-genre	Rhetorical structure
OR01	Exposition (explanatory)	Title - Orientation - Subtitle - Argument – Reorientation – Example 1 - Example 2 – Thesis - Elaboration – Footnote – Argument – Facts - Problem – Thesis Restatement – Orientation– Elaboration 1 - Elaboration 2 - Argument – Problem – Proposition – Footnote - Argument– Orientation 1 – Orientation 2 – Proposition - Argument – Proposition – Problem – Solution – Reasons - Conclusion
OR02	Exposition (Hortatory)	Thesis - Orientation - Facts - Reorientation - Facts - Reasons - Conclusions
OR03	Exposition (Hortatory)	Subtitle - Thesis - Orientation 1 - Argument 1 - Proposition 1 – Elaboration – Recommendation 1 – Orientation 2 – Argument 2 – Recommendation 2 – Proposition 2 – Proposition 3 – Proposition 4 - Conclusion
OR04	Exposition (Hortatory)	Subtitle – Orientation – Thesis – Reorientation – Thesis Restatement – Argument – Elaboration – Standpoint – Argument – Elaboration – Rebuttal – Example – Elaboration – Reorientation – Examples – Standpoint – Argument – Elaboration – Thesis Restatement – Argument – Example – Standpoint – Argument – Problem – Situation/changed – Argument 1 - Conclusion
OR05	Exposition (Explanatory)	Subtitle – Thesis – Facts – Reason – Elaboration – Facts – Elaboration – Examples – Problem – Argument – Argument - Conclusion
OR06	Exposition (Explanatory)	Title – Thesis – Orientation – Argument 1 – Argument 2 – Elaboration – Thesis restatement – Argument 1 – Argument 2
OR07	Exposition (Hortatory)	Thesis - Orientation - Argument 1 - Reorientation - Facts - Argument 2 - Reasons - Thesis restatement - Facts - Argument 3 - Reasons - Argument 4 – Reasons - Conclusions
OR08	Exposition (Explanatory)	Orientation – Thesis – Examples – Argument 1 – Thesis restatement - Argument 2 – Elaboration – Argument 3 – Reorientation – Proposition 1 – Proposition 2 – Elaboration –

		Thesis restatement – Problem – Solution – Elaboration – Proposition – Reasons – Argument 4 - Reasons – Argument 5 – Argument 6 – Reasons – Elaboration – Argument 7 – Reason – Proposition – Proposition – Argument 8 – Argument 9 – Reason - Conclusion
OR09	Exposition (Hortatory)	Orientation – Example – Argument 1 – Thesis – Reorientation – Argument 2 – Example – Thesis restatement – Examples – Fact – Argument 3 – Example – Fact – Argument 4 – Elaboration – Fact – Examples – Argument 5 – Reorientation – Examples - Argument 6 – Reorientation – Argument 7 – Fact – Example - Conclusions
OR10	Exposition (Hortatory)	Title - Thesis – Argument – Elaboration – Subtitle – Proposition 1 – Example 1 – Example 2 – Example 3 – Example 4 – Example 5 – Example 6 – Example 7 – Example 8 – Example 9 – Proposition 2 – Example 1 – Example 2 – Example 3 – Example 4 – Example 5 – Example 6 – Example 7 – Example 8
OR11	Exposition (Explanatory)	Title – Orientation – Thesis – Elaboration – Reason – Example 1 – Example 2 – Argument – Thesis restatement – Proposition 1 – Proposition 2 – Proposition 3 – Argument – Fact – Proposition – Point – Argument – Elaboration – Argument – Reason – Point – Elaboration 1 – Elaboration 2 – Fact – Point 1 – Point 2 – Thesis restatement
OR12	Exposition (Hortatory)	Orientation – Facts – Argument 1 – Reason – Thesis – Facts – Argument – Rebuttal – Argument – Point 1 – Point 2 – Argument – Thesis restatement – Reason – Facts – Argument – Facts – Conclusion – Argument – Thesis restatement – Point – Point – Rebuttal – Conclusion – Facts – Rebuttal – Facts – Argument – Reason 1 – Reason 2 – Facts – Rebuttal 1 – Rebuttal 2 – Facts - Argument 1 – Argument2 – Facts – Rebuttal – Argument 1 – Argument 2 – Conclusion – Facts – Argument – Reason – Conclusion
OR13	Exposition (Hortatory)	Title – Orientation facts – Argument – Reason – Facts – Orientation – Thesis – Reorientation – Argument – Examples – Reason – Argument – Facts – Reason – Reorientation – Argument – Elaboration – Facts – Argument – Facts – Facts – Argument – Facts – Point 1 – Point 2 – Conclusion 1 – Conclusion 2
OR14	Exposition (Hortatory)	Title/Thesis - Subtitle 1/Orientation - Proposition 1 - Orientation - Proposition 2 - Orientation - Proposition 3 - Orientation -

		Proposition 4 - Proposition 5 - Subtitle 2/Reorientation - Proposition 1 - Orientation - Proposition 2 - Orientation - Proposition 3 - Orientation - Proposition 4 - Subtitle 3/Reorientation - Proposition 1 - Orientation – Orientation 1 – Orientation 2 - Proposition 3 - Proposition 4 - Orientation - Proposition 5 - Proposition 6 - - - - - - - - -
OR15	Not included – duplicates OR14 analysis	
OR16	Exposition (Explanatory)	Title – Facts – Argument – Orientation – Thesis – Point – Facts – Point – Subtitle – Thesis restatement – Facts – Facts – Argument – Elaboration – Subtitle – Argument – Example – elaboration – Subtitle – Facts – Facts – Point – Facts – Subtitle – Argument – Facts – Orientation - Subtitle – Argument – Facts – Elaboration – Subtitle – Argument – Rebuttal – Conclusion – Subtitle – Thesis restatement – Argument – Reasons – Reorientation – Argument – Problem – Solution – Rebuttal – Thesis restatement – Argument – Proposition – Argument – Point 1 – Point 2 – Subtitle – Proposition – Elaborations – Facts – Thesis restatement
OR17	Argumentation (Problem-solution)	Facts - Argument Thesis Elaboration Orientation Problem Argument 1 Facts / Elaboration Problem restatement Argument 2 Facts / Elaboration Problem restatement Subtitle Problem elaboration Solution Thesis restatement Proposition Reasons Thesis restatement Reason Argument Reason Problem Argument Solution Problem Argument Solution
OR18	Not included – unavailable at time of analysis	
OR22	Exposition (Hortatory)	Title – Thesis – Argument – Point – Problem – Solution – Argument – Reason – Argument – Reason - Fact – Problem – Point 1 – Point 2 – Argument/Example – Example – Example – Example – Example – Example – Example – Example - Example
OR23	Exposition (Explanatory)	Title – Thesis – Example – Reason – Point1 – Reason – Point 2 – Example 1 – Example 2 – Example 3 – Subtitle – Fact – Point – Example – Elaboration – Thesis restatement – Point – Reason – Point
OR24	Exposition (Argumentative)	Title – Thesis – Elaboration – Point – Proposition – Thesis restatement – Orientation – Argument – Elaboration – Example – Argument – Elaboration – Example – Argument – Elaboration – Point – Argument – Elaboration/ example 1 – Elaboration/ example 2 – Elaboration/ example 3
OR25	Exposition (Hortatory)	Title – Thesis – Argument – Elaboration – Reason – Subtitle –

		Argument – Reason – Argument – Reasons – Elaboration 1 – Elaboration 2 – Elaboration 3 – Elaboration 4 – Facts 1 – Facts 2 – Facts 3 – Subtitle – Orientation – Thesis – Elaboration 1 – Elaboration 2 – Elaboration 3- Examples – Point – Facts 1 – Facts 2
OR26	Exposition (Hortatory)	Title – thesis – Orientation – Argument – Point 1 – Point 2 – Point 3 – Subtitle – Elaboration – Orientation 1 – Subtitle – Orientation 2 - Subtitle – Orientation 3 – Elaboration – Orientation3 cont. – Elaboration – Orientation 3 cont. – Elaboration – Orientation 3 cont. - Elaboration
OR27	Exposition (Hortatory)	Title – Proposition - Point - Thesis – Argument - Elaboration 1 – Elaboration 2 – Point - – Point - Argument – Thesis Restatement - Argument - Elaboration - Elaboration - Elaboration
SC01	Exposition (Hortatory)	Title – Subtitle - Thesis – Orientation – Elaboration - Proposition 1 – Proposition 2 – Argument - Reorientation - Argument 1 – Example - Argument 2 - Example - Argument 3 – Example - Argument 4 – Example 1 - Example 1
SC02	Exposition (Hortatory)	Title – Thesis – Orientation – Proposition – Subtitle – Argument – Examples – Subtitle – Orientation - Argument 1 - Argument 2 - Argument 3 – Subtitle – Argument – Examples – Subtitle – Orientation - Argument 1 - Argument 2 -
SC03	Exposition (Hortatory)	Title – Subtitle - Argument - Reason – Orientation – Argument – Examples – Reorientation/Argument – Orientation – Reorientation - Argument 1 - Argument 2
SC04	Exposition (Hortatory)	Title – Subtitle –Thesis – Elaboration – Argument – Subtitle - Argument 1 - Argument 2 - Argument 3 - Argument 4 - Argument 5 - Argument 6 - Thesis restatement - Argument 1 - Argument 2 - Elaboration - Argument 1 - Argument 2 - Subtitle - Argument 1 - Argument 2 - Argument 3 - Argument 4 -Thesis restatement – Elaboration - Argument 1 - Argument 2 - Argument 3 – Elaboration – Subtitle - Thesis restatement – Elaboration – Subtitle - Argument 1 - Argument 2 - Argument 3 - Argument 4 - Argument 5 - Argument 6 - Argument 7 - Argument 8 - Thesis restatement - Argument 1 - Argument 2 - Elaboration
SC05	Exposition (Hortatory)	Title – Subtitle – Thesis – Elaboration – Subtitle - Argument 1 – Elaboration 1 – Elaboration 2 – Elaboration 3 – Elaboration 4 – Argument 2 – Argument 3 – Argument 4 – Argument 5 -

		Argument 6 – Argument 7 –Elaboration - Elaboration 8 – Elaboration 9 – Elaboration 10 – Elaboration 11
SC05a	Not included – duplicates SC05 analysis	
SC06	Exposition (Hortatory)	Title – Thesis - Argument 1 – Orientation - Elaboration 1 - Elaboration 2 - Elaboration 3 - Elaboration 4 - Elaboration 5 - Elaboration 6 - Elaboration 7 - Argument 2 – Point – Subtitle - Elaboration 1 – Elaboration 2 - Elaboration 3 - Elaboration 4 - Subtitle - Argument 3 – Subtitle - Argument 1
SC07	Exposition (Hortatory)	Title – Subtitle – Argument – Orientation - Elaboration 1 / Proposition - Elaboration 2 - Elaboration 3 – Orientation – Examples – Subtitle – Argument – Subtitle - Orientation / Proposition - Orientation / Proposition – Subtitle – Argument – Elaboration – Subtitle – Argument - Elaboration – Subtitle – Orientation 1 –Orientation 2 –Orientation 3 –Orientation 4 – Orientation / Proposition – Argument - Argument
AG01	Exposition (Hortatory)	Title – Thesis – Orientation - Argument 1 – Facts - Proposition 1 - Proposition 2 - Proposition 3 – Facts - Thesis restatement - Argument 2 – Facts - Argument 3 – Example - Thesis restatement - Argument 4 – Examples - Argument 5 – Examples - Argument 6 – Examples – Orientation – Proposition - Proposition -Proposition -Orientation – Proposition -Proposition
AG01a	Exposition (Hortatory)	Orientation -facts – Orientation – Thesis – solution/proposition - Orientation
AG02	Exposition (Hortatory)	Title - Orientation - Sub-title – Thesis - Example 1 - Example 2 - Example 3 – Example 4 - Example 5 – Example 6 - Sub-title - Re-orientation – Subtitle - Thesis re-statement - Example 1 - Example 2 - Example 3 -Example 4 - Example 5 – Subtitle - Re-introduction – Subtitle - Thesis re-statement - Example 1 - Example 2 - Example 3
AG03	Exposition (Explanatory)	Thesis – Orientation – Reasons - Argument 1 – Example – Reason – Fact – Proposition - Argument 2 – Orientation – Proposition - Fact - Problem – Solution - Proposition - Example 1 – Conclusion - Argument 3 – Fact - Reorientation – Example - Example – Reorientation - Argument 4 – Proposition – Example – Proposition - Conclusions
AG04	Argumentation	Title – Proposition – Thesis – Orientation - Argument 1 - Thesis

	(Problem – solution)	restatement - Argument 1 - Elaboration / - Example - Argument 2 – Example - Thesis restatement – Conclusions - Orientation 1 - Orientation 2 - Orientation 3
AG05	Argumentation (Problem – solution)	Title – Thesis - Argument 1 – Orientation - Argument 2 – Orientation - Argument 3 – Orientation - Argument 4 - Orientation - Thesis restatement – Reason – Facts – Proposition – Argument – Facts - Conclusions
AG06	Argumentation (Problem – solution)	Title – Thesis – Facts – Orientation - Thesis restatement – Argument – Problem – Solution – Facts – Argument - Facts - Conclusions
AG07	Argumentation (Problem – solution)	Title – Thesis - Argument 1 – Orientation – Fact – Problem - Solution - Argument 2 - Argument 3 - Argument 4 - Conclusions
AG08	Argumentation (Problem – solution)	Title – Thesis – Orientation - Thesis restatement – Reorientation – Facts – Argument - Elaboration – Example – Reorientation - Elaboration 1 - Elaboration 2 – Examples - Reorientation – Facts – Elaboration – Reorientation - Argument - Elaboration 1 - Elaboration 2 - Elaboration 3 – Reorientation – Facts – Argument - Elaboration 1 - Elaboration 2 - Elaboration 3 - Argument - Elaboration - Thesis restatement – Conclusions
AG09	Exposition (Argumentative)	Title – Orientation - Thesis - Reason - Orientation – Facts – Example - Facts – Elaboration - Reorientation – Argument – Elaboration - Facts – Argument – Elaboration – Facts - Thesis restatement – Reorientation – Argument – Elaboration - Facts – Reorientation – Argument – Elaboration - Thesis restatement – Reorientation – Elaboration – Example – Conclusion – Thesis - Restatement
AG10	Argumentation (Problem – solution)	Thesis - Argument 1 – Problem – Solution - Argument 2 – Fact – Elaboration - Argument 3 - Example 1 - Example 2 – Fact - Argument 4 - Example 3
AG11	Argumentation (Problem – solution)	Title – Orientation – Thesis – Orientation – Argument – Reason - Argument – Reason - Argument – Reason – Reorientation – Argument – Facts – Argument – Reorientation - Conclusion
AG12	Exposition (Explanatory)	Title – Thesis - Facts – Orientation – Proposition – Argument – Facts – Elaboration - Conclusions
AG13	Exposition (Argumentative)	Title – Thesis – Argument - Orientation – Argument - Elaboration – Argument – Problem – Solution - Thesis restatement - Argument – Reorientation – Facts - Thesis restatement – Argument – Orientation – Argument – Fact – Argument – Facts – Reorientation - Example 1 - Example 2 -

		Example 3 - Example 4 - Example 5 - Example 6 - Example 7 - Example 8 - Example 9 – Reorientation – Argument - Example 1 - Example 2 - Example 3 - Example 4 - Example 5 – Reorientation - Example 1 - Example 2 - Example 3 - Example 4 - Example 5 - Example 6 - Example 7 –Reorientation - Example 1 - Example 2 - Example 3
AG14	Argumentative (Problem – solution)	Title – Thesis – Argument – Orientation – Argument – Elaboration – Argument - Problem – Solution - Thesis restatement – Argument – Reorientation – Facts -Thesis restatement – Argument - Orientation – Facts – Examples – Facts – Argument – Example – Fact – Example – Argument - Example – Argument - Examples - Argument - Examples – Reason –Reorientation - Example 1 - Example 2 - Example 3 - Example 4
AG15	Exposition (Explanatory)	Thesis – Orientation – Examples - Orientation - Example – Orientation - Example 1 - Example 2 – Examples reinforced
AG16	Argumentative (Problem – solution)	Title – Thesis – Orientation – Examples – Argument - Example 1 - Problem 1 – Solution - Elaboration - Problem 2 – Solution – Elaboration - Problem 3 – Solution – Elaboration
AG17	Exposition (Argumentative)	Title – Thesis - Orientation 1 - Example 1 - Example 2 - Example 3 - Example 4 - Example 5 - Example 6 - Orientation 2 - Example 1 - Example 2 - Example 3 – Thesis - Orientation 3 - Example 1 - Example 2 - Example 3 - Example 4 - Example 5 - Example 6
AG17a	Not included – duplicates AG17 analysis	
AG18	Exposition (Argumentative)	Title – Thesis – Orientation - Argument 1 - Example 1 - Example 2 - Example 3 - Elaboration 1 – Elaboration 2
AG19	Argumentative (Problem – solution)	Title – Thesis - Orientation 1 - Problem - Orientation 2 - Problem 2
AG20	Argumentative (Problem – solution)	Title - Thesis / Problem - Thesis / Solution – Argument – Elaboration - Thesis restatement – Problem – Solution – Argument - Elaboration
AG21	Exposition (Argumentative)	Title – Orientation – Proposition – Thesis – Argument – Elaboration – Orientation - Argument – Facts – Reorientation - Argument – Reorientation - Argument – Problem – Solution - Reorientation - Problem – Solution
AG22	Argumentative (Problem – solution)	Thesis – Argument – Reason – Elaboration – Orientation - Elaboration 1 - Problem – Solution – Problem – Argument - Argument - Elaboration 2 – Reorientation - Example

AG23	Exposition (Argumentative)	Title – Thesis - Orientation 1 – Facts - Argument 1 - Elaboration 1 - Elaboration 2 - Orientation 2 - Orientation 3 - Orientation 4 - Orientation 5
AG24	Argumentative (Problem – solution)	Title – Thesis – Orientation - Situation / changed – Proposition – Reorientation - Elaboration 1 - Elaboration 2 - Argument - Reason 1 - Reason 2 - Reason 3 - Reorientation – Proposition - Conclusion – Reorientation - Argument - Elaboration 1 - Elaboration 2 - Elaboration 3 - Elaboration 4 - Conclusions
AG25	Exposition (Argumentative)	Titles – Thesis - Orientation 1 - Point 1 - Point 2 - Point 3 - Orientation 2 – Problem - Solution 1 - Solution 2 - Solution 3 - Solution 4 – Subtitles - Orientation 3 - Point 1 - Point 2 - Point 3 – Elaboration
AG26	Exposition (Explanatory)	Title - Orientation – Thesis – Facts - Argument 1 - Thesis restatement – Facts – Example – Elaboration – Argument - Point - Fact - Point 1 - Point 2 - Point 3 - Point 4 - Point 5 - Point 6 - Thesis restatement – Fact - Point 1 - Point 2 - Reason 1 - Reason 2 - Thesis restatement - Point - Conclusion
AG27	Exposition (Argumentative)	Title – Thesis – Orientation – Problem – Solution - Point 1 - Point 2 – Problem – Solution – Orientation - Argument - Example - Problem – Solution - Conclusion
AG28	Exposition (Argumentative)	Title – Orientation – Thesis – Reorientation – Examples – Argument - Point - Conclusions
AG29	Exposition (Explanatory)	Title - Orientation 1 - Point 1 - Point 2 – Examples - Point 3 - Point 4 – Examples - Point 5 - Point 6 – Point 7 - Point 8 – Point 9 – Example - Orientation 2 - Point 1 – Example - Point 2 – Argument - Point 3 –Point 4 – Examples - Point 5 – Example - Point 6 – Examples - Point 7 – Argument - Examples - Point 8 – Examples - Point 9 – Examples - Point 10 – Examples - Orientation 3 - Argument - Conclusion 1 - Conclusion
AG30	Exposition (Argumentative)	Title - Orientation – Thesis - Elaboration 1 - Elaboration 2 - Thesis – Reorientation - Example 1 - Example 2 - Example 3 - Example 4 - Elaboration 1 - Elaboration 2 - Elaboration 3 - Elaboration 4 – Reorientation - Example 1 - Example 2 - Example 3 - Example 4
AG31	Exposition (Explanatory)	Title – Subtitle - Orientation– Subtitle - Challenge 1 - Challenge 2 - Challenge 3 - Challenge 4 - Challenge 5 - Challenge 6 – Thesis - Challenge 7 – Elaboration 1 - Elaboration 2 - Elaboration 3 - Elaboration 4 – Subtitle - Thesis restatement - Subtitle - Orientation - Elaboration - Subtitle - Orientation -

		Elaboration - Subtitle - Orientation - Elaboration - Subtitle / Challenge - Thesis restatement -
AG32	Exposition (Hortatory)	Orientation - Proposition 1 - Proposition 2 - Proposition 3 - Proposition 4 - Proposition 5 - Thesis - Example 1 -Example 2 - Example 3 -Example 4 -Example 5 -Example 6 -Example 7 - Example 8 -Example 9 -Example 10 -Example 11 - Thesis restatement - Example 1 -Example 2 -Example 3 -Example 4 - Example 5 – Reorientation - Argument 1 - Reason 1 - Reason 2 - Argument 2 - Elaboration 1 - Elaboration 2 - Proposition 1 - Proposition 1
AG33	Exposition (Explanatory)	Title – Orientation - Proposition - Example 1 - Example 2 – Example 3 - Example 4 – Elaboration – Reorientation
AG34	Exposition (Explanatory)	Title – Thesis – Orientation - Example - Argument 1 - Elaboration - Argument 2 - Argument 3 - Conclusion- Argument 4 - Problem - Solution - Conclusion - Argument 5 - Problem - Solution - Conclusion - Argument 6 - Problem - Solution - Elaboration - Conclusion - Argument 7 – Elaboration – Reason - Conclusion
AG35	Exposition (Argumentative)	Title – Orientation – Thesis – Facts – Argument – Reason – Elaboration - Argument - Reason 1 - Reason 2 – Fact – Argument - Reason - Argument - Thesis Restatement – Facts - Argument - Reason - Reason -Reason – Conclusions
AG36	Exposition (Explanatory)	Thesis – Orientation - Argument - Argument - Facts - Argument - Reason - Facts - Argument – Elaboration - Thesis Reorientation - Examples - Conclusion- Examples
AG37	Argumentation (Challenge)	Thesis – Orientation - Argument – Facts – Argument – Reason – Facts - Facts – Argument – Fact 1 – Fact 2 –Example - Fact 1 – Fact 2 – Fact 3 – Fact 4 – Problem – Solution - Reasons - Reorientation - Conclusion
AG38	Exposition (Explanatory)	Thesis - Facts
AG39	Exposition (Hortatory)	Orientation – Example – Thesis – Orientation - Thesis restatement – Orientation - Thesis restatement – Example – Orientation - Thesis restatement – Example – Thesis restatement – Example – Orientation - Thesis restatement – Example – Thesis restatement - Example – Orientation - Thesis restatement – Example – Orientation - Thesis restatement – Example – Orientation - Thesis restatement – Example - Thesis restatement – Example – Orientation - Thesis restatement –

