A Critical Discourse Analysis Of Li Yang's Crazy English*: Perspectives On English Education In China

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Li Yang is widely known throughout China and parts of Asia for his Crazy English program and nontraditional teaching methods. His goal is to help 300 million Chinese people speak English fluently. In addition to his mass teaching rallies he holds throughout China, he also has published an extensive amount of popular English language learning texts, audio guides and visual material. In this thesis, I examine Li Yang's 2011 publication of his *Standard American English Course* (李阳标准美语教程). I analyze the text, first on a macro-level examining Li Yang's conceptualization of American English, then on a micro-level examining word, style and image choices. The continuing spread of English throughout the world has had profound effects on both local and the global communities. The way in which local communities deal with this phenomenon is varied and often very complex. The analysis of Li Yang's text offers some insight into the adaptation of English into Chinese society. Through the use of Critical Discourse Analysis and Pierre Bourdieu's notion of capital, the socio-historical content of this phenomenon and how elements from the past relate to the current situation, as well as various power relationships seen between the global and local and within the local are examined. In this thesis, I find that in China, the power of language goes far beyond being a tool for communication. It has permeated Chinese society and facilitates to widen the gap between the haves and have-nots

in society. In looking at Li Yang's text, I also find that the uncovered power relationships also dovetail with powerful relationships of solidarity. In modern Chinese society, where so much is riding on one's ability to master English, I argue that Li Yang's Crazy English program operates as a form of Linguistic Welfare in which recipients are currently appeased and inequalities remain unaddressed.

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PREFACE

First, I would like to thank my three committee members who each offered their expertise and time to the creation of this thesis -- without their guidance and support this project would not be complete. Second, I would like to thank my young daughter Reagan for giving a year of her life to the support of this project.

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Global citizens are witnessing the emergence of English as a true lingua franca as the phenomenon of the popularity of the language continues to spread throughout nearly every part of the world. English is acknowledged as a very important language for both a nation and individuals to possess in all parts of the world. Most nations which were not typically considered English-speaking countries in the past, now have some portion of the citizenry which can speak English. In December 2001, the *Economist* predicted that by 2050 half the world will be more or less proficient in it. In many of these societies, the issues related to English language education are by far not limited to the language learning classroom, but permeate nearly every aspect of a society, making the acquisition of language very political. Many of these nations aggressively promote English education in school and in the workforce, and often social barriers are in place for those who cannot achieve certain language levels. Anglophone countries such as the United States, Britain and Canada publish English language learning materials, provide English language teacher training and certification, and also contribute to the large number of native speakers who go abroad to teach English. Many qualified native speakers go abroad every year, the demand for access to native English speaker instruction and materials remains very high in many countries. Although many governments, schools and individuals have invested much time and money on the acquisition of English, quality English education often remains available only to the elites of a society.

In the global society as seen in localized communities, the poor, the socially excluded, those subject to oppressive gender or race relations face certain social problems. One effect of this growing global requirement to know English is that oppression and power dynamics are now also defined significantly by the ability to speak and have access to English. As the popularity of English spreads throughout the world, the facets of language equality and power relationships are expanded not only between Anglophone nations and those acquiring English as a second language but within local communities as well.

Academically, scholars have been looking at second language acquisition for decades and have established many pedagogical theories and techniques focused on the acquisition of a second language. More recently, a group of scholars have been interested in the social phenomenon specifically associated with the popularity of English throughout the world, and in the field of Linguistics, the specialty of World English Studies emerged. Many publications and scholarly work in this field can be found addressing the social, cultural, economic and political impacts the spread of English is having on both local and global communities.

David Graddol (1997), considered by World English scholars as one of the first scholars to address the social implications of English as a Global language and therefore a father of World English Studies, states, "In many countries English has become implicated in social and economic mechanisms which structure inequality. Whereas in the past poverty has been largely a matter of geography, class, gender and ethnicity, now it may also depend on access to the lingua franca of a global elite" (p. 38). Kingsley Bolton (2003) notes that Graddol's work, "tends to highlight the shift of discourses in this academic arena, away from the 'linguistic' to the 'non-linguisitic', away from the description of linguistic features to the cultural and political analysis of the English language in the world" (p. 35).

While many generalities can be made regarding the social implications of the global reach of English, there are many distinctions which can be made while closely examining a particular local community. Graddol advises that approaches to English education need to "recognize that English is not a panacea for social, economic and political ills and that teaching methods and materials, and educational policies, need to be adapted for local contexts" (pp. 63). From 1978 onwards, as a result of the huge increase in demand for English Language Teaching (ELT) in the PRC, many scholars in China and abroad became interested in researching ELT curriculum policies and development in the PRC, but according to Kingsley Bolton (2003) little has been published (at least in the English-language academic literature) on the sociolinguistics of English in China.