Example – Thesis restatement – Orientation - Thesis restatement – Example – Thesis restatement –Example – Orientation - Thesis restatement –Orientation - Thesis restatement – Example –Thesis restatement – Orientation - Thesis restatement –Example –Thesis restatement – Example – Thesis restatement – Orientation - Thesis restatement –Example –Thesis restatement –Orientation - Thesis restatement – Orientation - Thesis restatement –Orientation - Thesis restatement –Example –Thesis restatement –Example –Thesis restatement –Orientation - Thesis restatement –Example – Thesis restatement –Orientation - Thesis restatement – Orientation - Thesis restatement –Orientation - Thesis restatement –Example –Thesis restatement –Example –Thesis restatement –Orientation - Thesis restatement –Example – Thesis restatement –Orientation - Thesis restatement – Orientation - Thesis restatement –Example - Thesis restatement –Orientation - Thesis restatement –Orientation - Thesis restatement –Example -Orientation - Thesis restatement – Example -Orientation - Thesis restatement –Example - Thesis restatement –Example - Orientation - Thesis restatement – Example

AG40	Argumentation (Challenge)	Thesis - Elaboration 1 – Elaboration 2 - Elaboration 3 - Elaboration 4 - Elaboration 5 - Elaboration 6 - Thesis Restatement - Elaboration 1 – Elaboration 2 - Elaboration 3 - Elaboration 4 - Elaboration 5 - Elaboration 6
AG41	Argumentative (Challenge)	Title - Orientation - Thesis – Facts - Argument – Elaboration - Facts - Argument – Reasons – Argument - Facts - Facts - Thesis restatement – Facts
AG42	Exposition (Hortatory)	Title – Thesis - Orientation - Proposition 1 – Examples - Proposition 2 – Examples - Examples - Examples - Thesis Restatement - Orientation - Proposition 3 – Examples - Examples - Proposition 4 – Examples - Examples - Examples
CR01	Explanatory exposition	Orientation - Thesis - Facts - Argument - Facts – Reason – Point – Example - Thesis restatement – Elaboration - Argument 1 - Elaboration - Argument 2 - Elaboration - Argument 3 - Elaboration - Facts – Orientation – Argument – Examples –

		Point – Example – Proposition - Argument - Elaboration - Thesis restatement – Proposition 1 - Proposition 2 - Proposition 3 - Proposition 4 - Proposition 5 - Proposition 6 – Facts - Argument - Argument – Fact – Reason 1 - Reason 2 - Facts – Example – Facts - Argument - Facts – Argument - Facts – Elaboration - Examples – Argument – Example 1 – Example 2 – Elaboration
CR02	Argumentative (Problem – solution)	Title – Subtitle - Orientation - Point – Examples – Facts – Argument – Elaboration - Examples 1 - Examples 2 – Orientation - Elaboration 1 - Elaboration 2 - Elaboration 3 – Argument – Elaboration - Argument – Elaboration – Reorientation - Elaboration 2
CR03	Exposition (Argumentative)	Title – Subtitle - Orientation - Thesis – Facts - Point 1 - Point 2 – Orientation – Facts – Point – Argument – Examples – Point – Facts - Point – Argument – Elaboration – Facts - Argument – Elaboration – Facts – Argument - Facts - Argument – Reason - Facts -Elaboration – Argument - Facts - Argument – Elaboration – Facts - Argument - Facts - Argument – Elaboration – Facts - Argument - Facts
CR04	Exposition (Argumentative)	Title – Byline – Subtitle – Orientation – Proposition – Problem – Solution – Reason – Thesis – Problem – Elaboration – Solution – Orientation – Proposition – Argument – Reason – Argument – Examples – Reasons – Conclusions – Subtitle – Argument – Point – Problem – Elaboration - Thesis restatement – Argument – Elaboration - Conclusion
CR05	Exposition (Argumentative)	Title – Orientation – Subtitle – Facts – Subtitle - Facts – Subtitle - Facts – Orientation – Elaboration – Subtitle - Orientation – Facts 1 - Facts 2 - Facts 3 – Argument - Point - Argument - Reason 1 - Reason 2 - Argument - Reason 1 - Reason 2 - Argument - Point 1 - Point 2 - Argument - Point 1 - Point 2 - Point 3 - Point 4 - Argument - Point 1 - Point 2 - Point 3 – Point 4
CR06	Exposition (Argumentative)	Title – Subtitle - Orientation 1 - Orientation 2 – Facts – Facts 2 – Subtitle – Thesis - Reason 1 - Reason 2 - Reason 3 - Reason 4 - Reason 5 – Subtitle – Facts - Argument - Reason 1 - Reason 2 - Subtitle – Facts - Argument - Reason - Argument - Reason – Point – Example – Fact - Reason 1 - Reason 2 – Subtitles - Facts - Reason 1 - Reason 2 – Facts - Reasons - Argument - Reason – Subtitle – Fact - Reason 1 - Reason 2 – Fact - Reason 1 - Reason 2 - Reason 3
CR07	Argumentative (Problem – solution)	Title – Subtitle – Orientation - Thesis - Elaboration 1 - Elaboration 2 – Argument - Thesis – Restatement – Elaboration

		– Argument – Elaboration - Proposition 1 - Proposition 2 - Proposition 3 - Proposition 4 – Reorientation – Subtitles - Thesis restatement - Argument - Reorientation - Problem – Solution – Subtitle - Standpoint 1 - Argument 1 - Standpoint 2 - Argument 2 – Elaboration – Example - Argument - Problem - Solution – Elaboration - Thesis restatement - Argument 1 - Argument 2 - Argument 3 - Argument 4
CR08	Argumentative (Problem – solution)	Title – Byline - Orientation - Thesis – Reorientation – Facts – Proposition – Elaboration – Reorientation – Standpoint – Problem – Solution – Argument – Elaboration – Reorientation - Thesis Restatement – Argument – Example - Elaboration 1 - Elaboration 2 – Reorientation – Elaboration - Facts 1 - Facts 2 – Facts 3 – Reorientation – Elaboration – Reorientation - Elaboration 1 - Elaboration 2 – Facts 1 - Facts 2 – Facts 3 – Elaboration – Example – Reorientation – Facts - Facts
CR09	Argumentative (Problem – solution)	Title – Orientation - Thesis - Situation / changed – Argument – Reasons – Facts - Thesis restatement – Proposition – Argument - Reason 1 - Reason 2 - Reason 3 - Situation / changed – Argument – Facts – Proposition - Situation / changed – Orientation – Facts – Argument - Thesis restatement – Argument – Elaboration – Facts – Proposition – Elaboration – Argument - Thesis restatement - Proposition – Facts – Elaboration – Argument – Reasons – Argument - Argument – Proposition - Proposition – Conclusions
CR10	Exposition (Argumentative)	Thesis-Facts – Orientation – Examples - Reorientation - Facts – Opinion - Points - Reorientation - Argument Elaboration

[1]Note: Data code numbering omissions indicate irrelevant documents removed from the dataset during Stage 1 analysis.

Appendix D Full intertextual rhetorical structure and micro-genre analysis of all document extracts cited in the study.

AG03 – textual analysis

Not whether but how: Teaching grammar in English at key stages 3 and 4 (QCA/99/418) Chapter 1

Generic structure		Rhetorical structure
Title	Chapter 1 What do pupils need to know about grammar?	Thesis
Introduction	This chapter focuses on the teaching of grammar in relation to writing. It draws on the findings of the Technical Accuracy project commissioned by QCA to identify features which characterise the writing of GCSE candidates at grades A, C and F. Debra Myhill, one of the lead consultants of the project, outlines what teachers can learn from this analysis of pupils' actual written performance.	Orientation
	Identification of the characteristic features of writing at grades A, C and F: • helps to focus teaching on differing pupil needs; • clarifies the basic list of grammatical terms and concepts which pupils need to know; • underlines the need for grammar teaching to be integrated to ensure that coverage is not at the expense of understanding; • suggests that teaching needs to take account of the interrelatedness of many aspects of grammar.	Reasons
Body	Learning about grammar enables pupils to look explicitly at how texts are constructed, including their own texts, and gives them access to metalinguistic knowledge which may help them craft and shape their writing more effectively. The key question, then, for teachers of English is not 'Should we teach grammar?' but 'What grammatical knowledge do pupils	Argument 1

need?.

In 1996, QCA initiated a research project into the characteristics of pupils' writing in GCSE English at grades A, C and F *(Technical accuracy in writing in GCSE English: research findings)*. The project investigated the accuracy, effectiveness and patterns of usage of six aspects of writing: spelling; punctuation; sentence/clause structure and word class usage; paragraphing; textual organisation; non-standard English. Using a sample of 288 GCSE English scripts, evenly distributed across grades A, C and F, a detailed analysis of these aspects was undertaken using a set of specifically designed coding frames.

Example

The analysis provides a rich and complex picture of pupils' writing at age 16; it not only indicates the principal patterns of error, hut also reveals the characteristics of successful and less successful writing in terms of linguistic constructions, Embedded in the findings are valuable pointers to the grammatical knowledge which pupils need to help them develop as writers.
[7]

Reason

Effective writing for GCSE project findings

Fact

Word level
- Lexical density: the most effective writing at GCSE made greater use of lexical words (nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs) than non-lexical words (conjunctions, prepositions, pronouns, etc).
- Variety of ways to convey meaning/detail: confident writing made use of differing ways to express ideas or to give additional detail, whereas weaker writing tended to rely on very common word patterns. Writers at grade A made effective use of abstract nouns as in alternative to the use of adverbs or adjectives, particularly following the verb 'to be', or example instead of 'he was angry' an A grade writer might

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write 'he was filled with anger'. F grade writers tended to over-use rather weak adverbs, such as really' and 'just'.

- Vocabulary: the best writers used a wider repertoire of words (often abstract nouns) to express complex ideas or opinions and to describe events and situations. They were able to select words which were appropriate to the purpose, audience and form of the writing.
- Word structure: the principal weaknesses in spelling at GCSE were the omission of phonemes, problems with words where consonants are doubled, and separating one word into two words, for example 'bed room'. Pupils need, therefore, to know about the morphology of words and patterns of inflection.

Sentence level
- Sentence variety: effective writing showed variety in sentence length with some simple sentences and short sentences for effect, as well as compound and complex sentences. By contrast, weaker writing was characterised by little variety in sentence type or structure. Sentences were often long and sometimes used repetitive structures, patterns such as subject- verb-object or main clause plus relative clause.
- Sentence structure: confident writers expanded and elaborated around the finite verb, often through the use of adverbials, parenthetical comments and non-finite clauses. Less able writers relied heavily on the finite verb to drive the text forward, especially in narrative.
- Internal sentence punctuation: whilst only the weakest writers had difficulty with correct use of the full stop, many writers did not exploit the possibility of the comma or other punctuation devices, such as the colon or semi-colon, to convey shades of meaning or to avoid ambiguity.
- Clauses effective writing used subordination to express complex ideas

or arguments. A prevalent weakness in the handling of clauses was the tendency towards excessive coordination, where a string of clauses was linked using 'and' or 'but'.

Text level

- Reader-writer relationship: A grade writers managed to achieve and sustain an effective relationship with the reader through a variety of means (such as parenthetical asides, direct address, appropriate tone and voice).
- Cohesion: effective writing maintained cohesion through the appropriate use of pronouns and lexical chains, whereas in weaker writing this was less well developed or controlled, particularly the handling of pronouns. Across all grades investigated, cohesion was handled with less assurance than other aspects of textual organisation.
- Openings and endings: in both narrative and non-narrative writing, there was some difficulty in effective closure of pieces of writing, particularly where there was no formulaic ending dictated by the genre (such as 'Yours sincerely' in letter endings). In non-narrative writing, there was also some insecurity in creating appropriate openings.

[8]

- Paragraph linking: able writers signalled textual connections through the appropriate use of adverbials, conjuncts and topic sentences. Where paragraphs were used, weaker writers rarely managed to introduce or link paragraphs effectively.

These findings identify specific features of writing that pupils can be taught which would improve its quality. To teach these things teachers and pupils need to know the grammatical terms in which to discuss the pupils' writing.

Proposition

What terminology should be taught?

Argument 2

Intrinsic to the question of what grammatical knowledge pupils need is the

related question of what terminology pupils need to know. As English teachers we already introduce pupils to a considerable range of terminology to help them meet the demands of the English curriculum — text, image, speech, metaphor, alliteration, rhyme, sonnet and so on. In the light of this, perhaps we have sometimes been over-sensitive about teaching the terminology of grammar and have tried to teach grammatical understanding or concepts without reference to the relevant terminology. As with all specialist vocabulary, the metalanguage of grammar frequently offers clarity and economy in language, using one word where a paraphrased alternative might require several, Mastery of the appropriate metal anguage also offers the possibilities of shared conversations between differing groups about the way language functions and the grammatical features of texts. The teaching of relevant terminology clarifies, rather than obscures.

However, sensitivity over teaching grammatical terminology is partly due to a recognition that, in the past, the teaching of terminology has been an end in itself, as though grammar were 'a box of labels in a dissection laboratory' (Keith, 1997) and has failed to make vital the connections between the label and language in use. The principal pedagogic purpose of learning metalinguistic terminology is to enable more focused and precise descriptions of language to be at the disposal of readers and writers.

Orientation

Terminology should he introduced using teaching strategies which make real connections between terms, texts and effects, and the terminology should become part of the active vocabulary of the English classroom, even when the term is not the focus of attention.

Proposition

There follows a basic list of grammatical terms which correspond to the grammatical concepts described earlier, though obviously there is considerable potential for introducing further terms, where

Fact

appropriate.

WORD	SENTENCE	TEXT
noun - abstract; concrete	sentence — simple; multiple;	cohesion
pronoun	compound; complex	reference
adjective adverb	clause - coordinate; subordinate; relative	tone register
verb — finite		
conjunction	adverbials	
lexical	subject; object	
preposition	parenthesis	
conjunct	topic sentence	
participle	finite verb	

9

It as important that the terminology should support the teaching of grammatical knowledge, rather than lead it; this demands that thought be given both to when and how to introduce the terminology. In particular, the use of definitions which mislead or confuse learners, such as the well-know n 'a verb is a doing word' or 'an adjective is a describing word' should be avoided. In both cases, the definition creates misunderstandings because it fails to look at ss hat it means when applied to texts. The word 'is' in 'a verb *is* a doing word' has very little about it which suggests 'doing' or action, and all texts arc full of words which describe, but which are not adjectives ('he walked slowly '; 'I gobbled my dinner). The danger of teaching terminology for its own sake is that it results in passive knowledge, which is not then applied or transferred to other texts or contexts.

Problem

By contrast, the active use of terminology in teaching which focuses on how grammatical concepts function in a range of texts, and encourages pupils to experiment with them in their own writing, is more likely to result in terminology becoming part of pupils' repertoire for

Solution

talking and writing about language. It may also enable constructive rule-braking, prompting pupils to manipulate language, by using, for example, verb-less sentences or free-standing subordinate clauses.

Integrating grammar into the English curriculum   Proposition

It is not sufficient to recognise that there is grammatical knowledge v limb pupils need, without recognising at the same time that pupils need to encounter that knowledge in purposeful contexts. In the past we have vacillated between the isolated and decontextualised grammar lesson and the study of language in operation, where we have assumed that pupils' implicit knowledge of grammar could be activated to understand what they read, and to write effectively. In the former, pupils often acquired knowledge of grammatical concepts which they could not transfer into other situations; in the latter, pupils may have acquired implicit knowledge, but lacked the metalanguage to describe their learning. Integrating learning about grammatical features with the study of texts and discourses provides a fertile ground for explicit teaching of grammar rooted in active exploration of grammar in operation. We teach literary criticism and offer pupils the metalinguistic tools of metaphor, simile, alliteration and so on to help them engage critically with text. Yet we often ignore the linguistic features of texts which also contribute powerfully to their effect on readers, though A level English language teachers are very familiar with this facet of textual criticism.

Take, for example, Theodore Roethke's poem   Example 1
Child on Top of a Greenhouse:

> The wind billowing out the seat of
> my britches,
> My feet crackling splinters of glass
> and dried putty,
> The half-grown chrysanthemums
> staring up like accusers,
> Up through the streaked glass,
> flashing with sunlight,

A few white clouds all rushing
eastward,
A line of elms plunging and tossing
like horses,
And everyone, everyone pointing up
and shouting!

It would be a missed opportunity to
analyse this poem and not refer to its
grammatical structures. The poem is one
long sentence, building up to the climax
of the last line, but more fundamentally
it is a sentence without a main verb, The
effect of this is to still the poem: there
is no movement forward, no narrative
action, just a moment in time, captured
almost photographically and frozen. The
use of present participles is central to
the impact of the poem. They provide the
key descriptions of the boy's moment of
guilty triumph on top of the greenhouse:
for one moment his senses are acutely
aware of his environment, 'billowing,
crackling, staring, flashing, rushing,
[10]

plunging, tossing, pointing' and
'shouting'. The punctuation, too,
contributes to the poem's impact. The
sequence of line-end commas gives the poem
pace and the final exclamation mark
emphasises the drama of the child's
situation, from his perspective at least.
The use of parenthetical commas in the
fourth line breaks the subject-participle
rhythm of all the other lines and draws
attention to the image of 'streaked glass'
catching the sun. These grammatical
features are integral to the meaning and
effect of the poem and pupils can see how
they are achieved.

Approached in this way, the learning of   Conclusion
grammar can be both explicit and relevant
to other aspects of the English
curriculum. Pupils' grammatical knowledge
can be developed and reinforced at the
same time as their skills in textual
criticism, or whilst analysing oral
discourses, or during the planning and
drafting of written work.

In order to achieve constructive integration of grammar into the English curriculum, and also to ensure that those aspects of grammatical knowledge which pupils need are actually addressed, it is necessary to revisit present schemes of work and curriculum maps to determine where and when grammatical concepts will be taught. To allow for continuity and progression, there need to be planned opportunities for explicit teaching of grammar, and recognition that pupils will benefit from being able to revisit and consolidate previous understanding as well as developing a deeper, more complex one.

Argument 3

As a consequence of the findings of the Technical Accuracy project, QCA commissioned a further project in which ten English departments from across the country explored how to accommodate explicit teaching of grammar to meet pupils' needs within existing schemes of work. They looked for the best opportunities presented by their current curriculum content to address grammatical features, and they also considered how to provide for continuity and progression. Fuller details of their work can he found in *Improving writing at key stages* 3 *and* 4 (QCA, 1999), but two examples are given here.

Fact

In order to achieve constructive integration of grammar into the English curriculum, and also to ensure that those aspects of grammatical knowledge which pupils need are actually addressed, it is necessary to revisit present schemes of work and curriculum maps to determine where and when grammatical concepts will be taught. To allow for continuity and progression, there need to be planned opportunities for explicit teaching of grammar, and recognition that pupils will benefit from being able to revisit and consolidate previous understanding as well as developing a deeper, more complex one.

Reorientation

As a consequence of the findings of the Technical Accuracy project, QCA commissioned a further project in which ten English departments from across the

country explored how to accommodate explicit teaching of grammar to meet pupils' needs within existing schemes of work. They looked for the best opportunities presented by their current curriculum content to address grammatical features, and they also considered how to provide for continuity and progression. Fuller details of their work can he found in *Improving writing at key stages* 3 *and* 4 (QCA, 1999), but two examples are given here.

The first illustrates how an existing individual unit in the scheme of work can be revised to provide a planned opportunity to address a particular grammatical feature.

Example

Example 1
Revision of an individual unit to incorporate work on *variety in sentences:*
The investigation into pupils' writing at GCSE had found that weaker writers had little variety in sentence length, type or structure, whereas confident writers were using varied sentences for effect.

>   One department that had an existing media unit in year 7 built into this explicit attention to sentence variety. Using newspapers, pupils investigated the variety of sentence length, including looking at headlines and one-sentence paragraphs. They considered the differing purposes and effects of these sentences and also considered the use of high lexical density in headlines.

The second example illustrates how an existing scheme of work can he revised to ensure that there is appropriate continuity and progression throughout in the treatment of a particular grammatical feature.
[11]

Example

Example 2.
Revision of a scheme of work to ensure continuity and progression in the treatment of *closure:*
>   The investigation into pupils'

writing at GCSE had indicated that closure was a weaker aspect of writing at all grades than openings. One department built in many opportunities for pupils to look explicitly at different types of closure in texts, and how closure varies with text type. Overall, closure features in 11 units of work throughout key stage 3, sometimes through direct teaching of an aspect of closure, and sometimes through specific reminders to pupils to consider closure in a piece of writing.

Year 7
- The notion of closure was introduced whilst working on oral presentations: pupils were directed towards the possibility of using a statement or a question as a powerful closing device.
- Work on storytelling introduced the concepts of the cliffhanger, the climax and resolution.
- Later in the year the study of newspapers readdressed the issue of closure by looking at the different way closure is achieved in an article and contrasts stylistic differences between broadsheets and tabloids.

Year 8
The demands of non-narrative closure were considered, particularly the effective ending of discursive writing and formal letters.

Year 9
- The specific requirements of writing to argue or persuade were revisited; pupils looked at:
  — the persuasive effects of a final paragraph, such as the use of emotive or judgemental lexis and the reference to arguments and themes previously introduced;

  — the significance of the final sentence, and the possibility of direct echoing of the opening, or the use of rhetorical devices, such as a final rhetorical question or a

powerful quotation.

- Pupils also analysed the qualitative differences in conclusions from pupils' writing at different ability levels and discussed what makes each ending successful or less successful.
- The work begun in year 7 on concluding oral presentations was developed in year *9* in the study of formal debates and the need to employ persuasive and emotive language to conclude.

Making connections between grammatical features

When planning to integrate explicit teaching of grammar into the English curriculum, teachers also need to consider how the various features of grammar are interrelated and what prior knowledge pupils may need. There are many relationships and links between grammatical features and it is important to consider these carefully. For example, to understand clauses fully, do pupils need to understand the finite verb? And to understand the finite verb, do pupils need to understand the concept of the subject or of conjugation?

One practical problem which confronts the prospective teacher of grammar is the awareness that looking at one grammatical concept as it functions within a text (the absence of a main verb in the Roethke poem, for example) may involve the use of other related grammatical terms (finite; non-finite; participles). There remains, then, 'a challenge to present grammar in the classroom in ways which avoid the worst excesses of formalism without losing sight of the fact that grammar is systematically organised' (Carter, 1990). [12]

However, from a different perspective, the interrelation of many aspects of grammar opens up possibilities for looking at several grammatical features within one focus. Rather than listing a hierarchy of grammatical concepts to be taught over a key stage, it can he more productive to

Reorientation

Argument 4

Proposition

consider interrelationships.

For example, whilst teaching about how a writer can establish an effective relationship with the reader, explicit teaching could address:

- the use of parenthetical commas to mark asides;
- how adverbials can provide additional descriptive detail in narrative;
- the use of contractions and omissive apostrophes in informal writing and the formal register achieved by not using them;
- the way excessive coordination can frustrate a reader.

Example

This approach reminds pupils and teachers that grammatical knowledge is about the choices available to writers and the effects that these choices might have. Grammatical knowledge is thus intrinsically connected with the pupil's developing ability to craft writing consciously, and to read and/or listen with a growing critical awareness of the writer's or speaker's intentions and effects. The challenge for teachers, when presented with descriptions of the grammatical knowledge which pupils need, is to accommodate those needs in such a way that the *coverage* of the grammar does not obscure the *understanding* that should accompany it.

Proposition

Conclusion

Conclusion

At the present time, we have insufficient information about how pupils transfer conceptual knowledge into their own writing and little evidence about how pupils learn grammar. These are areas where debate remains polemical rather than substantive: greater emphasis on integrating grammar into the English curriculum may well develop these debates more productively. Nonetheless, the aim of

Conclusions

current developments must surely be to
establish a classroom practice which
routinely helps pupils to develop and
apply their grammatical knowledge in all
aspects of their language work.

AG04 – textual analysis

DfEE (2000) Grammar for Writing (DfEE 0107/2000) London: DfEE (p.5)

Generic structure		Rhetorical structure

Title	`The National Literacy Strategy`
	
	`Grammar for writing`
		Title

Introduction	`This book has a two-fold purpose:`
	`. to provide lively whole class activities`
	`for teaching the Key Stage 2 sentence`
	`level objectives in the National Literacy`
	`Strategy Framework for teaching;`
	`. to explain and illustrate the varied`
	`forms which shared writing can take as a`
	`powerful medium for teaching writing.`
		Proposition

Body	`[4] [Part 1 Introduction and rationale]`
	
	`We all use language to think and`
	`communicate. Language is systematically`
	`organised by its grammar which is`
	`inextricably linked to meaning and`
	`communication – we cannot make sense`
	`without shaping grammatical and linguistic`
	`structures. All pupils have extensive`
	`grammatical knowledge. Much of this is`
	`implicit, but they are able to generalise`
	`and improvise from this knowledge.`
	`Teaching which focuses on grammar helps to`
	`make this knowledge explicit, extend`
	`children's range and develop more`
	`confident and versatile language use.`
		Thesis

	`This guidance is designed to help teachers`
	`teach writing. It focuses on the teaching`
	`of the sentence level objectives in the`
	`National Literacy Strategy Framework for`
	`teaching. We have called it 'Grammar for`
	`writing' to emphasise the centrality of`
	`grammar in the teaching of writing.`
		Orientation

	`In the video accompanying Module 3 of the`
	`NLS 1998 training materials, Professor`
	`David Crystal explains the importance of`
	`grammar:`
	`'Grammar is what gives sense to language …`
	`Sentences make words yield up their`
	`meanings.`
	
	`Sentences actively create sense in`
		Argument 1

language and the business of the study of sentences is the study of grammar.'

Some would argue that the study of grammar is worth teaching in its own right because it is intrinsically interesting – and so it is. This is not the primary aim here; our aim is to improve children's writing. Grammar is fundamental to this, as a means to an end, but a means which involves investigation, problem-solving, language play and a growing awareness of and interest in how language works. This book focuses on the teaching of sentence level objectives in the Literacy Hour but, throughout, the emphasis is on how children's growing understanding and use of grammar helps them to write more effectively.

It should be clear from this that the purpose of teaching grammar is not simply the naming of parts of speech, nor is it to provide arbitrary rules for 'correct' English. It is about making children aware of key grammatical principles and their effects, to increase the range of choices open to them when they write.

Thesis restatement

Children learn grammar as an integral part of learning to speak from the earliest stages. The development of oral language is vitally important in its own right as well as being essential to success in literacy. In the course of development, children will use grammar in a wide variety of ways, often with considerable complexity. Very young children will imply meanings using single

Argument 1

[original example retained here]

> A
> Today we learnt about taste and Miss Ward put some things out on the table and we had to taste them and what we had to do is they all had numbers by them and we had to taste them and it had a different taste to them and we had to taste them and see if it was sweet, salt, and bitter and sour and I did not taste any sour.

words in a variety of grammatical ways. For example, a one-year-old saying 'Milk'

could mean: Look! There's some milk; Can I have more milk?; Is that one milk? etc., showing what they mean by tone of voice and/or gesture. Older children often use very complex grammatical constructions in speech which may not be appropriate as written forms. Children frequently encounter very sophisticated grammar in the speech and writing of others which they understand without difficulty.

The National Literacy Strategy sentence level teaching objectives are not intended to provide developmental descriptions of this kind. They focus on a limited but important range of skills that children need for writing. They are about extending and making explicit aspects of children's intuitive knowledge of grammar, focusing on aspects of grammar which tend to distinguish written from spoken texts. The grammatical characteristics of spoken language are different in significant ways from those of written language. These differences are related to the permanence of the written form, and the need to be concise and explicit, and because often the intended reader is separated from the writer by time and space. Whereas speakers often rely on context, facial expression, intonation, pauses, etc. to convey meaning and create effect, writers often use more explicit grammatical structures as well as other organisational features, such as paragraphs, headings and sometimes diagrams, to communicate ideas.

Elaboration /

The following two texts illustrate some of the differences:

Example

B Taste experiment
We had to taste foods which had different numbers to see if they tasted sweet, salt, bitter or sour. I thought the best taste was cheese and the worst was pickle. I did not find anything sour.

In these two examples, the intentions are similar: to explain the experiment. Text A recounts the events but backtracks and repeats. When written down, these repetitions stand out but, when spoken, they make sense. The speaker joins all the

thoughts together with 'and' and uses intonation, gesture and stress to keep the listener on track. Text B is more clearly a written recount. It contains far fewer clauses than A and joins them in more complex ways, ie by subordination rather than the continuous use of the conjunction 'and'. The effect is a more focused and free-standing account which can be read by any reader.

The growth of competence in writing also contributes importantly to the broader development of children's thinking. The more context-free and explicit nature of writing helps children become increasingly reflective about language. By structuring and restructuring ideas in writing, children extend their powers of imagination, learn to express increasingly complex, abstract and logical relationships, develop skills of reasoning and critical evaluation. This, in turn, feeds back into their competence as thinkers and speakers.

Argument 2

It is instructive to look at the key messages about children's writing from the national tests derived from analysis of a sample of scripts. These give a very clear indication of the writing skills that children need to succeed in as they move through to their secondary education (Standards at Key Stage 2 English, Mathematics and Science. Report on the 1999 National Curriculum Assessments for 11-year-olds, QCA, 2000).

Example

Standards at Key Stage 2 English, Mathematics and Science. Report on the 1999 National Curriculum Assessments for 11-year-olds, QCA, 2000).

Key messages about writing from the National Curriculum tests To reach a secure level 2A by the end of Key Stage 1, children should be able to:
. write with legible and accurate handwriting;
. discriminate and spell phonemes accurately – especially long vowels;
. understand spellings of simple word roots and inflectional endings: 'ed',

'ing', etc.;
. write and punctuate simple sentences;
. sequence them coherently in a text;
. select from an increasing range of vocabulary to enhance meaning, create effects and add precision to their writing.

To reach a secure level 4 by the end of Key Stage 2, children should be able to:
. apply spelling rules and conventions, eg consonant doubling, pluralisation, affixes;
. apply strategies to choose correct vowel formation;
. modify the meanings of words by adding words or phrases for effect and precision;
. develop more varied and complex sentences;
. use commas to mark clauses in complex sentences;
. pay more attention to the ending and thus the direction of the narrative;
. use formal, impersonal styles, eg consistent use of third person or the passive voice;
. review and edit work for clarity and interest, organisation and purpose;
. connect ideas at both text and sentence levels;
. organise texts in other ways than by order of event;
. adapt their writing to the purposes and characteristics of non-fiction text types.

Some of these expectations refer to phonics and spelling which are addressed in other guidance (National Literacy Strategy, Progression in Phonics and Spelling Bank, DfEE, 1999). Nevertheless, it is striking how many of them are directly or indirectly about grammar – about children's ability to manipulate words in sentences and to link sentences together. Some are specifically grammatical, eg the ability to form and punctuate simple sentences at Key Stage 1 or to develop more complex sentences at Key Stage 2. Others, like the use of formal styles, the purposes and characteristics of non-fiction text types and the direction of narrative also depend on the writer's awareness and control of

grammar.

Conclusion	Across the primary years, there are three key features of grammar which need to be addressed. All of these are covered in the National Literacy Strategy Framework for teaching. They are particularly important because they mark key differences between the ways in which grammar is used in spoken and written English.	Conclusions

Text cohesion   Orientation 1
Throughout the primary years children should learn how to link sentences:
. at Key Stage 1, they should be able to create a coherent sequence of ideas;
. through Key Stage 2, they should learn to select from a wide range of connecting words and phrases, and to use verbs and pronouns consistently to create cohesive chronological and non-chronological texts to suit a variety of audiences and purposes.

Sentence construction and punctuation   Orientation 2
. at Key Stage 1: the representation of ideas in sentences is a characteristic of written text which children need to be made aware of through reading and learn to control in writing. Written sentences are differently structured from spoken utterances which can rely on gesture, intonation and stress to fill out the speaker's meaning;
. at Key Stage 2: the ability to link ideas within sentences by combining and sequencing clauses enables children to structure and connect ideas in a wide variety of ways, which create interest for readers and make children's writing more precise, varied, engaging and fit for purpose.

Word choice and modification   Orientation 3
. at Key Stage 1, children should draw from their reading an increasingly rich vocabulary, and learn to select words and phrases that add colour and precision to their writing and refine its meaning and are appropriate to its audience and purpose;
. through Key Stage 2 children should learn how to enhance their meaning through

the choice of words and through modifying
nouns and verbs to add focus, variety and
interest for the reader.

DfEE (2001) Key Stage 3 National Strategy, English department training 2001, DfEE 0234/2001 (Section 10.3)

Generic structure		Rhetorical structure
Title	10.3 Sentence level: grammar for writing – part 3	Title
Introduction	You will need: • OHTs 10.24–10.34 • Handouts 10.7–10.10 for each participant • Year 7 sentence level bank Timing: 10.3.1 Cohesion: tense 20 minutes 10.3.2 Cohesion: connectives 15 minutes 10.3.3 Teaching grammar 40 minutes Total 75 minutes Use OHT 10.24 to establish the aims of the module.	Orientation
Body		Thesis

> OHT 10. 24
> Aims
> • To review and consolidate knowledge about cohesion in the use of tense and connectives
> • To connect grammar to speaking, reading and writing
> • To apply knowledge of the grammatical features to pupils' writing
> • To present a teaching sequence for sentence level objectives
> • To examine some of the ideas and strategies in the Year 7 sentence level bank
> • To develop knowledge of the use of pronouns to create cohesion
> • To apply knowledge of the grammatical features to pupils' writing

10.3.1 Cohesion: tense (20 minutes)
Use the following points to introduce the

topic of the use of tense to ensure
cohesion in texts.

From speech to writing   Reason
Speakers sometimes shift between tenses,
using the historic present for vividness
then slipping to the past tense. Sources
of difficulty for writers are slipping
between present and past and shifting
between will and would.

Use OHT 10.25 and 10.26 and the   Orientation
explanatory notes to develop the subject.

OHT 10.25

I discovered the box in the attic. I hold
the key which I will use to unlock its
secrets.

Tense, like person, is anchored to the
text and its immediate context because it
assumes a particular 'base-time', the
moment when the text was (supposedly)
produced or uttered. As with person, it is
important for the assumed base time to
stay more or less constant within a text.

A verb describes a situation and its tense Facts
shows the relation between the time of
this situation, event or state, and the
base-time: before, the same or after. In
this example, the writer describes a
situation before the base time (the
discovery of the box), a situation which
is the same as the base-time (holding the
key) and a situation after the base-time
(ie the future) (unlocking it). This short
example shows how dependent the choice of
tense is on the writer's current
assumption about base-time. To be
consistent, the writer has to hold this
assumption in working memory. So, over a
longer piece of text, it is easy to see
why this control of tense is liable to
fluctuate.

Narrative is usually in the past tense, ie
the situation described has occurred
before the telling of the narrative (the
base-time). The 'historic present' is a
successful exception because it uses a
time-slip back to the time of the

situation described for vividness; it must
be used carefully and still requires
consistency.

Example for reading aloud: *'Would you
believe this man? He comes down the stairs
this morning, and before he's even out of
his pyjamas he's set to work with the
hammer and a nail.'* (*Diary of a Killer
Cat,* Anne Fine).

> **OHT 10.26**
>
> 1. **English has only two inflected tenses:
>   past (eg wanted)and present (eg wants).**
> 2. **The train leaves in five minutes; I'm
>   leaving in five minutes**
> 3. *will*   **I will help you if I can**
> 4. **Imagine you were rich**
> 5. **would I would help you if I could – but
>   I can't**

1,2 There is no future tense through
inflection. The present can be used for
future events: The train leaves in five
minutes; I'm leaving in five minutes.

3 In addition to the inflected tenses, to
make the future tense English
uses will: the situation time is later
than the base-time, eg I will help you if
I can.

4 Although the past tense is normally
required when the situation time is before
the base-time, it can be used to evoke an
imaginary world, eg Imagine you were rich.

5 would: the base-time is in an imaginary
world, eg I would help you if I could –
but I can't.

Activity
Distribute *Handout 10.7.*

> Handout 10.7
>
> This story is about a Mum, a dad, Annabel
> and Joanne.
> Joanne is 14 and Annabel is 16. The Mum
> has short wavey black hair and the dad
> short straight blond hair.

Annabel has been to Spain and had a tan,
Joanne thought it was unfair. Annabel had
only been back three days and she felt
like there was something weird going on
around her…

Underline the verbs and discuss how well
tense is used in the opening lines of this
story. Use the following OHT to manage the
discussion.

OHT 10.27
This story is about a Mum, a dad, Annabel
and Joanne.
Joanne is 14 and Annabel is 16. The Mum
has short wavey black hair and the dad
short straight blond hair.

Annabel has been to Spain and had a tan.
Joanne thought it was unfair. Annabel had
only been back three days and she felt
like there was something weird going on
around her.

This OHT provides the 'answers' and
prompts discussion. The extract
indicates the shift from present to past,
and indicates not only a problem with
control of tense, but possibly an issue
regarding the planning of writing. Where
narrative planning sheets are in the
present tense, some pupils can use this
inappropriately as a starting point for
their own writing. This is perhaps what
has happened in this case.

10.3.2 Cohesion: connectives (15 minutes)   Reorientation
Use the following points to introduce the
topic of connectives and their use in
creating cohesion in texts.

From speech to writing   Argument
Linking adverbs are associated with
written or spoken registers and particular
positions in those registers. Linking
adverbs which are more
common in writing than in speech include:
accordingly, moreover, furthermore, duly,
therefore, as a consequence, in the event.
Linking adverbs more common in spoken than
written registers include: what's more, as
I say, because, though, of that, in the

end (and in football talk, at the end of
the day is almost compulsory!).

Use OHT 10.28 and the following notes to
draw the distinction between conjunctions
and connecting adverbs.

```
OHT 10.28
Connectives

conjunctions
connecting adverbs
```

Connectives are words whose main function   Facts
is to link clauses semantically.
There are two types: conjunctions and
connecting adverbs.

```
OHT 10.29
Conjunctions

I had supper and went to bed.
     Co-ordination
I had supper before I went to bed.
     Subordination
After I had supper I went to bed.
     Subordination
```

Conjunctions link clauses by co-ordination
and subordination.
Clauses linked by conjunctions are part of
the same sentence.

```
OHT 10.30

Connecting adverbs

I had supper. Later I went to bed.
```

Connecting adverbs are used in one clause
to show its semantic relations to, or to
link up with, an earlier clause which may
be in a different sentence.

With connecting adverbs we should also
include some phrases introduced by
prepositions such as at first and in fact,
so we can call them collectively
'connecting adverbials'.

Connectives are a vital aid in organising information in spoken and written texts. The semantic relationships they express are varied; they allow logical, temporal and causal relationships to be expressed, which is an important aid to the reader as subject matter becomes more complex.

They are particularly important in non-chronological writing, where there is no obvious ordering principle.

Handout 10.8
Adverbials

- English has a large number of connecting adverbials falling into a wide range of semantic types; the following list only gives elementary examples of the main types (based on Greenbaum 1996):

  – later, meanwhile, next, then
  – so, therefore, as a result
  – however, on the other hand, still, though
  – after all, I mean, in fact
  – for example, namely
  – as well, also, either, too
  – first(ly), second(ly), finally, in the first place
  – equally, similarly
  – otherwise, rather, alternatively, in other words
  – anyway, besides, in any case
 – incidentally, by the way

- Explicit teaching of words from this list is likely to be helpful even if it is only to clarify the differences in meaning and to increase pupils' confidence in risking the words in their writing.

Activity
Ask participants to skim the list of connecting adverbials on *Handout 10.8* and consider this question:

How might explicit teaching of connecting adverbials help pupils in reading,

speaking and writing?

Use the following notes to field
responses:

Pupils' understanding and correct use of
connecting adverbials develops as they
move up through Key Stages 2 and 3.
Specific teaching will help to move this
understanding along and will help pupils
to take control of their written
vocabulary as it increases.

Argument

Explicit teaching of words from this list
is likely to be helpful even if it is only
to clarify the differences in meaning and
to increase pupils' confidence in risking
the words in their writing.

10.3.3 Teaching grammar (40 minutes)
Use OHT 10.31 to draw out the main
principles for teaching grammar.

Elaboration

OHT 10.31

The main principles for teaching grammar
are that:
- Pupils' implicit knowledge about
  grammar should be acknowledged and used
  as a positive base from which to
  develop more explicit awareness and
  control of language
- Explicit grammar teaching should be
  integrated into the English curriculum
- Grammar teaching should have a well-
  defined focus
- Systematic planning should ensure
  progression and development over time
- Grammatical features should be related
  to function, effect and meaning

(Adapted from *Not Whether But How,* QCA
1999)
Use OHT 10.32 and the explanatory notes to
remind participants of key
elements of the teaching sequence.

OHT 10.32
A teaching sequence
- Explore the objective
- Define the convention
- Demonstrate how it is written

> - Share the composition
> - Scaffold the first attempts

The *Year 7 sentence level bank* presents a teaching sequence which shows how the explicit teaching of grammar can be investigated through reading and applied in writing.

Facts

Talk through the two paragraphs under the heading 'A teaching sequence'
in the introduction to the *Year 7 sentence level bank*.

Reorientation

Make the point that the teaching sequence also implies a learning sequence.

The teaching sequence:
- is active and investigative
- moves from rehearsing explicitly in a social context (the whole class) what is later applied individually
- moves from individual examples, to grouping, and then patterns and generalisations which can be applied elsewhere.

Explore the objective
Emphasise the first sentence, pointing out that the explicit teaching of the objective is linked to texts and effects.

Argument

Define the convention
Emphasise the statement that 'terminology only makes sense if it is grafted on to existing concepts'. Pupils need prior examples and experience of language in order to understand the terminology.

Demonstrate how it is written

Emphasise the second sentence. Make the additional point that this direct teaching of writing does not inhibit creativity, but supports it by equipping pupils with the skills and linguistic tools they need for the job.

This is also a good opportunity to stress the relationship between grammar and creativity.

Elaboration

Additional comment upon creativity

Creativity is sometimes seen as arising out of freedom from constraint and an absence of form, and grammar, associated with rules and correctness, is then placed in opposition to creativity. In the model here, however, creativity is seen as freedom through the use of structures, techniques and the discipline of form, which helps to define thought and crystallise expression. Teaching often focuses well on literary forms and effects, but this training is designed to support the explicit teaching of linguistic forms and effects for speaking, reading and particularly writing. It should go without saying that all writing should arise out of a clear sense of purpose and audience, and should stimulate and motivate pupils by engaging with their ideas, knowledge and experience.

It is the experience of language, however, which then becomes critical in enabling them to realise what they want to say. Some of the examples above show how audience and purpose are immediately dependent upon control of grammar (eg pronouns for audience and cohesion). In this sense, the meaning of a text is not separate from its grammar, but is defined and, precisely, created by it.

OHT 10.33

Generic strategies of good writers
- rehearsing sentences aloud before committing them to paper
- rereading to cue in to the next sentence and check flow
- savouring and selecting vocabulary
- reading back sentences to see if they sound right
- trying alternatives
- keeping an eye on spelling and punctuation as one writes

Emphasise the bulleted points about process, which have been highlighted here as a separate OHT, since they are crucial. Problems with writing stem as much from how pupils go about it, as the knowledge and skills they bring to bear on it.

Share the composition
Emphasise the fourth sentence and the vital role of speaking and listening. The success of the teaching will depend to a great extent on how well the teacher develops an explicit and interactive dialogue with the class about the choices in writing which are usually silent and hidden. You could mention the use of specific techniques for supporting interactive teaching in the whole-class setting, such as time out, show me and targeted questions.

Scaffold the first attempts
Emphasise the first sentence in the third paragraph ('Care must be exercised in choosing the right support.') Stress here that a scaffold is always removed as early as possible, not as late as possible.

Supporting independent writing
Stress the sentence 'Many false notes may be sounded.' Mistakes and experimentation with techniques should be viewed as a positive teaching point and the basis of development.

Draw attention to the marking framework (Handout 10.9) which highlights points of grammar at word, sentence and text level.

Elaboration

Handout 10.9

See the full size version of the Handout at the end of this module.

Stress that this framework is not designed to be used for global marking, but as a source from which questions may be selected according to the specific focus and target of the writing task.

Refer participants to the Year 7 sentence level bank and briefly explain that the activities in the booklet:
- follow the teaching sequence, moving from conventions to reading to writing
- cover the main areas of grammar at word, sentence and text level highlighted in this session

(modification, co-ordination and subordination, and cohesion). Note also that some other issues not covered, such as active and passive, are also included in the booklet.

Point out that you will not discuss the booklet in detail, as the activity is designed to encourage familiarity with it in a practical way.

Activity   Example

Choose one of the following case studies on *Handout 10.10* and use the *Year 7 sentence level bank* to begin to plan a teaching sequence which supports the target for development.

Handout 10.10

. After analysis of pupils' writing in Year 7, you have identified that they are still weak in using an appropriate and effective style (including a lack of sentence variety, little description, and a limited vocabulary). As a means of supporting pupils in writing a narrative, choose an objective from the Year 7 sentence level bank which relates to this target and plan a teaching sequence, selecting appropriate activities from the booklet and where possible suggesting texts you would use. You might also include some ideas of your own.

.
. After analysis of pupils' writing in Year 7, you find that the organisation and paragraphing of non-fiction writing is weak. In order to help pupils to write a non-fiction text (to argue, persuade and advise) choose an objective from the Year 7 sentence level bank which relates to this target and plan a teaching sequence, selecting appropriate activities from the booklet and where possible suggesting texts you would use. You might also include some ideas of your own.

Take feedback and comments on the task.

OHT 10.34

'Conscious manipulation of syntax deepens engagement and releases invention' – Ted Hughes

Emphasise that the module has been about:
- tools not rules
- reading as a writer (with increased and critical awareness)
- writing as a reader (taking account of the audience)
- and extending pupils' choice and freedom as writers.

If grammar is approached in this way, it will be a powerful means of developing pupils' creativity, imagination and critical thinking.

Thesis

Restatement

© Crown Copyright 2001   Sentence level: grammar for writing

English department training 2001

AG15 – textual analysis

DfES (2002) KS3 National Strategy - English department training 2002/03 Year 8 Course Handbook, DfES 0301/2002 , London: DfES

Generic structure		Rhetorical structure
Title	Session 4: Towards independence: teaching extended writing	Thesis
Introduction	This session focuses on: • planning for and teaching extended writing, in both narrative and non-narrative genres Planning for extended writing	Orientation
	Example 1: Story writing • In pairs, consider the sequence for teaching story writing outlined on Handout 4.1. In particular, note how the writing has been broken into manageable 'chunks' for the pupils. Example 2: Writing non-fiction	Examples
	• Briefly, consider how this notion of 'chunking' text can be applied to writing non-fiction texts, in general. Focus on just one stage: Refuting objections, and suggest the main things that you would want to teach, as pupils approached this stage in their writing. Example 3: Writing a film review	
	• Using the short-term plan on Handout 4.2, and working in a small group, plan a series of six lessons designed to support pupils in writing a substantial film review;	Orientation
	the first three lessons have already been devoted to showing and discussing the film.	Example
	Teaching, cohesion and coherence within and across paragraphs	Orientation
Body	Activity 1 • Read the film review on Handout 4.3 and then, in pairs, consider the features of cohesion and coherence that have been	Example 1

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highlighted in the text. What methods have been used to orientate the reader through the text?

Activity 2   Example 2
• In pairs, consider the formal essay title on OHT 4.9: which connectives and linking phrases would you teach to support pupils in writing this essay?

• Now read the film review written by a pupil (Handout 4.4) and, in pairs, identify: (i) three examples of successful cohesion and coherence; (ii) one instance where the pupil could usefully employ a cohesive device and how you might explain this to the pupil. Finally, share your views with the whole group.

HANDOUT   Examples
'Secret place' story
                                                    reinforced
Teaching points Approach

Introduction
Explain the story sequence

Lesson 1
Explain the sequence and exemplify from known stories
Shared reading of extracts to identify effective scene-setting techniques
Set up the idea of a 'secret place' discovered, explored and revealed
Set the scene Establishing time, place, people Using suggestive details

Lesson 2
Shared writing of an opening paragraph for a class version Group writing of openings of group versions, shared in plenary
Introduce a problem Whetting the reader's curiosity
Helping the reader to see it coming

Lesson 3
Shared writing of a problem introduced into the class version
Group writing to progress group versions,

shared in plenary
Intensification Identifying ratchets How
to build suspense

Lesson 4
Shared reading analysis of a suspense-
building extract
Shared writing to extend the extract in
same style
Group writing of own story, shared in
plenary
Crisis How to communicate urgency
How to write action sequences

Lesson 5
Shared reading analysis of high-action
sequence
Shared writing to extend the extract in
same style
Individual writing to extend group story,
shared in a plenary
Adjustment Strategies for empathy
Psychological detail

Lesson 6
Group drama activities to prepare for
writing of post-crisis situation
Shared generation of useful phrases
Individual writing, shared in plenary
Resolution Just deserts
Ways of bringing the story to rest

Lesson 7
Shared reading of endings, to generalise
about features of effective endings
Group discussion of intended endings of
individual stories
Individual writing, shared in plenary

AG16 – textual analysis

DfES (2002) English department training 2002/03 Year 9 Course handbook KS3
National Strategy Addressing individual and group writing targets through guided
work Section 3.5 Handout (1) & (2), London: DfES

Generic structure		Rhetorical structure
Title	English department training 2002/03 Year 9	Title
Introduction	Right here, right now: helping Year 9 to write with confidence	Thesis
	[3.4 HANDOUT] Teaching strategies for improving written expression	Orientation
	• Read aloud just one or two sentences from a pupil's work and ask the pupil to paraphrase it in a few words or to tell you simply what the point was.	Examples
	• Underline weak links in a pupil's work and ask them to choose a more precise connective.	
	• Ask a pupil to strip one of their own sentences down to its bare minimum, and then help them to add on the extra information more clearly.	
	• Identify an ill-expressed sentence and, in a separate place, give the pupil a new way of starting the same sentence.	
	• Ask the pupil to rehearse the next sentence in their head and check it for sense before they write.	
	• For longer sentences, ask the pupil to have a mental map of its parts, and some phrases in place to help them through it, e.g. the opening words, connectives, a final phrase.	
	• Ask the pupil to read aloud a sentence and listen for false notes.	
	• Collect a range of useful starters and connectives to support longer sentences.	

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• Study how good writers construct longer sentences, and to try them on for size. Borrow effective constructions.

• Encourage the habit of re-reading from the beginning of the current paragraph to cue back into the register and logic of the piece.

• Review a piece of work that a pupil has found very challenging and help to identify what the difficulties have been.

Sometimes pupils' difficulties can be pinpointed: trouble with connectives, sentences that start well but run out of steam, vague verbs. If there is a pattern, start by underlining all the examples, and share your observation with the pupil. Help them to revise the first couple, then ask them to bring you an amended script.

[English department training 2002/03 Year 9 Right here, right now: helping Year 9 to write with confidence]

[3.5 (1) HANDOUT]

Addressing individual and group writing targets through guided work

1 Vague – give more detail

Target: Add information to help reader understand or to strengthen effect
Strategy: Use commas for parenthesis, i.e. add a subordinate clause
Note: Avoid giving the message that sentences always need elaboration

Teacher example: Models how to expand a sentence, in this case to give the reader more information on Macbeth's state of mind:
Macbeth started to plan the murder of Banquo and Fleance. is changed to

Macbeth, feeling insecure about his position as king, started to plan the murder of Banquo and Fleance.

Pairs: Expand the following sentence to give the reader reasons for

Right column labels:

Argument

Example 1

Problem 1

Solution

Elaboration

your decisions as director, changing:
If I was directing the banquet scene I would make it very dark on stage.
to If I was directing the banquet scene, to increase the feeling of mystery and tension, I would make it very dark on stage.

Individuals: Choose one of their own sentences to expand so as to give the reader more information. Session finishes with sharing and discussion of improvements.

2 Too many ANDs Target: Avoid excessive coordination	Problem 2
using and and but Strategy: Alter paragraph or passage by using fewer coordinators / put in full stops / use adverbials (prepositional phrases) to begin sentences / use a range of connectives	Solution
Teacher example: Changes *Lady Macbeth was sleepwalking in the night and the doctor was called but he could not do much to help and so the nurse watched her all night.* to *During the night Lady Macbeth walked and talked in her sleep; when the doctor arrived he could not do anything to help her but simply asked the nurse to watch her closely.*	Elaboration

Pairs: Use the same strategy with:
If I was the director I would make the stage dark and keep a spotlight on Macbeth's face and sometimes light up the ghost and Lady Macbeth.

Individuals: Choose one of their own sentences to expand so as to give the reader more information. Session finishes with sharing and discussion of improvements made.

[3.5 (2) HANDOUT]	Problem 3

3 Long-winded

Target: Precision and concision	Solution
Strategy: Look for opportunities to change adjectives into abstract nouns for sharper expression	
Teacher example: Changes the adjective 'jealous' into an abstract noun	Elaboration

Macbeth was jealous of Banquo because of the witches' predictions that his children would become 'kings hereafter'. He planned Banquo's
murder to make sure this prediction would not come true.

becomes:

Jealousy drove Macbeth to plan the murder of Banquo. He wanted to make sure the witches' prediction that Banquo's children would become
'kings hereafter' would never come true.

Pairs: Use the same strategy with:
The atmosphere in the writing is tense this is created by the writer's use of punctuation

Individuals: Choose one of their own sentences to work on. Session finishes with sharing and discussion of improvements made.

AG19 – textual analysis

DfES (2003) KS3 National Strategy Writing Challenge: Handbook for school organisers Course tutor's notes Date of issue: 09/03, London: DfES

Generic structure		Rhetorical structure
Title	2.2 (1) HANDOUT Writing analysis record sheet Pupil name: Jonathan	Title
Introduction	Stage 1 Is the pupil's spelling a Number of incorrect spellings Predominant types of error: major weakness? per 100 words = 3 Phonically plausible but (first 100 words of story unconventional spelling sampled) Homophones Word endings Missing letters Double consonants Long vowels	Thesis
Body	Stage 2 Positive features Does the pupil write a [not included] Uses non-finite clauses Uses predominantly simple variety of sentences and or coordinated sentences Adds detail by extending noun phrases Regularly uses subordinate clauses to add detail as appropriate? Uses a range of sentence types Uses adjectives and/or adverbs effectively Does the pupil make effective use of connectives? Uses a range of coordinating and subordinating conjunctions within sentences Uses adverbials to link ideas beyond sentence boundaries	Orientation 1

Produces writing with connectives *then, so*

Negative features   Problem

Writes sentences lacking clarity and
detail
Uses repetitive sentence starts

Rarely extends noun phrases

Misses opportunities to add detail or
clarity through adverbs or adjectives

Shows only limited use of connectives

Tends to combine two or more simple
sentences without the correct punctuation

Uses limited range of logical structure

connectives – not much signalled by the
use of *beyond* and*, but, because,*

Leaves the reader to make the connections
between ideas, sentences and paragraphs,
as the links are not made explicit

2.2 (2)   Orientation 2
HANDOUT

Stage 3 Positive features Negative
features
Is the pupil's writing well structured and
organised so that it fulfils its intended
purpose?

Can the pupil match style to the purpose
and audience of the task?

Writes in paragraphs

Structures paragraphs effectively

Writes paragraphs that follow in a logical
sequence which reflects the purpose of the
writing

Produces writing that has a clear sense of
purpose

Uses the conventions of written rather
than spoken language

Attempts to write formally or in a style suited to the written form where appropriate

Uses mostly Standard English grammar and vocabulary

Uses vocabulary matched to the task, including specialist subject terms

Does not write in paragraphs   Problem 2

Conveys little sense of beginning, development, ending

Can structure writing chronologically but struggles otherwise produces writing that lacks purpose – may be just a list of points with no explicit links

Writes using the patterns of speech

Includes use of local dialect and slang when not appropriate

Limits style to the informal Uses limited vocabulary and struggles to include terms which are not part of everyday discourse

Stage 4 Positive features Negative features

Is the pupil's punctuation a major weakness?

More than half of all sentences are correctly demarcated with full stops

More than 75 per cent of sentences begin with a capital letter

Some correct use of commas within sentences

Correct use of speech marks but not reliable on other aspects of the punctuation for direct speech

Apostrophe for omission usually correct but not reliable with apostrophe for possession

Less than half of all sentences are
correctly demarcated with full stops

Fewer than 75 per cent of sentences begin
with a capital letter

Little or no correct use of commas

Use of speech marks not reliable Use of
apostrophe absent or highly unreliable

Lack of punctuation detracts from the
writing's ability to communicate clearly

[Writing Challenge Assessment and target
setting © Crown copyright 2003]

AG23 – textual analysis

DfES (2003) KS3 National Strategy - Reading Challenge Handbook for school organisers and coach trainers, London: DfES

Generic structure		Rhetorical structure
Title	Section 7 Appendices [1-2 p57-9] Appendix 1 Reading Challenge terminology	Title
Introduction	The use of the 'Challenge' terminology is designed to add a 'game' element to the scheme and to help avoid any stigma that might attach to receiving extra help with reading. It draws on the traditions of fantasy literature (and now computer games) where heroes are set challenges, go on quests, face problems and are often helped by friends and allies.	Thesis
	The exception is the 'searchlights' metaphor, which derives from the National Literacy Strategy (see Appendix 2).	Orientation 1
	The use of the terminology is, however, entirely optional and it is quite possible to run the scheme without it by making minor adaptations to some of the materials.	
	Glossary Teacher organiser - Challenge leader Coach - Challenge coach Pupil - Challenger Pupil's identified area of weakness - Top challenge Target - The object of your quest Reading strategies - Searchlights	Facts
	The searchlights model It is generally agreed that reading is a process of actively constructing meaning from a written text. Readers need to pay attention to four types of cues and draw on four kinds of knowledge to undertake this process successfully. The four types of knowledge are: •knowledge of context; •word recognition; •knowledge of the sound/spelling system of the language (phonics); • knowledge of grammar.	Argument 1

In the process of reading, readers draw on these areas of knowledge to a different extent at different times depending on how proficient and experienced they are as readers and on the degree and kind of difficulty presented by a particular text.

The National Literacy Strategy developed a metaphor to communicate this theoretical model to teachers and teaching assistants. The process of paying attention to all the available cues when required was described as turning searchlights on to the text to illuminate its meaning and was represented in this diagram.

Reading searchlights
- phonics (sounds and spelling)
- word recognition and
- graphic knowledge
- knowledge of context grammatical knowledge TEXT

The phonics searchlight
When faced with an unfamiliar word, this is the process of building the individual sounds represented by the letters or clusters of letters into a word. Even the most experienced reader will use this strategy when faced with technical terms or people's names that are unfamiliar. To use this strategy effectively requires a knowledge of the alphabetic system and the way (complex in the case of English) that this system represents the sounds of the language.

The grammar searchlight
A reader's intuitive knowledge of grammar sets up clear expectations about the kind of word to expect in a given sentence slot. We also have
expectations about word endings based on concepts such as tense and number. These expectations help us predict ahead as we read and allow us to confirm whether the meaning we are constructing makes sense.

A common strategy associated with the grammar searchlight is a kind of double-take which sends the reader back to the start of the sentence to check for accuracy because the grammar is failing to stack up. For instance, if we read The man go in the house, our

grammar searchlight sends us back to see if
the word was not in fact men as the grammar of
the language would demand.

The word recognition searchlight
Readers come to recognise many words on sight.
Obviously, the more common the word, the more
likely it is to be recognised immediately
in this way. The more people read and the
greater the range of their reading, the more
words they recognise instantly. Another
important aspect of this is that readers also
recognise parts of words that commonly occur,
for example, -ing, -ation, and so on.

Orientation
4

The context searchlight
This searchlight makes use of the reader's
understanding of the whole context to predict
or to confirm information from other cues. The
context includes the words and sentences that
surround the one being read and other
information on the page such as illustrations.
It also includes the wider context of the
reader's prior knowledge of the subject
matter, its associated vocabulary and the
text-type. For instance, if we know we are
reading a fairy tale and the first words we
read are Once
upon a …, our knowledge of context will easily
allow us to predict the next word.

Orientation
5

The searchlights model underpins the teaching
of reading in the National Literacy Strategy
and the Key Stage 3 Strategy. The Reading
Challenge scheme is designed to help those
pupils who do not have the reading strategies
to switch on all the searchlights when
required.

[Reading Challenge Handbook for school
organisers © Crown copyright 2003 59]

AG24 – textual analysis

DfES (2004) The Key Stage 3 National Strategy, Issue: 02/04, DfES 0049/2003,

London: DfES

Generic structure		Rhetorical structure
Title	Grammar for Reading Course Handbook Introduction [p4]	Title
Introduction	The most effective teaching of English is informed by an understanding of the way the language works at word, sentence and text level.	Thesis
	This course is for your professional development at two levels: • to expand your explicit knowledge and understanding of English grammar (if necessary); • to explore the way this knowledge and understanding can inform the process of shared reading and the teaching of writing in response to texts in your Key Stage 3 classroom.	Orientation
	There have been passionate debates over the past 30 years about how much grammar should be taught to learners. It is important for you to distinguish between the grammatical knowledge that is helpful to you as a teacher when preparing lessons and giving explanations to pupils, and the grammatical knowledge needed by your pupils. The grammatical knowledge needed by pupils will be less explicit than that needed by you.	Situation / changed Proposition
	The Key Stage 3 National Strategy has already promoted Grammar for writing, an understanding of grammar that allows pupils to make better choices as writers, to have more control over their writing and to be more creative. Thus, Module 10 of English department training 2001 (DfEE 0234/2001) focused on word choice and modification, sentence construction, and textual cohesion in ways designed to give young writers 'tools, not rules'.	Reorientation

This course is designed to build on that foundation in two ways: firstly, by offering more detail about the nuts and bolts of English grammar for those teachers who expressed a need for more knowledge of this kind; and secondly, by focusing on looking at the way we teach pupils to understand the impact of the grammar choices made by the authors they read.	Elaboration 1
We have pointed out particular areas of difficulty for those who are learning English as an additional language. You may also find it helpful to refer to Grammar for writing: supporting pupils learning EAL (DfES 0581/2002), which contains specific advice for those teaching pupils learning English as an additional language.	Elaboration 2
Grammar for reading The idea behind these modules is to explore how an author's grammar choices have affected the meaning of a text. This understanding can be developed at a basic or advanced level depending on the ability of your class and your own knowledge.	Argument
It is important firstly because of its place within the teaching sequence for writing: • establish clear aims; • provide examples; • explore the features of the text; • define the conventions;	Reason 1

'Grammar for reading'

• demonstrate how it is written;
• compose together;
• scaffold the first attempts;
• independent writing;
• draw out key learning;
• review.

	Reason 2
Secondly, it is needed because it offers readers insight into the way writers construct text. It encourages pupils to	

read as writers and develop their understanding of the techniques writers use to influence the reader so they can then apply these techniques to their own writing.

Thirdly, this knowledge is needed to answer some of the questions set in the reading sections of the QCA optional (Year 7 and 8) and statutory (Year 9) tests.

Reason 3

Grammar has its own terminology and knowing the correct terms can allow you and your pupils to explain a text more efficiently. Our approach to teaching grammar recognises, however, that understanding the grammatical feature and the impact it has is more important than knowing terms. It is this understanding and, above all, the ability to apply it as part of the creative acts of reading and writing that is our ultimate goal.

Reorientation

Proposition

For some of you the course may be covering familiar ground; for others, some of the grammar may be less familiar. The explicit knowledge that underpins the course is contained in units of pre-course reading. Some of you will be able just to skim read this material to reassure yourselves that you are already familiar with it. Some of you will find most of the reading familiar, but with some new topics. Others may find most of it new and perhaps difficult and demanding, but we hope the material will prove accessible and helpful.

Conclusion

Course structure
The course is divided into five modules, each consisting of:
• pre-course reading;
• a two-hour training session;
• material to try in the classroom.

Reorientation

Each module has a substantial piece of pre-course reading which consists of a summary of key grammatical points relating to the focus of the training session. There are two main reasons for providing this material as pre-course reading.

1 The training sessions themselves are designed to focus on the application of knowledge about grammar in classroom teaching, not the actual knowledge itself.	Argument
2 Course participants will have different levels of knowledge and understanding. You can decide for yourself how much time you need to spend on the material. Those of you with a reasonable or good knowledge will be able to skim the material to remind yourself of how much you already know, perhaps identifying some areas where you need to read more carefully. Those of you with less prior knowledge will need to spend longer and work harder with the material.	Elaboration 1
It is not possible to benefit fully from the training sessions unless the pre-course reading has been completed. There will be time in the first half of each training session to discuss areas of difficulty you have identified in your pre-course reading. This means that the best strategy for completing the reading is not to dwell too long on aspects that you find difficult or confusing. At the end of each section of pre-course reading, there is an opportunity for you to make notes on any questions or difficulties you may wish to raise. You may find it helpful to highlight areas about which you are unsure as you read and jot these down on the notes page.	Elaboration 2
Each training session is divided into two parts: • the opportunity to reflect on the pre-course reading and the application of the relevant knowledge to texts; • a demonstration of how this knowledge can be applied in shared reading and the opportunity to prepare texts for classroom use. At the end of each module there are notes pages for you to make any notes as an aide memoire or to help you carry out a shared reading session.	Elaboration 3

	This course handbook contains all the material you need for the pre-course reading and for the training sessions. You will also receive a pack containing the text extracts in this handbook that you may wish to prepare for classroom use. These texts are printed so they can conveniently be made into overhead transparencies (OHTs).	Elaboration 4
Conclusion	Further support and materials are available:	Conclusions

English department training, 2002, Year 7, DfES 0204/2002
English department training, 2002, Year 8, DfES 0303/2002
English department training, 2002, Year 9, DfES 0201/2002
Key objectives bank: Year 7, DfES 0207/2002
Key objectives bank: Year 8, DfES 0206/2002
Key objectives bank: Year 9, Dfes 0203/2002
Year 9 booster kit: English 2002/03, DfES 0712/2002

You may also find it helpful to have a basic reference book: there is a bibliography on page 126 of this handbook to help you.

[6
Key Stage 3 National Strategy Grammar for reading Course handbook © Crown copyright 2004]

DCSF (2009) Support for Spelling, DCSF 00171-2009 DOM-EN, London: DCSF

Generic structure		Rhetorical structure
Title	Support for Spelling Introduction	Title
Introduction	Teachers want their pupils to become fluent and effective writers; accurate spelling is a means to that end.	Orientation
	Competent spellers need to spend less time and energy in thinking about spelling to enable them to channel their time and energy into the skills of composition, sentence structure and precise word choice.	Thesis
Body	The two factors that make English such a rich language also define its complexity: the alphabetic system and the history of the language.	Facts
	The alphabetic system is efficient, 26 letters creating 44 phonemes in 144 combinations to form about half a million words in current use. The English alphabet includes 21 consonants; spoken English uses 24 consonant sounds, so the match between how we say a consonant and how we write it is generally predictable. The rich array of vowels poses particular problems: there are 20 spoken vowel sounds but only five vowel letters, for example, the long a sound is represented in a range of ways: e.g. ai, a-e, ea, ay, eigh.	
	The other factor influencing our spelling is history. There are three main historical sources for English spelling patterns:	
	• Germanic – from the Anglo Saxons, over half our words fall into this category;	
	• Romance – Latin, French and, in the 16th century, Spanish and Portuguese;	

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• Greek – the language of areas of knowledge, (e.g. physics, philosophy).

The English language has absorbed thousands of words from all over the world, through trade and commerce. These words and phrases continue to enrich the language and give us a great wealth of expression.

The implications of this, for teachers of spelling, may seem daunting but 85% of the English spelling system is predictable. The keys to supporting our pupils to become confident spellers lie in teaching the strategies, rules and conventions systematically and explicitly, and helping pupils recognise which strategies they can use to improve their own spelling.

Argument

A balanced spelling programme includes five main components:

Elaboration

understanding the principles underpinning word construction (phonemic, morphemic and etymological);

recognising how (and how far) these principles apply to each word, in order to learn to spell words;

practising and assessing spelling;

applying spelling strategies and proofreading;

building pupils' self-images as spellers.

Over the years, the National Strategies have produced a range of materials concerned with the teaching of spelling. These materials have been reviewed and built into a new programme to support teaching within the Primary Framework.

Facts

A good spelling programme gradually builds pupils' spelling vocabulary by introducing

Argument

patterns or conventions and continually
practising those already introduced.

Experience has confirmed that short,   Reasons
lively, focused sessions are more
enjoyable and effective than an occasional
skills session.

Spelling strategies need to be taught   Argument
explicitly and applied to high-frequency
words, cross-curricular words and
individual pupils' words. Proofreading
should be taught during shared and guided
writing sessions and links should be made
to the teaching of handwriting.

Knowledge of the spelling system

In order to spell we need both phonemic
knowledge and morphological knowledge.

Phonemic knowledge   Facts

This is the correspondence between letters
(graphemes) and sounds (phonemes). It
includes
knowledge about:

• phonics (e.g. knowledge about letter and
sound correspondence, differences between
long and short vowels, the identification,
segmentation and blending of phonemes in
speech and how these
influence spelling);

• spelling patterns and conventions (e.g.
how the consonant doubles after a short
vowel, words
with common letter strings but different
pronunciations);

• homophones (e.g. words with common
pronunciations but different spelling: to,
two, too).

• Phonological knowledge. This relates to:

     syllables and rhymes;

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analogy.

Morphological knowledge   Facts

This is the spelling of grammatical units
within words (e.g. horse = 1 morpheme,
horses = 2 morphemes). It includes
knowledge about:

• root words – contain one morpheme and
cannot be broken down into smaller
grammatical units (e.g. elephant, table,
girl, day) and are sometimes referred to
as the stem or base form;

• compound words – two root words combined
to make a word (e.g. playground,
football);

• suffixes – added after root words, and
change the spelling and meaning of a word
(e.g. hope – hoping, walk – walked, happy
– happiness);

• prefixes – added before a root word, and
change the meaning but rarely affect the
spelling of a word (e.g. replace,
mistake);

• etymology (word derivations) – words in
the English language come from a range of
sources; understanding the origin of words
helps pupils' spelling (e.g. audi relates
to hearing – audible, audience, audition).

The table on page 4 gives an overview of
the distribution of the teaching of the
two broad types of knowledge, from Year 2
to Year 6. The learning objectives for
these years are laid out on pages 5 to 7
and are organised into the three terms per
year.

Conclusion   The teaching of spelling strategies, high-   Thesis
              frequency and cross-curricular words
              should be built into each half-term's   restatement
              work, in addition to the phonemic,
              phonological and morphological knowledge.

              For additional information on the spelling   Facts
              system please see Appendix 1.

QCA (2000) Improving writing at key stages 3 and 4 (QCA/99/392), York: QCA

(pp36-40)

Generic structure		Rhetorical structure
Title	Improving writing at key stages 3 and 4	Title
	Teaching linguistic features: focusing on purposes	Subtitle
Introduction	Writing purposes In devising units to integrate work on language, teachers in the project focused on one of the broad writing purposes currently described in GCSE syllabuses. Units of work were devised to encourage pupils to write for one of the following groups of purposes: • explore, imagine, entertain; • describe, inform, explain; • argue, persuade, instruct; • analyse, review, comment. What follows is a summary of the activities devised by teachers to meet these purposes. Each section also includes a table suggesting linguistic features characteristic of writing for these purposes.	Orientation
	GCSE purpose: to explore, imagine, entertain	Point
	Fictional short stories and autobiographical writing featured in these units of work. The range of stimulus reading included the thriller, romance and horror genres, Macbeth, and pre-twentieth century and contemporary novels.	
	Narrative closure In teaching narrative closure, four broad approaches were adopted: • Using Rebel With a Cause, pupils traced the development of a story from opening to closing, identifying chains of connecting words or phrases and tracing the reoccurrence in the story of adjectives first used in the opening. The culmination of this activity was a flow-chart tracing the various facets of the narrative and linguistic development of the story. This flow-chart became a model for the pupils' own writing.	Examples

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- Pupils were given a story opening, a story scenario and four possible endings. They then considered whether any or all of these endings in any way echoed or reflected the main character's actions. They also considered whether the ending might contain a theme (as opposed to a plot) and a moral (as opposed to a theme), and speculated on what the narrative problem initially might have been.
- Pupils compared openings with endings in a number of autobiographies, reflecting on why some endings appeared more effective than others.
- Narrative closure was made a significant and regular focus in pupils' reading logs.

In all of these, pupils wrote their own narrative endings. To increase the range of this writing without needing to write a complete story each time, a number of strategies were adopted:	Facts

- producing a narrative opening followed by topic sentences to quickly represent the body of the narrative;
- exchanging stories, providing a range of endings for the same story from which the writer could eventually make a choice;
- providing the reader with two alternative endings (as in The French Lieutenant's Woman, offered as a model);
- concentrating on writing an ending with a coda, or one with deliberate ambiguity rather than clear resolution.

Linking paragraphs in narrative	Argument
Activities which helped pupils identify a linguistic route through to the end of the narrative were also used to identify the methods by which narrative paragraphs are linked.	
Attention was drawn to the use, variety and relative prominence of time and place adverbials as links between significant chunks of narrative.	Elaboration
In one unit, pupils were given a 'quota' in their own writing and were encouraged to use two place adverbial links for every time link. As part of this, pupils were encouraged to vary the position of such adverbials within the opening sentence of a paragraph and to	Examples 1

consider the impact.	
They were also given a range of adverbial links with which to experiment and from which to make choices. Throughout these activities, in their own analysis of texts and in their own reading logs, pupils were invited to record the ways in which authors manage narrative transitions.	Examples 2
Proportion of abstract nouns to concrete nouns	Orientation
In contrast to the broad scope of the study of effective closure, each unit also addressed the impact of increasing the proportion of abstract nouns to concrete nouns in a given narrative.	
To do this, one group of teachers asked pupils to carry out a statistical trawl in a range of texts to establish the proportions of abstract and concrete nouns.	Elaboration 1
Another unit required pupils to begin a given number of sentences in their own writing with an abstract noun.	Elaboration 2
A different approach was to employ transformational strategies, inviting pupils to change adjectives into abstract nouns in a range of texts.	Elaboration 3
Expansion around the verb	Argument
In order to encourage pupils to use fewer finite verbs and more expansion around the verb, one unit of work used texts that had been modified specifically to make the teaching point: passages of narrative prose, heavy in the use of adverbial phrases, were compared to texts from which 'expansion phrases' had been removed.	
An alternative approach was for pupils to highlight the finite verbs within their own writing and in the writing of their peers. The highlighting then guided pupils to reduce the number of finite verbs and develop the expansion around those which remained.	Elaboration
Excessive coordination	Argument
To discourage the use of excessive co-ordination, pupils were asked to highlight main clauses and co-ordinating or subordinating links in their own writing.	

An alternative approach was to limit, for a while, the number of times 'and' might be used as a co-ordinator in any given sentence.

Elaboration

Conclusion

Terminology

Reorientation

Purpose: Explore, imagine, entertain
Unit title: Original writing

Year group: 11
     Overall length: 5 weeks

Resources: Faculty-produced sheets, extracts from autobiographical writing

Feature	Terminology	Significant teaching strategies or pupil activities
Effective closure	chaining; sectioning, labelling; resolution; solving narrative 'problem'; coda; adjective, noun, phrase (adverbial/adjectival)	Pupils identify chains of words/phrases in *Rebel with a Cause* and *First Light*. Mark on texts and explain effect of chains. Model for pupils' comments supplied. Pupils identify sections in an extract from George Melly's autobiography. Look at adjectives to establish character at the start, and the way in which these adjectives are developed and illustrated in the middle section of the story. Look at use of repetition of physical detail and its use at the end. Identify coda and discuss effect. Write summary in flow-chart form, with arrows forward and back. Similarly, with own writing, summarise structure of draft as flow-chart.
Effective paragraph linking, using place adverbials and variations in time adverbials	topic sentence (ie first sentence of para); noun, pronoun, verb, connective word or phrase; cohesion; place-related conjunct; place-related adverbial; time-related conjunct; time-related adverbial	Letter the paragraphs (ABC etc) in *Rebel with a Cause* and *First Light*. Label what each is about. 'Trawl' to establish lexical field as clue for topic of paragraph. Focus on marking nouns/verbs in particular; list and spot any patterns. Mark topic sentences. Identify linking features in topic sentences, and how topic sentences' anaphoric features prepare the reader for what is to come. Mark connective words/phrases. What type? (Addition, contradiction, time, reason.) What effect? Mark place adverbials. Write out as list. What effect? Do the same for time adverbials. Relate learning to pupils' own writing. Mark and identify features in own drafts, as above.
Using fewer finite verbs and more expansion in sentences	finite verb; subject, verb, clause, conjunction; expansion; adverbial phrase; adjectival phrase	Use modified text, with sentence boundaries replaced by connectives. Compare with originals. Difference in effect? Look at variety of clause structures and conjunctions. List main clauses and dependent clauses separately, focusing on clause characteristics, effects and finite verbs. Survey characteristic number of clauses per sentence. Use modified text again, this time with expansion phrases stripped out. Discuss effect compared with original. Apply knowledge of finite verbs, clause structure and expansion to own drafts.
Using more abstract nouns	concrete noun; abstract noun	Remind pupils of definitions. Select sections from each of the three texts studied in detail. Allocate sections to groups. Carry out statistical trawl for abstract and concrete nouns, plus any that are problematic. Discuss results. What does it show about narrative texts? Relate to own drafts.
Avoiding excessive co-ordination and comma splicing	main clause (MC); subject; verb (phrase); dependent clause (DC); co-ordinating clause; subordinating clause; relative pronoun; conjunction	Focus on drafting of own writing. Draw examples of excessive co-ordination and comma splicing from own drafts. Give back a previous piece of coursework or allow pupils to look back over their portfolios, focusing on sentence/clause structure and punctuation. Ask what pattern of errors they have noticed in their own work. Focus on what they need to improve in their current draft. Revise clause structure (MC/DC/conjunction). Revise co-ordinate and subordinate clauses. (Conjunction/relative pronoun). List MCs and DCs from middle page of draft. Mark co-ordinate/subordinate and word/phrase. How many clauses are attached to MC? If too many, or too repetitive, how can they be altered? Could also revisit the idea of embedding. Use a sentence grid so pupils can see their MCs and DCs, and reflect on the patterns of usage shown. Set targets for pupils' own drafts (eg at least one DC and MC sentence; at least one sentence with an embedded subordinating clause; not more than two sentences with more than two DCs). The idea is to give them freedom to develop their own voices, but to make them reflect on sentence structure, punctuation, and the relationship between the two.

Feature Terminology Significant teaching strategies or pupil activities

Elaboration 2

Language features	Purpose: to explore, imagine, entertain
possible text types	- likely to be narrative, relying on chronology - diaries, travel-writing, biography, news stories, descriptions of place or characters - other possibilities include hypotheses, speculation on future events, speculation on alternative pasts (what if?)
word class	- verbs – probably past tense (but consistent), modal verbs for hypothesis, more active than passive - nouns – individualised participants, proper nouns, abstract nouns (emotions etc) - adjectives/adverbs – describing human characteristics, contextual, geographical features, affective, emotional, judgmental - prepositions – used to move story on, change perspective (at the ranch, beneath the floor)
clause	- variety in sentence length, short sentences for effect - use of co-ordination to give pace, move narrative forward - use of subordination to give information about who, when, why
punctuation	use of comma parenthetically for authorial aside, for extra detail
opening	- narrative 'problem' established where appropriate - theme implied - genre of story signalled - context and characters established or hinted at
ending	- shows evidence of resolution or deliberate ambiguity - makes verbal reference to the opening - may echo character or context mentioned in opening - remains consistent with genre, theme and readdresses narrative problem - provides, where appropriate, a coda
cohesion	- consistent use of tense - appropriate balance between nouns (eg character names) and pronouns - consistently chooses words to match theme, tone, formality, informality - provides right balance of knowledge given and knowledge assumed - appropriate number of, and reference to, characters, place - links paragraphs and sentences with place-related conjuncts or adverbials, as well as time-related (in the room above him, as well as the next day)
relationship with reader	- positions the reader via asides, brackets, use of passive or active voice - where appropriate, direct address through rhetorical questions - consistent viewpoint or perspective of story-teller - includes a vocabulary which carries emotions or judgements - moves at a pace that the reader can tolerate - provides enough detail to carry reader through narrative

CR07 – textual analysis

QCA (2004) Introducing the Grammar of Talk En KEY STAGES 3–4, QCA/04/129 (pp3-7), London: QCA

Generic structure		Rhetorical structure
Title	Introducing the Grammar of Talk	Title
	Preface	Subtitle
Introduction	The English national curriculum is made up of three components: speaking and listening, reading, and writing. Several recent initiatives have aimed to develop the teaching of speaking and listening both in English lessons and as a key component of other curriculum subjects. These initiatives include:	Orientation
	• Speaking, listening, learning: working with children in key stages 1 and 2 (DfES, 2003) • Giving a voice (QCA, 2003) • Year 7 – Speaking and listening bank (DfES, 2001) speaking and listening objectives in the Key objectives banks for years 7/8/9 (DfES, 2002) • Drama objectives bank (DfES, 2003) • Drama in schools (Arts Council England, 2003).	
	This publication addresses a different set of questions about talk in the classroom.	
	The main theme of this publication is what kind of shared language we can use to describe talk itself, rather than dealing with where, when or how to raise standards in spoken language.	Thesis
	It builds on New perspectives on spoken English in the classroom (QCA, 2003), which explored new approaches to teaching	Elaboration 1

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spoken English, ranging from suggestions
about defining a canon of spoken texts to
descriptions of the ways different kinds
of talk support thinking and learning. A
key paper in New perspectives drew on
extensive computerised collections of
spontaneous conversation to select core
features whose use and frequency gives us
the making of a grammatical description
of spoken language.

A group of teachers subsequently worked
with us over several terms to find ways
of teaching these features in their
classrooms and to assess their value to
existing schemes of work. Their work
forms the basis for a large part of this
publication.

Elaboration 2

Body

The approach taken in this publication is
similar to The grammar papers (QCA, 1998)
and Not whether but how (QCA, 1999).
These earlier publications surveyed
current thinking about written grammar
before putting new ideas to the test in
the classroom.

The grammatical features of spoken
English are not intended as an additional
requirement for teaching. Neither the
English national curriculum nor the key
stage 3 strategy Framework for teaching
English (DfES, 2001) sets out an explicit
set of requirements for teaching the
grammar of spoken English, although the
importance of teaching about talk is
central to both these documents.

Argument

The investigations show that systematic
ways of analysing and describing spoken

Thesis

language have beneficial spin-offs in the classroom. However, it is up to individual teachers and departments to make their own decisions about how to incorporate or adapt any of the approaches outlined here, perhaps using some of the suggestions offered in the 'Starting points and classroom procedures' section.	Restatement
Comments about this publication are welcome and should be sent to: Janet White, English team whitej@qca.org.uk QCA, 83 Piccadilly, London W1J 8QA	Elaboration
Starting points and classroom procedures	Argument
The material in this publication offers different possibilities for teachers and schools who want to review their current provision in developing opportunities for work on spoken language. Choosing a starting point depends on school circumstances, current provision, development plans and priorities.	
Here are some suggestions for starting points:	Elaboration

- make talk visible
- select a grammatical feature to teach
- embed the features in longer-term planning
- look for creative uses of spoken language in writing.

Make talk visible Most pupils are surprised and intrigued by seeing transcripts of talk. Simply recording a short discussion between pupils and transcribing a couple of minutes of it will provide material for work on any number of significant	Proposition 1

features. For example, use a brief transcript alongside the description of some of the key characteristics of spoken language in section 2. This gives pupils an opportunity to see:

- how face-to-face communication affects the language speakers use
- how speakers signal changes of topic or intention to their listeners
- the ways speakers work with 'real time' constraints to ensure that their meanings are clear.

Select a grammatical feature to teach

Read through the classroom investigations in section 4 and, with a colleague who teaches the same year group, select one feature to teach over three lessons. Follow or adapt the approaches suggested in the investigation, and compare notes on success/progress at the end of a half term.

- Were there benefits in raising the profile of spoken language in this way?
- Did pupils' ability to use the feature change significantly?
- What implications does the focus on spoken grammar have for other work in English or different parts of the curriculum?

Proposition 2

Embed the features in longer-term planning

Begin by establishing some general awareness of the nature of spoken English through informal investigative work. Then read and discuss section 3 with the whole department. Consider the possibilities for embedding the core grammatical features in schemes of work that span key stages 3 and 4.

- What are the opportunities for more explicit teaching about spoken grammar in relation to the key stage 3 Framework for teaching English objectives or as part of GCSE, along lines suggested in section 5?
- What picture of progression emerges

Proposition 3

from teaching about spoken grammar to different year groups?	

| Look for creative uses of spoken language in writing

The work of the project was based firmly on talk in its own right. Nevertheless, a total separation of spoken and written language is artificial and unhelpful. Fruitful links can be made to:

• the techniques for writing realistic dialogue and a knowledge of how actual conversation works

• how contemporary prose writers exploit characteristics of spoken language for particular effects and purposes.

Some of these stylistic choices are analysed in section 5 in the context of suggestions for classroom activities. Working with pupils on these aspects of the speech–writing continuum provides easy access to broader study of language variation. | Proposition 4 |

| Work of this kind on spoken language also prompts questions about classroom procedures. Based on your own adaptation of ideas in this publication, you may find it useful to discuss with colleagues what the work shows about the following.

• Teaching techniques – how does teachers' behaviour encourage pupils to focus on talk and encourage them to talk about talk? For example, wait time, use of questioning, body language and tone of voice.

• Evidence of pupils' learning – what does a focus on talk reveal about the way pupils learn? For example, making intuitive knowledge about language explicit, promoting clearer awareness of how to use talk effectively, and clarifying some distinctions between ways of talking and ways of writing. | Reorientation |

- Classroom management and organisation – what forms of classroom management are effective in allowing focused attention to talk? Consider, for example, particular types of groupings, investigative work in which pupils devise and follow their own questions, and collaborative working between AS/A level students and those in earlier key stages.

Introduction	Subtitles
Making talk visible	
Talk is something that most people can do very naturally and unselfconsciously. It is easy to overlook how successfully people do it and to neglect the precise nature of spoken language.	Thesis restatement
When we talk, the human mind shows a remarkable capacity for dealing with large amounts of information. The processes involved are dynamic, constantly changing and fluctuating as new meanings emerge. These processes place demands on speakers and listeners. Our ability to record, interpret, adjust to and use spoken language to create meanings, often with the mind working at very great speeds, underlines that when we speak we are using language at full stretch.	Argument
This publication focuses on the grammatical features of talk that make possible the largely unconscious agility, rapidity and subtlety of spoken language.	Reorientation
Other projects have looked at the purposes of various kinds of talk, such as spoken narratives, recounts, debating and discussion.	Problem
The investigative work of this project confirmed the value of talk in learning, but was not its main focus. We put the language of talk under the microscope and increased teachers' and pupils' knowledge	Solution

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about the grammatical organisation of talk. This approach has both direct and indirect benefits to broader teaching agendas designed to increase pupils' competence in using spoken English.

Reasons for teaching about talk	Subtitle

One aim of this work is to balance a long history of attention to written grammars and written language organisation by showing how systematically spoken language is organised.

Standpoint 1

Work with teachers and pupils has demonstrated that teaching about talk from this point of view has intrinsic interest, especially when pupils can work on their own spoken language through the use of simple transcripts or recordings.

Argument 1

Talk is also the first form of language most of us learn, but we rarely reflect on what it is that we have learnt, or whether we know enough about this basic system of communication.

Standpoint 2

Moreover, spoken language deserves attention in its own right because of the special and distinct characteristics that enable speakers to communicate complex ideas and feelings in changing and fluid environments – quite unlike the situation typical of writers composing 'in tranquillity'.

Argument 2

Spoken language works effectively by exploiting patterns of grammatical variation, such as those that foreground and emphasise main topics, heighten or tone down degrees of certainty, and check and monitor how effectively listeners are participating. Writers also make use of these same features of grammar, but the special quality of writing is seen more typically in its density of lexical content than in the intricacy of its grammar.

Elaboration

For example, in a written sentence such as 'Misbalance of functional integration of the immune system was revealed' the clause structure is simple, but the tightly packed lexical content gives a sense of complexity to the sentence. Translating such a sentence into speech would give 'We saw that there was something wrong with the balance between various functions of the immune system and the way these worked together'. At once, we have had to use more clauses to express the meaning, creating a greater grammatical complexity, while at the same time lessening the lexical density of the written sentence.

<div align="right">Example</div>

Speakers work creatively with the grammar of English all the time to shape ideas, relate to others and construct different kinds of texts, but there is no Palgrave's 'Golden treasury' of spoken English. There is no 'Oxford book' of good conversations. Compendia and collections with these kinds of titles are reserved for canonical written texts.

<div align="right">Argument</div>

Where can we find 'spoken texts' to start the process of selecting and describing the characteristics of talk?

<div align="right">Problem</div>

The best resources of spoken language data come from relatively recent bodies of recorded data – linguistic corpora – held on computers. Major collections of data, totalling over 400 million words, include the British National Corpus (BNC), Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse of English (CANCODE) and the spoken component of Collins Birmingham University International Language Database (COBUILD). Analyses of these resources offer ways of exploring and describing a basic grammar of talk, both in its particular grammatical properties and in the ways dialogues and conversations are structured.

<div align="right">Solution</div>

It is in these jointly constructed spoken texts, rather than in formal spoken presentations or solo performances, that

<div align="right">Elaboration</div>

talk is most distinctive and least like the written mode; this is the source of our current, developing understandings about the characteristic features of spoken English.

| Conclusion | This project mainly involved secondary teachers and their pupils working together on investigations into the nature of talk. The work they did highlights the following. | Thesis restatement |

- The importance of increased linguistic awareness of spoken English. The tasks designed by teachers in the project (to elicit, record or collect samples of naturally occurring talk) show the value of awareness and reflection by pupils themselves on the nature and purposes of the talk.

Argument 1

- Key pedagogical issues. Despite many differences in approach and lesson focus, the teachers' work was characterised by similar principles. These included explicit teaching about spoken language, using pupils' own talk for analysis and a decision to maintain the focus on talk rather than writing.

Argument 2

- The significance of work on spoken grammar for all pupils. In particular, for pupils learning English as an additional language, knowledge of the cluster of grammatical features highlighted in this publication could significantly enhance their fluency in talk and contribute to a clearer understanding of how interpersonal relationships are negotiated through talk.

Argument 3

- Continuities as well as contrasts between spoken and written language. There are a number of spin-offs from the close focus on some of the grammatical features of talk: in terms of sharpening pupils' awareness of why some things work in speech but not in

Argument 4

writing and vice versa; and how writers
can use distinctive features of spoken
grammar to achieve particular effects
in writing.

OR01 – textual analysis

Board of Education (1921) The Teaching of English in England (The Newbolt Report), London: HMSO

Generic structure		Rhetorical structure
Title	CHAPTER IX. SOME PARTICULAR ASPECTS OF THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH.	Title
Introduction	253. We have now, as our terms of reference required of us, considered the position of English in Educational Institutions of all types. There remain, however, certain topics, on some of which we have already touched, but which we have not been able to deal with comprehensively in the preceding chapters. To these we propose to devote the remainder of our Report.	Orientation
Body	I.-THE PROBLEM OF GRAMMAR.	Subtitle
	254. We have already shown in our Historical Retrospect* that a paramount place was given to grammar in the primary schools of the 19th century, and that, when it ceased to be a compulsory subject in 1890, it rapidly 'disappeared from all but a few schools, to the joy of children and teacher.'	Argument
	Strong representations were made to us that this reaction against grammar had proceeded too far, representations not so much from teachers of language as from those whose enthusiasm for literature was unquestionable.	Reorientation
	For example, Mr. J. E. Barton, after telling us that 'taste can only be developed by means which are positive and creative,' and that 'so far as we can	Example 1

truly speak of 'teaching' English literature at all, it must be taught by the same process which has made it,'went on as follows: 'Immense harm has been done by the well-meant discouragement of formal grammar in the elementary schools. Even clever scholarship boys are at 12 quite at sea on simple principles of sentence structure which are vital to all linguistic study. Grammar can not be satisfactorily 'picked up' in the course of learning Latin or French. Grammar drill, of the simpler kind, with analysis, should be universal, and kept in its proper place without reference to the other and higher side of English teaching. Grammar teaching and literature teaching are distinct processes. The official discouragement of formal grammar has sacrificed absolute accuracy in the old grammatical sense, without securing in return any real knowledge of literature.'

Over against this testimony may be set that of Dr. P. B. Ballard, who, speaking as an educational psychologist, declared: 'It is a demonstrable fact that Grammar is the most unpopular subject in the curriculum of the primary school, and is not much liked in the secondary school. I have convinced myself by an extensive inquiry that in the elementary school· formal grammar (a) fails to provide a general mental training, (b) does not enable the teachers to eradicate solecisms, (c) does not aid in composition, and (d) takes up time which could much more profitably be devoted to the study of literature. During the last I5 years English composition, both

Example 2

written and oral, has steadily improved in the elementary school, and this improvement has taken place concomitantly with a declining attention to grammar and an increasing attention to literature.'*

255. The testimony of these two witnesses is the more important inasmuch as we believe it to be typical. At first sight the conflict of opinion appears to be absolute.

Thesis

It is true that, when pressed, Dr. Ballard stated that his objections 'applied only to premature grammar, not to grammar taught after the age of 14, when the pupil's interest in abstract thought had begun to manifest itself and his logical powers were fairly mature.'

Elaboration

But this does not help matters very much. Mr. Barton, speaking for the secondary schools, wished the work to be done by the elementary schoolmaster; Dr. Ballard, speaking for the elementary schools, would leave the task to the secondary school. In other words, neither party likes the job, and each is anxious to shift

Argument

* Dr. Ballard has since developed this thesis in a book entitled *Teaching the Mother Tongue.*

Footnote

the responsibility for it on to the shoulders of the other. Moreover, on the topic of the right age at which to begin grammar-teaching we received the most conflicting evidence imaginable. Dr. Ballard's dictum that grammar is 'premature' in the elementary school

Argument (continued)

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makes the age of 14 the downward limit.

Other witnesses delivered themselves as follows: 'Formal grammar should not be begun until the age of 11 or 12'; 'Formal grammar lessons should be postponed until the age of 10 or 11' ; 'Children. of 8 or 9 can learn the elements of grammar'; while at least one witness gave us to understand that it was almost impossible to begin grammar too early. Equally varied was the evidence as to whether the teaching of grammar should be direct or indirect, that is to say, whether it should consist of set lessons or of such occasional treatment as arises in connection with composition work.

Facts

Finally the whole matter was complicated by the requirements of the teachers of foreign languages. Ought the English teacher to prepare the ground for his colleagues who take Latin, French, Greek, and German? Is grammar necessary for those who will not be learning any language but their own? As we shall see presently, these questions are vital, but upon them the most diverse opinions prevailed.

Problem

When a subject is thus hotly debated, and when it is difficult to discover a general consensus of opinion among practitioners upon any aspect of the matter, it is legitimate to suspect that the problem has hitherto not been sufficiently analysed or envisaged, and that the confusion of tongues arises from confusion of thought. Under such circumstances, we believe that the most useful thing we can do in this Report is to make some attempt to set the problem in its proper proportions.

Thesis restatement

256. To return to the issue between Mr. Barton and Dr. Ballard. Is it so absolute as it seems at first glance?

Orientation

Dr. Ballard told us that grammar does not provide a general mental training, or enable teachers to eradicate solecisms, or afford any help in composition work, and he argued therefrom that grammar-teaching is futile, or at the least wholly premature, in the elementary school.

Elaboration 1

On the other hand, Mr. Barton's complaint was that by neglecting grammar the elementary school is throwing aside an instrument which is 'vital to all linguistic study.'

Elaboration 2

The witnesses were using the word 'grammar' in two different senses; Dr. Ballard was attacking the old conception of grammar, as a body of rules which were supposed to be binding upon all who would speak or write 'correctly' - in short, grammar as legislation; Mr. Barton was asking the elementary school to lay the foundations of grammar, in the true sense, that is a body of facts about language in general and English in particular-in short, grammar as a science.

Argument

This divergence in meaning takes us at

Problem

once to the heart of the problem. For why do we learn or teach grammar?

The answer may be given in the words of one of our greatest living authorities on language, Professor Wyld, who writes as follows in his school text-book on grammar ;* - 'It is quite a mistaken idea to suppose that English Grammars are written to teach English people how to speak their own language.

Proposition

Men who write grammars do not suppose that they can set up a model of English speech, however much they may wish to do so. Hardly anyone, as a matter of fact, alters his way of speaking because a Grammar tells him that his way is wrong, or that another way is right. This would indeed be putting the cart before the horse. A Grammar book does not attempt to teach people how they ought to speak, but, on the contrary, unless it is a very bad or a very old work, it merely states how, as a matter of fact, certain people do speak at the time at which it is written.

Argument

The study of English Grammar is really a preparation for the careful and intelligent study of language. We, as English people, can best approach the question of what is called the structure of the language, through English.

Proposition

* Elementary Lessons in English Grammar, pp. II, 12.

Footnote

There are certain facts which are true of all languages. We can readily observe them in our own language and understand the reason of them when it is explained

Argument

to us. If we have a clear notion of these things in English, we shall not be puzzled when we come across similar occurrences in Latin, or Greek, or French, or German.'

In these temperate sentences the issue between Messrs. Ballard and Barton is resolved. If grammar is the necessary introduction to all linguistic study, then grammar must be taught to all who are to make a study of language, more particularly those who will learn the language of the Classics or of foreign countries.

Orientation 1

If, on the other hand, a knowledge of grammar does little or nothing to improve the speaking or Writing of the mother tongue, then it ceases to be essential for children who do not require any linguistic study. For practical purposes, all that will be required is the creation of a habit of correct speech, and this can be effected through the reading of literature and the writing of composition.

Orientation 2

257. Grammar of some kind, then, should be taught in either the elementary or the secondary school, or in both.

Proposition

But what of its 'unpopularity,' the 'joy of the teacher and children' when it disappeared in 1890, and the anxiety of the elementary and secondary schoolmaster to see the other man undertaking the task of teaching it? An unpopular subject is generally a subject which is badly taught, and bad teaching is almost invariably the product of misunderstanding and lack of interest. Grammar is certainly badly taught as a rule. Indeed, in the opinion of some best acquainted with the schools it is rare to hear a lesson in grammar in which the teacher does not make statements about the structure of the language which are, to say the least of it, open to question. Whence comes this lack of interest and this inaccuracy?

Problem

A partial answer is to be found in the fact that grammar is usually taught for the wrong reasons, and reasons which a growing number of teachers are coming to

Solution

see are wrong. In other words, grammar is still almost universally regarded as a body of rules governing correct speech. When Professor Wyld says, 'Men who write grammars do not suppose they can set up a model of English speech,' his leniency towards those who year by year flood the market with school text-books on grammar is generous to a fault. With the exception of his own admirable little treatise, there are very few class books on the subject which do not explicitly or implicitly 'lay down the law.' And if the text-books take this line, the teachers *a fortiori* do the same.

Conclusion   Yet, as we say, an increasing number of them are ceasing to believe that grammar exercises a beneficial influence upon the speech or written composition of their pupils. And such sceptics continue to teach it because they are expected so to do by an old fashioned headmaster, by a visiting inspector with an enthusiasm for 'mental discipline,' or by a local authority which has neglected to revise its syllabuses, or again simply because it is an examination subject.   **Reasons**

But teaching without faith is dead. Undoubtedly, therefore, an abatement of the traditional claims of grammar, a recognition that its position in the curriculum is justified because it is the essential groundwork of all linguistic study, and for no other reason, would go some way towards rehabilitating its prestige in the schools.   **Conclusion**

Board of Education (1943) Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools: The Norwood Committee Report, London: HMSO

Generic structure	Participants Human - Specific Non-specific Non-human - Specific Non-specific	Rhetorical structure
Title	(c) *English* [p68]	Subtitle
Introduction	The third element of education which we postulate is training in English, that is, clear expression in English, both spoken and written, based on the logical arrangement of ideas.	Thesis
	To such training every teacher has a contribution to make, and such contribution we hold to he of vital importance to the pupil and to the whole business of his education.	Orientation
Body	Weighty evidence presented from varied quarters, and sometimes conflicting in other respects but agreeing in this, points to the need for improvement in the training given in English in the sense in which we used the term above. It has often been urged that English is the concern of all teachers, no matter what their subject, but we are compelled to stress once again the real need that this essential obligation should be carried out.	Facts
	Why the standard of English exhibited by the average Secondary School pupil should	Reorientation

be such as to excite constant criticism has caused us much thought; special periods are set apart in the curriculum of schools for English, and a paper in English is taken by all candidates in the School Certificate Examination. In our chapter on English we set out some reasons for the failure; at this point we would draw attention to what we believe to be one of them.

Of recent years greater emphasis has been placed on the teaching of English than formerly; it forms part of the curriculum of every pupil, and the periods set aside for its special treatment have been placed in the hands of those who have made a special study of its problems. Meantime other subjects have also been placed in the hands of specialists. Thus the very provision of special periods for English and the concentration of the teaching into the hands of a few - both of which measures are justifiable in themselves - may have led to a diminution of the attention which teachers of other subjects pay to this important purpose of all education.

Facts

Argument 1

Such neglect may take place unintentionally or may arise from preoccupation with the special purposes and needs of other subjects. Yet, even from the point of view of those subjects, clear arrangement of ideas and their

Reasons

clear expression must be regarded as of the utmost value.

Conclusion   The matter can perhaps be put shortly thus: English should be the concern of every schoolmaster, as schoolmaster, no matter what his specialist subject, and he is a schoolmaster before he is the specialist teacher of another subject.   Conclusions

HMSO (1967) Children and their Primary Schools, The Plowden Report London:
HMSO, CHAPTER 17: ASPECTS OF THE CURRICULUM (p.609)

Generic structure	Participants Human - Specific Non-specific Non-human - Specific Non-specific	Rhetorical structure

Title	`The Plowden Report (1967)`
	`Children and their Primary Schools`
	`London: HMSO`
	`CHAPTER 17: ASPECTS OF THE CURRICULUM`
		Subtitle

Introduction	`609. Preparation of written work has more`
	`place in connection with the factual`
	`summaries which secondary schools will`
	`expect children to be able to write if`
	`their transfer from the primary school is`
	`deferred by a year.`
		Thesis

Body	`The child's view of what is important`
	`ought still to hold the field. Discussion`
	`is needed with individuals and groups`
	`about the kind of questions they will`
	`want to answer on an 'interest' or`
	`'topic' and the ways in which material`
	`can best be ordered.`
		Orientation 1

	`In all types of writing, children will`
	`need tactful help in conveying their`
	`meaning and in the craftsmanship of`
	`writing. Ideally, it is best given orally`
	`to individuals, but the size of classes`
	`may make some written comment necessary`
	`and it may help to fix a point in a`
	`child's mind.`
		Argument 1

	`Care should always be taken not to` `discourage children, particularly the`	Proposition 1

younger and the less able, by too much
criticism. What should children be told
about their work? They ought to know if
they have succeeded in sharing their
meaning and, however tactfully, what
impact the meaning made. Teachers should,
that is to
[page 222]
say, be at least as much concerned with
the content as with the manner of what is
said. They should be quick to notice an
absurd combination of natural phenomena
on a spring morning or bombs facilely
disposed of by opening a plane window
(though this kind of nonsense is usually
the product of an imposed subject).

Often the probing question is the best   Elaboration
comment. Some 'correction', if so
inadequate a word must be used, should be
directed towards inaccuracies, not so
much the careless slips that everyone
makes throughout life, as the repeated
errors in sentence construction, in
punctuation and in spelling which get in
the way of communication. Similarly such
techniques as paragraphing can be taught
when it can be made clear to children
that the technique will serve their
purpose in writing. With the abler
children, there is room for some concern
about form and style so long as it does
not make children self-conscious.

610. Any follow-up of written work should   Recommend-
be tailored to individual and group   ation 1
needs. The NFER survey has shown that

there is relatively little group teaching in English, except in reading. Some schools provide assignment cards to correct specific weaknesses, and references to a single exercise or two in an English course book that can serve a similar purpose. Programmed texts are likely to be developed which can be similarly used to help individuals to correct errors in those particular matters in which they have difficulty. There is no sense in classes working systematically through books of exercises. Much money is wasted on these books which would be better spent in building up school libraries. Much time also is wasted by children on English course books. They learn to write by writing and not by exercises in filling in missing words.

611. The growth of the study of linguistics, with its interest in describing and analysing how language works, the differences between written and spoken language and the influence of language on children's thought and mental development, will no doubt come to be reflected in teachers' courses and in classroom techniques.

Orientation 2

Already the linguist has done a good deal to clarify the vexed question of the role of grammar in teaching English by his distinction between 'prescriptive' and

Argument 2

'descriptive' grammar. Speech is how people speak, not how some authority thinks they ought to speak. The test of good speech is whether any particular use of language is effective in the context in which it is used, not whether it conforms to certain 'rules'.

612. The Schools Council's 'Project English' will study among other questions the lessons that linguistics has to offer to teachers, and its findings will be awaited with interest.

Recommend-ation 2

In the meantime we offer the following propositions for the consideration of teachers:

(a) Children are interested in words, their shape, sound, meaning and origin and this interest should be exploited in all kinds of incidental ways. Formal study of grammar will have little place in the primary school, since active and imaginative experience and use of the language should precede attempts to analyse grammatically how language behaves.

Proposition 2

(b) The time for grammatical analysis will come but it should follow a firmly laid foundation of experience of the spoken and written language. When 'rules' or generalisations are discussed these should be 'induced' from the child's own knowledge of the usage of the language. The theory of grammar that is studied should describe the child's language and

Proposition 3

not be a

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theory based on Latin, many of whose
categories, inflexions, case systems,
tenses and so on do not exist in English.

(c) While there is no question of the
teaching of linguistics in the primary
school, some work in linguistics at
colleges of education or in refresher
courses will help teachers to a sound
view of how language works.

Proposition 4

Conclusion

613. There has been since the war such
progress in the teaching of English that
it might have been thought that, with
Project English on the way, we might have
treated it more briefly. But English
permeates the whole curriculum as it
permeates the whole of life. We cannot
afford to slacken in advancing the power
of language which is the 'instrument of
society' and a principal means to
personal maturity.

Conclusion

OR04 – textual analysis

HMSO (1975) A Language for Life (The Bullock Report) Literacy in theory and practice, London: HMSO (Section 11.15)

Generic structure	Participants Human - Specific Non-specific Non-human - Specific Non-specific	Rhetorical structure
Title	LANGUAGE STUDY	Subtitle
Introduction	11.15 For many people language study means the study of grammar, and this word featured prominently in the evidence, particularly the evidence of those witnesses who felt that standards of writing had fallen.	Orientation
	What are the effects of grammar teaching on the ability to write? How much grammar should be taught, at what ages, and how? What, for that matter, is meant by grammar in the sense intended by those who suggest there should be more of it?	Thesis
Body	In our discussions with teachers it became obvious that the term was often being used to include sentence construction, précis, paragraphing, vocabulary work, punctuation, and more besides. 'Grammar' has, of course, a highly specific and technical meaning, which we might roughly characterise as an analytical study of those formal arrangements of items in a language by which utterances have meaning. What is under discussion here, however, has a wider concern.	Reorientation

It is the degree to which language study
of several kinds, and practice arising
from study, can be effective in improving
a pupil's ability to use language in
general.

Thesis
Restatement

It is a central recommendation of this
chapter that the teacher should take
deliberate measures to improve his
pupil's ability to handle language.

Argument

The point at issue is what form these
should take, and this is a question to
which we have given much consideration.

Elaboration

11.16 The traditional view of language
teaching was, and indeed in many schools
still is, prescriptive. It identified a
set of correct forms and prescribed that
these should be taught. As they were
mastered the pupil would become a more
competent writer and aspire to a standard
of 'correctness' that would serve him for
all occasions.

Standpoint

Such a prescriptive view of language was
based on a comparison with classical
Latin, and it also mistakenly assumed an
unchanging quality in both grammatical
rules and word meaning in English.

Argument

In fact the view still prevails. Letters
to the press are rarely more fierce than
when complaining of the way in which a
particular word is being misused or used

Elaboration

in a new sense. 'Brutalise' and
'hopefully' are two recent examples, and
there are many precedents. Dr Johnson
tried to eliminate 'fun', 'clever',
'budge', and 'mob'; and it is ironical
that the very word Swift

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used for fixing the language in a
permanent and authorised condition was
'ascertain', which has completely altered
its meaning since his day.

One may regret some of the changes, which   Rebuttal
can deprive the language of valuable
distinctions. One may decide to resist
them and insist on keeping to existing
forms, and this is natural and
understandable. But if change is to occur
it will in due time occur, since growth
and change are essential characteristics
of a language.

Writing less than a hundred years ago   Example
Trollope used the past participle
'gotten'; if it were uttered today it
would be rejected as an intrusive
Americanism.

As one commentator has colourfully put   Elaboration
it: 'The living language is like a
cowpath; it is the creation of the cows
themselves, who, having created it,
follow it or depart from it according to
their whims and needs'. Montaigne said as

much in the 16th century, when he remarked that only a fool would fight custom with grammar.

Many of the rules in use today were invented quite arbitrarily by grammarians in the 17th and 19th centuries, including the embargo on the split infinitive and on the ending of a sentence with a preposition. Before the 18th century they are both to be found in common use, along with other constructions proscribed today. John Donne regularly split infinitives, and Burns was no stranger to the practice.

<div style="text-align:right">Reorientation</div>

In a letter to *The Times* in 1907, Bernard Shaw wrote: 'There is a busybody on your staff who devotes a lot of time to chasing split infinitives. Every good literary craftsman splits his infinitives when the sense demands it. I call for the immediate dismissal of this pedant. It is of no consequence whether he decides to go quickly, or quickly to go, or to quickly go. The important thing is that he should go at once.' And, of course, there is Churchill's famous note in which he expressed his impatience with those who always struggled to avoid ending sentences with prepositions: 'This is the sort of English up with which I will not put'.

<div style="text-align:right">Examples</div>

11.17 We give these examples not to

<div style="text-align:right">Standpoint</div>

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suggest a free-for-all, but to put prescriptive attitudes in perspective. One of the disadvantages of the prescriptive approach to language teaching is its negative aspect.

Ironically, many of these manufactured additions to the language took on a special status in school textbooks, which often put the emphasis less on knowing what to say than on knowing what to avoid. Pupils not too certain of their ability with language would thus be looking for the gins and snares, to the equal detriment of their confidence and their writing.

Argument

This kind of teaching has often inhibited a child's utterance without strengthening the fabric of his language. It has nurtured in many the expectation of failure and drilled others in what they already knew.

Elaboration

11.18 More fundamental, however, is the question of whether exercises in themselves and by themselves will improve the child's ability to write.

Thesis Restatement

Since the beginning of this century a good deal of research has been devoted to this subject, and though many believe its results to be inconclusive some of the individual experiments have carried much conviction.

Argument

One (4) such study is particularly worth   Example
singling out for attention. One class in
each of five schools was taught formal
grammar over a period of two years, a
corresponding class in each school having
no grammar lessons during that time. The
latter took instead what might be
described as a 'composition course',
consisting of practice in writing,
revising, and editing, and an inductive
approach to usage. At the end of the
period both groups were given a writing
test and a

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grammar test. In the writing test the
'non-grammar' classes gained
significantly higher scores than the
'grammar' classes, and overall there was
no effective correspondence between high
scores in the grammar test and
improvement in writing.

11.19 We do not conclude from this that a   Standpoint
child should not be taught how to improve
his use of language; quite the contrary.
It has not been established by research
that systematic attention to skill and
technique has no beneficial effect on the
handling of language.

What has been shown is that the teaching   Argument
of traditional analytic grammar does not
appear to improve performance in writing.

This is not to suggest that there is no place for any kind of exercises at any time and in any form. It may well be that a teacher will find this a valuable means of helping an individual child reinforce something he has learned.

What is questionable is the practice of setting exercises for the whole class, irrespective of need, and assuming that this will improve every pupil's ability to handle English. What is also open to question is the nature of some of these exercises, where pupils are asked to fill in the blanks in sentences, convert masculine into feminine forms and singular into plural, insert collective nouns and give lists of opposites.

Examples we saw included such tasks as: Change all words of masculine gender to words of feminine gender in '*Mr* Parker's *father*-in-law was a bus *conductor*'; and: add the missing word in 'As hungry as a ......', 'As flat as a ......'.

It would be unjust to say that all the exercises in current use take this trivial form; but it is certainly true that an unwarrantably large number of them demand little more than one-word answers and afford no opportunity for the generation of language. Most give the child no useful insight into language and many actually mislead him.

HMSO (1988) Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Teaching of English Language (The Kingman Report), London: HMSO (p.27)

Generic Structure		Rhetorical structure
Title	The teaching of language	Title
Introduction	27. Widely divergent views are now held on the value of the formal elements of knowledge about language, Many people believe that standards in our use of English would rise dramatically if we returned to the formal teaching of grammar which was normal practice in most classrooms before 1960. Others believe that explicit teaching or learning of language structure is unnecessary.	Orientation Facts
Body	We believe that both these extreme viewpoints are misguided. Research evidence suggests that old fashioned formal teaching of grammar had a negligible, or, because it replaced some instruction and practice in composition, even a harmful, effect on the development of original writing. We do not recommend a return to that kind of grammar teaching.	Argument
	It was based on a model of language derived from Latin rather than English. However, we believe that for children not to be taught anything about language is seriously to their disadvantage.	Reason
	28. Many teachers of English suspect that	Facts

explicit talk about how language works may inhibit a child's natural abilities in speaking and in writing. The Bullock Report stated (Chapter 12) that, 'In general, a curriculum subject, philosophically speaking, is a distinctive mode of analysis. While many teachers recognise that their aim is to initiate a student in a particular mode of analysis, they rarely recognise the linguistic implications of doing so'.

Since the publication of the Bullock Report, many subject departments in secondary schools have moved their thinking to pay attention to this notion to the extent that the phrase 'Language across the curriculum', used to designate that movement, has been assimilated into educational jargon. But it should apply not only to subjects other than English.

Orientation

There is no reason why the subject of the English language should not be discussed like any other. We believe that within English as a subject, pupils need to have their attention drawn to what they are doing and why they are doing it because this is helpful to the development of their language ability.

Thesis

It is important, however, to state that helping pupils to notice what they are doing is a subtle process which requires the teacher to intervene constructively and at an appropriate time.

Reorientation

Awareness of the forms of language is an entirely natural development. People using language in daily life often make reference to their own language usages, and to those of others. They comment on what is said or written, discuss whether they like or dislike the form, as well as the content, of what they hear and read. People in general are curious about the workings of language, and English lessons should build on that curiosity. Children in particular are fascinated by word games - by puns, backslang, tongue-twisters, conundrums, double meanings, anagrams, palindromes, etymologies and 'secret' languages. If a move from spontaneous practice to considered reflection is sensitively handled by the teacher, it becomes quite natural to talk about language in classrooms.

Argument

If a pupil keeps on omitting main verbs from sentences, it is inefficient to keep on drawing attention to specific omissions, when by understanding that there is a word class (i.e. verb), which functions as the nucleus of each sentence, the pupil can in future check the presence of a verb for himself. If a pupil is having difficulty with pronouns, scattering words such as *she* or *they* or *them* throughout a text, providing inadequate guidance as to what *she, they* or *them* refers to, it is clearly of importance that the pupil begin to apply a general rule of reference which implies the knowledge of the relationship of pronoun to noun. Since, therefore, teacher and pupil need, in discussion, a word which refers to a class of terms (i.e. pronouns) there is no good reason not to use that term.

Examples

Teachers and pupils, in the process of editing and redrafting written work, will be helped by descriptive technical language to talk about it, using terms such as word, sentence or paragraph Then it is likely that good progress will be made teaching language must involve talking about language, since learning without that activity is slow, inefficient and inequitable (in that it

Reason

favours those whose ability enable them to generalise without tuition).

30. The evidence we have received stresses that these terms must be acquired mainly through an exploration of the language pupils use, rather than through exercises out of context. Pupils whose language experiences have made them confident only in personal and colloquial modes need practice in meeting a range of graduated demands, under careful guidance, with much personal support.	Argument
Before 1960, it was usual to overemphasise parts of speech, sentence structure and punctuation and to teach these through exercises unrelated to the child's real needs. There are schools where this still goes on. At the other extreme, pupils follow programmes of work in English which involve much listening, speaking, reading and writing, in contexts and for purposes which engage their interests and extend their skill in using language, but do not exploit the learning opportunities fully because they are related to an inadequate framework of ideas about language.	Facts
Information about language structure is most effectively made explicit at the moment when it is useful in rea1 communication so that he explicit statement consolidates the implicit awareness and effective learning occurs.	Reason
Standard English 31. In paragraph 5 of this chapter, we spoke of the necessity for a standard language as adults move from their localised speech communities into a wider world. This must be the language which we have in common, which we call Standard English.	Reorientation
All of us can have only partial access to Standard English: the language itself exists like a great social bank on which we all draw and to which we all contribute. As we grow older, and encounter a wider range of experience, we encounter more of the language, but none	Argument

of us is ever going to know and use all the words in the Oxford English Dictionary, which is itself being constantly updated, nor are we going to produce or to encounter all possible combinations of the structures which are permissible in English.

When children go to school for the first time, their language may differ in many respects from Standard English, depending on where they live, their parents' speech habits, and so on. This is natural and proper and a source of richness. However, one of the schools' duties is to enable children to acquire Standard English, which is their right. This is not a matter of controversy: no item of evidence received by the Committee contained disagreement with this point.

Elaboration

32. It is important to be clear about the nature of Standard English. It developed from one of the Middle English dialects (East Midlands - the dialect first printed by Caxton) to become the written form used by all writers of English, no matter which dialect area they come from. It is the fact of being the written form which establishes it as the standard. And it is the fact of being the written form which means that it is used not only in Britain but by all writers of English throughout the world, with remarkably little variation.

Facts

33. Since it holds this important role in the written form, it is also used to communicate across local areas and between regions in a spoken form. In its spoken form it may be pronounced with many different regional accents - e.g. Devon, Cheshire, Midlands, Northumbrian, East Anglian. And it is also spoken far beyond these islands in Australian, American, Jamaican and Indian accents, as well as by speakers using English as a foreign language and speaking it with Japanese or Brazilian or Russian accents. There is one accent of English which is used by a minority of speakers in Britain called 'Received Pronunciation', which developed in the nineteenth century in

Argument

the public schools and universities and was, between the wars, particularly associated with the BBC. This accent is the standard for foreign students of English in Britain, but is not used as the model of English pronunciation in British schools, since speakers may be rightly proud of their regional pronunciation, which identifies where they come from.

34, Dialects of English are typically spoken rather than written down, They are spoken with local, regional accents, ('Accent' refers only to features of pronunciation, whereas 'dialect' implies regular grammatical patterns and distinctive vocabulary which characterise the language of a particular area and distinguish it from its neighbours and from Standard English.) There are no conventions for writing dialects. It is largely for this reason, and to communicate with others in the wider world, that dialect speakers also learn the standard language.	Facts
35. Spoken language and written language both have regular patterns and forms. Most of these, of course, they have in common. There is no sentence structure in English which is incapable of being used in both speech and writing. The same is true of words. Nevertheless, the structure of these forms is influenced by the relationship between those who use them to communicate.	Facts
36. Both speaker and listener must make assumptions about each other's attitude, vocabulary, intentions and range of reference, but they are able to change and elaborate these assumptions as a conversation proceeds. Conversation is a joint production.	Argument
The spoken language is typically more allusive, put together in shorter sentences and phrases, using vaguer, less specific terms than are usually found in writing. *(I mean, you see, this sort of thing.)* This is partly because speaker and listener share a context;	Facts

it is partly because they cannot check backwards or refer forwards in their discussion or description as a reader and writer can.

Point 1

37. Writers too must make assumptions about the knowledge and attitude of their readers, but they must also make provision for the fact that they are addressing someone who is not present, whose immediate reactions cannot be gauged, and for whom cross-references, connections of thought and relations of elements of language such as pronouns and verbs must be made clear and unambiguous.

Point 2

Conclusion

38. Forms of written language have in the past been much more extensively studied than those of speech. There has been considerable recent interest in the spoken language both among professional students of language and in the classroom, where spoken work is encouraged, discussed and indeed assessed. Our proposed model takes account of the forms and patterns of both speech and writing. Since it is a model of language *in use,* it has had to take into account the ways in which speech and writing vary according to social uses, historical development, and the relationship between intellectual and linguistic growth.

Conclusion 1

39. In the next chapter we present a model of English. There can be no such thing as *the* model. Constant flux is inherent in the nature of language. The word 'language' is an abstraction: it subsumes all the means by which human beings communicate in vocal or written forms with each other. As human beings and their relationships change, so does their language. Moreover, because language serves as many purposes as there are needs for communication, any model of language must be, to a greater or lesser extent, *specific.*

Conclusion 2

NCC (1990) National Curriculum English: The Case for Revising the Order, York: National Curriculum Council. (Sections 26 – 41)

Generic Structure	Participants Human - Specific Non-specific Non-human - Specific Non-specific	Rhetorical structure
Title	Knowledge about language and the teaching of spelling and grammar	Title
Introduction	26 The thinking of the National Curriculum Working Group was influenced by the Committee of Inquiry into the Teaching of English Language which preceded it. This was set up by the then Secretary of State, Kenneth Baker, under the chairmanship of Sir John Kingman. The Committee was asked, inter alia, to recommend what pupils should be taught about language at ages 7, 11 and 16.	Facts
	The background to this request was a concern about inadequate standards in English, and the absence of professional unity amongst teachers of English about what they and their pupils should know about language.	Argument
	The English Order reflects the Kingman Committee's view that pupils should be taught about language.	Thesis
	Kingman rejected, however, a return to the 'old fashioned formal teaching of grammar' and sought, instead, to develop an understanding of how language works by encouraging the pupil to reflect on the effectiveness of his/her own writing. This approach was to be complemented by some explicit teaching about, for example, how language varies according to structure, purpose, regional or social group. Language teaching emerged in the English Order as Knowledge about Language (KAL).	Elaboration
Body	27 Professor Cox and the National Curriculum Working Group always recognised that its recommendations on this strand were the most innovative aspect of National Curriculum English. The Working Group stated 'that the NCC should periodically review the structure of the	Orientation

English curriculum' with a view to testing the efficacy of the KAL strand. The inclusion of this strand has resulted in more attention being paid to knowledge about language.

Nevertheless, early work by the Warwick University team emphasises the need for such a review and is particularly critical of the fact that requirements about what children should know about language do not begin until level 5. The Warwick study cites evidence that Key Stage 1 teachers believe 'that the KAL thread in the English Order needs to be signalled much more clearly than it is at present'. Teachers interviewed by the Warwick team about what constitutes KAL 'were unable to find any helpful explanation' in the current Order.	Problem
28 HMI evidence on Key Stage 3 indicates that, while KAL is receiving greater attention than previously, pupils still need to develop a better understanding of grammatical terms. Part of the problem is that the Order, as it is currently drafted, takes a broad view of what children should know about the way in which language works. Teachers can give equal weight, for example, to studies of accent and dialect, on the one hand, and to the teaching of grammatical terms and syntax, on the other.	Argument 1
29 The Order does make reference (in both the statements of attainment and the programmes of study) to the need to be able to write grammatically (for example, at level 8 in AT3 pupils are required to 'make an assured and selective use of a wide range of grammatical constructions, which are appropriate for topic, purpose and audience').	Facts / Elaboration
But level 8 is beyond the range of the majority of pupils and the emphasis throughout the programmes of study is on the development of grammatical understanding 'in the context of discussion' about the pupils' 'own writing'. Nowhere is this essential understanding defined with any precision. Pupils in Key Stage 3 are, for example, expected to be able to use 'those	Problem restatement

grammatical structures which are characteristic of written language'. No further illumination is given.

30 Spelling is treated in a similar way, and it is significant that HMI, in their most recent report, have noted that the range of ways in which spelling could be taught was not always adequately covered in Key Stage 2 classrooms.	Argument 2
The Spelling attainment target ends at level 4, and while there are references in attainment targets 4/5 (Presentation) to spelling up to level 7, there are very few references in the programmes of study for Key Stages 3 and4 to those activities which improve pupils' ability to spell.	Facts / Elaboration
The problem is, again, that those references which do occur are lost in a variety of other more prominent requirements and tend to labour the point that spelling should be taught in 'the context of the children's own writing'. While useful work can and should be done through attention to what the child has written, there are other classroom activities which can involve children in an enthusiastic manner and help develop their spelling ability. The Order makes no reference to any such activities.	Problem restatement

THE CASE FOR AND AGAINST CHANGE

<div style="text-align:right">Subtitle</div>

31 There are four arguments against changing the Order. The first and most fundamental is that the Order provides a perfectly satisfactory basis for the teaching of English and does not, therefore, need to be changed. The second is that there is as yet insufficient evidence to come to a judgement, and that, whatever the Order's strengths and weaknesses, the timing is wrong. The third is that even if there are problems, a decision to revise the Order would be counterproductive in that it would undermine teachers' morale and prejudice the progress which has been made since the introduction of the Order. The fourth is that, if changes are thought to be necessary, then these changes are best accomplished through the publication of new guidance materials. Each of these	Problem elaboration

points is considered in paragraphs 32-40 below.

32 We have given very careful consideration to the argument that the Order is sound and does not need change. We are confident that each of the approaches outlined in paragraph *6* has a contribution to make to the teaching of English. In particular, we agree with the National Curriculum Working Group that the English curriculum must emphasise 'the relationship between language and learning in the individual child', and, given the major contribution which this subject should make to moral understanding and cultural appreciation, 'the role of literature in developing children's imaginative and aesthetic lives'. It is clear, moreover, from evidence presented by HMI and the National Association for the Teaching of English and National Association of Advisers in English that the publication of statements of attainment and programmes of study in speaking and listening, reading, writing, spelling and handwriting has resulted in an increase in professional understanding, in better planning,_in more purposeful teaching, and in more comprehensive approaches to assessment and record keeping.	Solution
33 The question we have sought to answer is, however: does the Order provide the best possible basis for standards in speaking and listening, reading and writing to improve?	Thesis restatement
It is our considered judgement that the Order does not define the essential knowledge and skills which English teaching should promote with sufficient clarity and that there is, therefore, a case for revision. Such a revision must develop the strengths of the current Order, but should ensure that objectives within the key areas of learning to speak and write confidently and accurately, to read fluently and to encounter a wide range of literature are defined more explicitly and rigorously.	Proposition
34 In particular, we consider that:	Reasons

- AT1 (Speaking and Listening is critical

to the development of the communication kills which all children should master. The current Order does not, however, place sufficient emphasis on the requirement that all pupils (irrespective of the level towards which they are working) should become confident users of standard English. Neither does it stress the need for pupils to develop skills of close and attentive listening;

- AT2 (Reading neither defines the skills involved in learning to read with sufficient precision nor provides teachers with a clear and balanced framework to support the teaching of initial reading. It should, in addition, pay greater attention to the development of more advanced reading skills;

- the programmes of study for literature are not sufficiently explicit about how pupils can best develop the habit of reading widely, and, as they mature, encounter texts which introduce them to the richness of great literature;

- AT3 (Writing) does not offer a clear definition of basic writing skills, the grammatical knowledge pupils must master if they are to become effective writers, and the variety of ways in which competence in spelling can be developed;

- the present separation of spelling (AT4) and handwriting (ATS) from AT3 implies that the mechanics of writing are in some way separate from the whole process of written communication They are, in addition, unnecessarily complex for assessment purposes.

35 It is important to emphasise that this analysis should not be interpreted by those who support the current Order as in any sense a rejection of the positive aspects of the Order to which they have rightly drawn our attention. The underlying rationale of the Order (as defined in paragraph 6) remains. English teaching must, above all else, be about fostering the child's ability to use

Thesis restatement

language purposefully and creatively. It must encourage the powers of the imagination and promote spiritual, moral and cultural understanding.

There is no conflict between these objectives and our judgement that the skills and knowledge involved in speaking and listening, reading and writing need to be defined more rigorously and explicitly. That definition will, in our view, serve to ensure that these fundamental objectives are fulfilled more effectively.	Reason
36 We have focused throughout this review on the question of whether the Order provides the best possible basis for meeting the objectives of the Education Reform Act and the revisions we propose in paragraph 41 below are designed to meet these specific curriculum problems. We note, however, that both SEAC and GCSE boards are finding it difficult to devise valid and reliable tests to assess the Order's requirements.	Argument
The Chairman of SEAC has also drawn our attention to problems caused by the Order's failure to define key knowledge and skills with sufficient precision. Assessment considerations should never, in our judgement, in themselves determine the nature of the curriculum. We, nevertheless, consider that these assessment difficulties will be met if the arguments we have advanced on curriculum grounds for the need to provide more precise definitions of the essential skill which the English curriculum must promote are accepted.	Reason
37 We have also given careful consideration to the three further questions identified in paragraph 31 on the case against change: should a decision to revise the Order be delayed until further evidence about implementation has been gathered? What is the likely impact of such a decision on teacher morale? Is it possible to resolve the difficulties we have identified through the publication of new guidance materials?	Problem
38 There is already a range of evidence (from Warwick, HMI, the National Associations for the Teaching of English	Argument

and of Advisers in English and Council's own monitoring) about the strengths and weaknesses of the Order, and, in our judgement, the issues are sufficiently clear for a decision to be taken on the case for change. If the Order is to be revised, then further empirical evidence from Warwick and elsewhere can be incorporated into the definition of new proposals and used to illuminate thinking during the statutory consultation.

The process of revision will also allow full opportunity for groups such as the National Association for the Teaching of English, which have already submitted helpful evidence, to offer their particular insights and judgements. We are not, therefore, persuaded by the argument that it is too early to decide whether the Order should be revised.

Solution

39   On the issue of teacher morale, we recognise that continuous changes to the curriculum undermine confidence and that teachers have, for the most part, welcomed the Order.

Problem

In our view, however, these are arguments for the sensitive management of change, not for delaying a decision to revise the Order. The National Curriculum Orders must provide the basis for delivering the objectives of the Education Reform Act by defining the essential knowledge, skills and understanding of each subject.

Argument

It is important, moreover, to emphasise that the changes we propose build upon the strength of the existing Order by defining the essential skills which most teachers would recognise and support as the basis for good teaching. We wish, in short, to promote the positive developments which have already begun.

Solution

40   Council has, finally, given careful consideration to the argument that the problems we have identified could be solved by revising the NSG rather than the Order itself.

Problem

New guidance (on, for example, the teaching of spelling, initial reading and grammar) will certainly be necessary to

Elaboration

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support teachers in the implementation of the revisions we propose and to ensure that successful practice is spread throughout the education system. The issues we have identified, however, lie at the heart of the knowledge, skills and understanding which the English Order should promote and belong, therefore, within the statutory framework which defines the teaching of English. Guidance is non-statutory and can be overlooked or ignored.

We conclude, therefore, that revisions to the Order are required.

THE SCOPE FOR CHANGE

41 In the light of the above discussion, we recommend a revision of the English Order in order to:

- strengthen the programmes of study and statements of attainment for speaking and listening in all key stages so that they focus on the requirement that pupils become confident and articulate users of standard English, offer a clear definition of standard English and give greater emphasis to the development of listening skills;

- revise the programmes of study and statements of attainment in relation to the early teaching of reading (Key Stage 1) so that the knowledge and skills involved in initial reading are defined more precisely and rigorously;

- make explicit in the programmes of study and statements of attainment the requirements for the teaching of more advanced reading skills (Key Stage 2);

- revise the programme of study for reading to provide a more coherent and balanced framework drawing upon the full range of methods which should be used in the teaching of initial reading;

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.   make the requirement that pupils should
    develop an understanding and
    appreciation of literature more
    precise.

SC05 – textual analysis

DfES/QCA (2004) The National Curriculum, Handbook for secondary teachers in England, Key Stages 3 and 4 (p.50)

Generic structure	Participants Human - Specific Generic Non-human - Specific Generic	Rhetorical structure
Title	English key stage 3	Title
	En3 Writing	Subtitle
Introduction	Writing: during key stage 3 pupils develop confidence in writing for a range of purposes. They develop their own distinctive styles and recognise the importance of writing with commitment and vitality. They learn to write correctly, using different formats, layouts and ways of presenting their work.	Thesis
	Note for 1d The variety of narrative structures includes the use of words, sound and images. 1h - ICT opportunity Pupils could make choices of font style and size and whether to use bold, italics or bullets in presenting their work.	Elaboration
Body	Note for 2a Planning and revising can be done simultaneously when working on screen. En3 Writing Knowledge, skills and understanding Composition	Subtitle
	1 Pupils should be taught to draw on their reading and knowledge of linguistic and literary forms when composing their writing. Pupils should be taught to:	Argument 1
	Writing to imagine, explore, entertain a draw on their experience of good fiction, of different poetic forms and of reading, watching and performing in plays b use imaginative vocabulary and varied linguistic and literary techniques c exploit choice of language and structure to achieve particular effects and appeal	Elaboration 1

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to the reader
d use a range of techniques and different
ways of organising and structuring
material to convey ideas, themes and
characters

Writing to inform, explain, describe e form sentences and paragraphs that express connections between information and ideas precisely [for example, cause and effect, comparison] f use formal and impersonal language and concise expression g consider what the reader needs to know and include relevant details h present material clearly, using appropriate layout, illustrations and organisation	Elaboration 2
Writing to persuade, argue, advise i develop logical arguments and cite evidence j use persuasive techniques and rhetorical devices k anticipate reader reaction, counter opposing views and use language to gain attention and sustain interest	Elaboration 3
Writing to analyse, review, comment l reflect on the nature and significance of the subject matter m form their own view, taking into account a range of evidence and opinions n organise their ideas and information, distinguishing between analysis and comment o take account of how well the reader knows the topic.	Elaboration 4
Planning and drafting 2 To improve and sustain their writing, pupils should be taught to: a. plan, draft, redraft and proofread their work on paper and on screen b. judge the extent to which any or all of these processes are needed in specific pieces of writing c. analyse critically their own and others' writing.	Argument 2
Punctuation 3 Pupils should be taught to use the full range of punctuation marks correctly to signal sentence structure, and to help the reader.	Argument 3

Spelling	Argument 4

4 Pupils should be taught to:

a. increase their knowledge of regular patterns of spelling, word families, roots of words and derivations, including stem, prefix, suffix, inflection
b. apply their knowledge of word formation
c. spell increasingly complex polysyllabic words that do not conform to regular patterns
d. check their spelling for errors and use a dictionary when necessary
e. use different kinds of dictionary, thesaurus and spellchecker.

Handwriting and presentation	Argument 5

5 Pupils should be taught to write with fluency and, when required, speed. In presenting final polished work, pupils should be taught to:

a. ensure that work is neat and clear
b. write legibly, if their work is handwritten
c. make full use of different presentational devices where appropriate.

Standard English	Argument 6

6 Pupils should be taught about the variations in written standard English and how they differ from spoken language, and to distinguish varying degrees of formality, selecting appropriately for a task.

Language structure	Argument 7

7 Pupils should be taught the principles of sentence grammar and whole-text cohesion and use this knowledge in their writing. They should be taught:

a. word classes or parts of speech and their grammatical functions	Elaboration

b. the structure of phrases and clauses and how they can be combined to make complex sentences [for example, coordination and subordination]
c. paragraph structure and how to form different types of paragraph
d. the structure of whole texts, including cohesion, openings and conclusions in different types of writing [for example, through the use of verb tenses, reference chains]
e. the use of appropriate grammatical

terminology to reflect on the meaning
and clarity of individual sentences
[for example, nouns, verbs, adjectives,
prepositions, conjunctions, articles].

Note for 4e
Using spellcheckers involves understanding
both their uses and their limitations.

5c - ICT opportunity
Pupils could use a variety of ways to
present their work, including using
pictures and
moving images as well as print.

Note for 9
Written texts are shaped by choices of
purpose, form and reader. These elements
are
interdependent so that, for example, forms
are adapted to the writer's aim and the
intended reader.

Breadth of study   Argument 8
8 During the key stage, pupils should be
taught the Knowledge, skills and
understanding through addressing the
following range of purposes, readers and
forms of writing.

9 The range of purposes for writing should Argument 9
include:

a. a to imagine, explore and entertain,
   focusing on creative, aesthetic and
   literary
   uses of language. The forms for such
   writing should be drawn from different
   kinds of stories, poems, playscripts,
   autobiographies, screenplays, diaries
b. to inform, explain and describe,
   focusing on conveying information and
   ideas clearly. The forms for such
   writing should be drawn from memos,
   minutes, accounts, information
   leaflets, prospectuses, plans, records,
   summaries
c. to persuade, argue and advise, focusing
   on presenting a case and influencing
   the reader. The forms for such writing
   should be drawn from brochures,
   advertisements, editorials, articles
   and letters conveying opinions,
   campaign literature, polemical essays
d. to analyse, review and comment,
   focusing on considered and evaluative

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views of ideas, texts and issues. The
forms for such writing should be drawn
from reviews, commentaries, articles,
essays, reports.

10 Pupils should also be taught to use   Argument 10
writing for thinking and learning [for
example, for hypothesising, paraphrasing,
summarising, noting].

11 The range of readers for writing should   Argument 11
include specific, known readers, a large,
unknown readership and the pupils
themselves.

Appendix E NVivo categories devised in the data analysis

Appendix E(i)   NVivo categories and definitions for 'The Discourse of Heritage and Authority' (Chapter 5)

The Discourse of Heritage and Authority

The Perspective of Prescriptivism and Rules

- Narrowing rationales for grammar
- Indications of prescriptive grammar
- Grammar as rules for language competency

The Perspective of Cultural and Literary Heritage

- The cultural heritage of grammar

The perspective of Professional Knowledge and Competency

- Who is prepared to teach grammar?
- Teachers who can maintain traditions of grammar teaching
- Grammar textbooks and professional development

Definitions for the Discourse of Heritage and Authority

This discourse title is drawn from three recurrent themes in the data that assert

grammar's place in English and literacy curricula, namely 'authority', 'heritage' and

'competency'.

Authority

Official claims for grammar as an 'authoritative' dimension of language is defined by

Milroy & Milroy (1999) as the values imputed to certain forms of the language itself.

Milroy & Milroy claim language authority is (i) the social power drawn from using

certain prestige forms of language in daily life, and (ii) the power to choose prestige

forms of language, through prescriptive 'judgements made about "correct" or

"incorrect" use of English . . . [related] to the phenomenon of standardisation' (Milroy

and Milroy, 1999:vii). Defined in Weberian sociological terms such 'authority' would

be the legitimate use of power to achieve social compliance for the curriculum and its content: that is to say (i) power as coercion, surveillance and sanctions, and (ii) power as permission (Lukes, 2005). In a modern state Lukes' definition would mean a negotiation of grammars' provenance and cultural value in public education within what Giddens calls a 'dialectic of control' (Giddens, 1991). However, Lukes also views 'authority' as a coercive use of power, securing compliance by use of force or by people choosing to surrender power to others. In these terms the legislative power used to assume control over language for school curricula may define grammar in curriculum as an instance of the state exercising a power of 'surveillance', one of Giddens four 'Institutional Dimensions of Modernity' (Giddens, 1990).

Heritage

UNESCO defines 'heritage' as a property of the culture of individual places, peoples and histories, the constructors of individual and community identity (UNESCO, 2005). Ahmad notes how the definitions of 'heritage' have moved over time from the historic buildings and cultural sites of the past towards a more subtle recognition of cultural practices of devotion, the arts, sciences, thought and language practices, 'environments [with] intangible values' (Ahmad, 2006:292-293). Nettle & Romaine note how language 'gives us unique perspectives into the mind because it reveals the many creative ways in which humans organize and categorize their experience' (Nettle and Romaine, 2000:11). How important language is to cultural identity is recognised in maintaining minority and endangered language communities McIvor, Napoleon et al. (2009), to the 'heritage languages' of displaced of immigrant communities (Luning and Yamauchi, 2010) who define a diversity and complexity of heritage in the UK context, to the preserving the roots of regional dialect speakers (Colls and Lancaster, 2005), and to maintaining communities' literate cultural artefacts. As a facet of this cultural conservatism the notion of stable 'heritage' of

speech sounds and language usage is challenged by documented semantic, phonetic and grammatical changes in all social variations over time (Crystal, 2003:365). Heritage in this sense implies looking to the past for guidance over current and hoped-for language use in daily life, education and culture, and as a form of social conformity.

Competency

The term 'competency' implies an individual's knowledge or facility that enables them to perform functions or exercise skills. Hodge identifies two frequently used terms for competency, 'capacity' and 'sufficiency', as in tension within a history of competency-based vocational training (Hodge, 2009). 'Capacity' implies an individual' rounded capability in a field of action, whereas 'sufficiency' suggest a Fordist, means-to-end programming of skills learning in a Foucaultian behavioural regime of 'disciplinary power'. In Foucault's terms competency becomes the strict demands of modelled instruction, surveillance, normalisation and examination, a system that places the trainee within a symbolic scaffolding of power. Its outcome is to be assessed as 'competent' or 'not competent', and published in a discourse of individual competency. Within this semantic tension 'competency' becomes a term to explore curriculum documents' implicit models of learning grammar and the purposes to which this is put.

Appendix E(ii)   NVivo categories and definitions for 'The Discourse of Standards and Control' (Chapter 6)

The Discourse of Standards and Control

The perspective of Standard English and social expectation

- Conceptions of Standard English
- Ascertaining a Standard variety of English
- An idealisation of Standard grammatical writing
- 'Writing' as distinct from 'speech'
- A standard grammar of spoken English
- Grammatical knowledge and thinking skills
- Standard English and notions of 'formal'

The perspective of language as form and product

- Conceptions of grammar knowledge
- Progressing in grammar
- Models of grammatical forms
- Critical literacy and grammar pedagogy
- Pedagogy, teacher intervention and grammar
- Constructions of the learner: the learner as inexpert writer
- The learner in deficit
- Pedagogy, grammar and language as product

Definitions for the Discourse of Standards and Control

This discourse title is drawn from two recurrent themes in the data that claim the

qualities of grammar as suitable for inclusion in the English and literacy curricula,

namely 'Standard English', 'social expectation', 'critical literacy' and 'deficit'.

Standard English

As I note in Chapter 1, Section 1.0.1, and Chapter 6, Section 6.3, 'Standard English'

expresses notions of fixed forms of language in use, and of qualities of usage. In

Section 1.3.4 I provide definitions of the notional 'standardising' tendencies that

belies a worldwide history of linguistic evidence in which changing 'standards' may

be seen across geographical and social space, across time and generations. The

standardising tendencies of both spoken and written grammar have, according to

Crystal (2003:54-5). For Crystal the notion of a standard variety is always mediated by the historical period, the regional varieties of standard, the purpose to which language is put, e.g. literary writing, and the form of standard at different social groups (Milroy and Milroy, 1999:91). However Milroy & Milroy also argue that one outcome of the intense interest of Eighteenth Century codification of grammatical forms has been a still current 'suppression of optional variation at all levels of language' (Milroy and Milroy, 1999:30).

Social expectation

I deduced the phrase 'social expectation' from the standardising tendencies that sociolinguists and lexicographers claim frames language in schooling as being socially evaluated (Crystal, 2003; Leith, 1997; Milroy and Milroy, 1999). Codification of language in pedagogic grammars, performative evaluation of language in use through curriculum, schooling's detailed specifications of correct terms and usage and teaching and examining, all identify a regime of standardising that places two types of expectation on the individual. One expectation is to conform to, accept and value a capital 'S', unvarying Standardised form, laden with technically defined requirements for 'correctness', and whose properties its proponents take to be self-evident. A second expectation is to move the expected standard variety far away from the forms recognised as language in many people's daily lives. Milroy & Milroy argue that proponents of such a standard, variety mainly drawn from written forms, places unrealistic and socially prejudicial expectations on many people's language use in everyday life (Milroy and Milroy, 1999:36-37), thereby marginalising social groups and language variation.

Critical literacy

In this discourse the notion of a 'critical literacy' lies central to three pedagogic purposes of literacy education, developing learners' critical consciousness, reading the world's ideas and text positioning devices through reading the word (Freire, 1970/1993), and pedagogies of discussion and debate to negotiate individual meanings and understandings (de Souza, 2007). These desiderata are proposed to teach an inherently dialectical nature of text and discourse. Critical pedagogy aligns with the critical theoretical position outline for this thesis in Chapter 1. Drawing on the work of Freebody and Luke (2002) Larson and Marsh argue that critical pedagogy requires attention to such text features as tone, formality, sequencing and other positioning devices. They further claim a need for literacy to transform texts through analyses that recognise their particular views, their silencing of alternative views and their intentions to influence readers ideas (Larson and Marsh, 2005:44-45). Whereas they claim a need for a need for critical textual analysis as a reading activity multi-media scholars widen the conception of critical textual engagement. They positioning learners as handlers of text as readers, writers and viewers of texts and both in school and non-school situations (Lankshear and Knobel, 2004). Broaden definitions of critical literacy itself, and its sites, help frame my analysis of official claims for its nature and purpose in the English and literacy curriculum.

Deficit

Official texts that position learners as either coping or failing to cope with the grammar demands of literacy and English, reflect a discursive trend of describing learners using terms that imply learner ability or deficit. Kleiman (1990) defines 'deficit' in this context as a normative evaluation of learner achievement, claiming that such evaluations of achievement reflect the nature of the literacy tests set as much as they do learner capability. In this light she further claims that the nature of learner achievement, or otherwise, '[i]ndicate[s] the fallacy of all types of deficit theories

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which permit ethnocentric interpretations that only disguise the true causes of student

failure' (Kleiman, 1990:1). I draw on this tension taught topics and assessment types

when analysing official discourse on learner achievement, competency and deficit.

Appendix E(iii)   NVivo categories and definitions for 'The Discourse of Life Chances and Skills' (Chapter 7)

The perspective of entitlement, Standard English, and communicative competency

- Grammar as skills for life
- Grammar and employability
- Grammar and entitlement

The perspective of growth, creativity and criticality

- Personal growth and creativity
- Grammar as skills
- Grammar as creativity
- Grammar and criticality
- Language variety and change

Definitions for the Discourse of Standards and Control

This discourse's title is drawn from two recurrent themes in the data that claim the qualities of grammar provide access to productive employment. Official discourses claim this is achieved through learning skilled and individually empowering uses of language through the English and literacy curricula. Whilst a definition of 'critical literacy', a major aspect of 'criticality' ig given in Appendix F(ii), the major terms through which I analyse the data and deduce this discourse are 'skills', 'entitlement' and 'creativity' are defined here.

Skills

I define 'skills' in this discourse across three areas: practical activity, individual capacity and disposition. OECD defines skills such as reading, writing, and calculating as 'basic' skills, differentiating them from claimed deeper and 'wider competencies are needed for the individual to lead an overall successful and responsible life and for contemporary society' (OECD, 2001:2). This classification of

'skills' as mastery of functional procedures in different domains of life is claimed by Payne as one early step in an on-going UK trend of broadening conceptualisations of 'skills' from craft or artisan capabilities to broader discourses of `basic skills', `employability skills', `technician skills', `management skills', and `key skills' (Payne, 2010:354). He argues that this reflects considerable change in employment patterns from manufacturing to service sectors, which require greater 'face-to-face or voice-to-voice interaction with customers and clients . . . [that demand] advanced analytical . . . interactional . . . communication, problem solving, team working and creativity' skills (Payne, 2010:254). Keep and James (2012) argue that personal, or 'soft skills' (Schunk and Zimmerman, 2008), agendas are seen as employability attributes in an increasingly knowledge-based UK economy, that contribute to national competitiveness and individual prosperity in a globalised labour market (Keep and James, 2012:211). This interpersonal facet of individual 'skills' development is allied to cognitive skills in what Carr and Claxton refer to three 'learning dispositions' of 'resilience', 'playfulness' and 'reciprocity' (Carr and Claxton, 2002). For learning in schools Carr and Claxton also raise the issue of assessing 'skills', using models of situated learning when claiming that '[T]he manifestation of learning dispositions will be very closely linked to the learning opportunities, affordances and constraints available in each new setting [and where assessment] has to be concerned with the process of participation' (Carr and Claxton, 2002:12).

Entitlement

Official curriculum discourse uses the term 'entitlement', and its variants, as referents for the selection and organising of curricular taught content, and for claiming validity for what content is planned (Willan, 1998:270-271). Willan claims this discursive trend emanates from the early HMI pre-national curriculum scoping documents, including 'The National Curriculum 5-16: A Consultation Document' (DES, 1987).

That document present possible materials and topics for inclusion in a national English and literacy provision of its time as properly selected for all learners, chosen for the public and individual good within a commonsense discourse of incontrovertible argument about curriculum, literacy and social needs. Within a context of modern state schooling Diane Reay argues that within curriculum content selection there lies a strong trait of social class 'elitism [that] has consequences for education as well as every other field of social policy. Within the educational system all the authority remains vested in the middle classes. Not only do they run the system, the system itself is one which valorizes middle- rather than working-class cultural capital' (Reay, 2010:334). If so, her argument implies that socially evaluated curricula and pedagogic approaches continue to reflect the exegesis of a:

> growing middle-class commitment to working-class education in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was different in every conceivable way from their ideals in middle-class education . . . it was rather a way of ensuring that the subordinate class would acquiesce in their own class aspirations

> (Green, 1990a:248)

Reay observes that provision for class-differentiated learners continues to be debated owing to a conspicuous lack of success in achieving social and educational emancipation over more than a century of trying. It is worth noting that the discourse of such provision, or entitlement, is presented in 'skills', etc., the language of benefits to the individual and society. 'Entitlement', alongside 'provision' and 'benefit' aligns with Bourdieuian conceptions of differential social capital that takes little account of social class or cultural analysis in its selection or formation in curricula.

Creativity

In analysing official discursive claims for the 'creative' value of grammar in school English I define 'creativity' first using Cajete's (2000) belief that creativity is the

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universe's ordering principle and process. This definition of creativity draws on three basic concepts of its nature:

(i) chaos and creativity are the generating forces of the universe, constantly generating new patterns and truths;

(ii) everyone experiences, and is conditioned by, the world, and only by participating in activity with heightened awareness can knowledge be developed;

(iii) that thinking in metaphor afford access to creative process.

(After Cajete, 2000:37)

'which they value creativity, and the research findings that revealed teachers dislike personality traits associated with creativity—such as risk taking, impulsivity, and independence' (Kampylis *et al.*, 2009:16)

Cajete also advises caution about relying on predominantly Western cultural models of creativity, as he claims that (i) creativity is largely defined in line with cultural practices, and (ii) that creativity is frequently defined in linear rather than multi-faceted models (2000:37).

One argued characteristic of creative thinking is exploring experience through other's eyes, usually brought about through simulation and role-play (Cajete, 2000:339-401; Carr and Claxton, 2002; Claxton, 1999). A further widely held belief is that children are inherently more free and creative than adults (Glaveanu, 2011:122), reflecting a Rousseauian view of childhood, rebutted by Glaveanu for its 'taken-forgrantedness of children's creativity [that] doesn't seem to hold its ground . . . [within] scientific definitions (Glaveanu, 2011:123). Questions over whether children can live up to idealised image of what it means to be 'truly' creative are also challenged by Cajete's

second requirement noted above, for learners to achieve a 'heightened awareness' in reading the world creatively, presumably by means of prior knowledge or understanding, similar to Claxton's requirement for '*habits* and *dispositions* [original emphasis] of mind' that draw not just an ability to 'think, attend or reflect in certain ways, but on the *inclination* to do so, and to take *pleasure* in doing so. One must be *ready* and *willing* [original emphasis] to note the intriguing detail' (Claxton *et al.*, 2006:58)

The notion of creativity in science and common-sense thinking draws on a persistent legacy of the 'genius'. Historically this concept reflects dichotomies of 'creative and non-creative', 'extraordinary and ordinary', 'exceptional and banal', art and craft, and others. These perpetuate a view of creativity as naturally occurring, which Claxton's theory of educable creative habits and dispositions of 'curiosity', 'resilience', 'experimenting', 'thoughtfulness', etc., would seem to challenge (Claxton *et al.*, 2006).

Some cultural-ideological barriers preclude 'true' creative capacity from some, including animals, the mad and children. Feldhusen claims that creativity is a phenomenon much reflected upon at its high level but less as noted in 'average' people or in children (Feldhusen, 2002:179). In this frame children may be seen in a secondary role, on the periphery of creative expression.

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