In this thesis, the complicated role English plays in modern Chinese society is examined, by specifically examining the very local adaptation of methods and materials by a popular iconic teacher, Li Yang and his Crazy English program. Li Yang is a significant choice to examine because he and his publications represent a local adaptation of the global issue of English popularity. Li Yang Crazy English is very well-known throughout China. His methods are considered unconventional, and his spouted political ideologies and teaching philosophies are frequently considered controversial by critics. Importantly, he is not representative of Chinese academic, elite society (although he does have popularity here as well). He has wide influence amongst all levels in Chinese society. Due to his popularity and far-reaching, non-traditional teaching methods and philosophies, I feel he exemplifies not only the power struggles seen by the spread of English in Chinese society but struggles witnessed globally as well.

1.1   LI YANG AND CRAZY ENGLISH

The story of Li Yang's rise to fame and success has over the years taken on a legendary tone[1]. From failing high school student to CEO of a million dollar industry, his personal story has been told and retold in Chinese and Western publications. He is routinely described as a painfully shy boy who nearly dropped out of high school, but instead he achieved high enough scores to enter Lanzhou University and studied mechanical engineering and English in 1990. The legend continues that he received mediocre grades in his college classes and failed several English courses. It was at this point, Li Yang decided to make drastic changes in his "ineffective study habits and introverted lifestyle" (Woodward, 2008, p. 7). His solution to his academic and social ills was so shout English as loud as he could from rooftops or in dorms, shouting loud but at no one in particular. It is recorded that Li Yang claims that only after "three or four months of using his shout-aloud method of learning English, Li felt confident and capable" (Woodward, 2008, p. 7). After his standardized English scores improved, he began to share his methods with friends and classmates. Part of the well-told legend is that at the time he gained all his success in English he had not even set a foot out of mainland China.

It is from these beginnings most Chinese and international news agencies regurgitate in some form or another of Li Yang and his path to success. Li Yang Crazy English is as much about a product and a method of presenting English as it is about Li Yang, the man who invented it. As Woodard (2008) notes, "Li Yang's personal success story is the foundation of Crazy English: it is the program's inspiration, seal of authenticity, and primary marketing tool."

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[1] Much of Li Yang's personal story is told and retold in a similar fashion by many sources in and outside of China. I have relied heavily on the two comprehensive, synthesized works by Amber Woodward in my description of Li Yang's background.

According to Woodward, it is also very possible some of this background is "skewed to fit the company's needs" and to help create and promote the legend (p. 7).

In 1994, Li Yang created Stone Cliz Crazy English Promotion Studio, known as Li Yang Crazy English. Within a few years the company expanded to include a staff of over one hundred and fifty. In 2008, the global headquarters of Li Yang English located in Guangzhou employees about two hundred employees; another two hundred work nationwide (Osnos, 2008). There is no exact number available to determine how many people have attended at least one Crazy English lecture in the past years, but estimates range from more than 20 million to 120 million. It is not unusual for Li Yang to perform English for 20,000 to 30,000 spectators for a single event. It was reported by Woodward (2008), that in October 1996, Li Yang performed for a record 100,000 people in a single day during three lectures.

His ambitious aim is to "help 300 million Chinese people speak English fluently,"[2] and one component to achieving this is by his English lectures. His performances primarily consist of Li Yang on stage shouting English phrases, coaching his audience to shout them back. The phrases do not always make logical sense. As he shouts English phrases at rapid speed, he is also gesturing signs with his hands which supposedly reflect proper pronunciation. These hand patterns were also invented by Li Yang and total about twenty hand/arm movements.

Along with Li Yang Crazy English lectures are also an array of products: tapes, videos, computer programs, and books. These are the revenue drivers for Crazy English promotion, and his name is associated with over hundred of such items. There is no precise record of how many books he has sold, but one publisher (he has several) estimates that the figure is in the millions (Osnos, 2008). In 1999, Li Yang's company produced the "Blurt Out" books and audiotapes (脱

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[2] This sentence is seen on many of Li Yang's publications.

口而出), as well as a high school and middle school entrance exam preparation series. Woodward notes that some of the emphasis in Crazy English products differ slightly from the emphases in the Crazy English lectures. She divides the products into two categories: those that utilize the Crazy English methodology and those that more closely resemble test-preparation materials (Woodward, 2008). For the interest of this thesis, a text utilizing the Crazy English methodology is examined.

Part of Li Yang's language learning philosophy is that he believes that shouting at the top of one's lungs is instrumental in breaking down a common barrier to language learning for Chinese students, namely, the fear of "losing face." The fear of losing face is believed by Chinese and others alike to be a widespread obstacle to language learning and teaching in China and other parts of the world because many students and teachers are so worried about making oral mistakes in front of others that they give up speaking altogether. Li Yang encourages his students to shout: "I love losing face" (August, 2001, p. 21). He encourages students to shout phrases such as, "we don't mind losing face. We should enjoy losing face. Chinese must overcome the fear of losing face if they are to ever to take their place on the world stage". As is common for many countries implementing EFL programs, students learn grammar rules and memorize vocabulary, but have little opportunity to practice speaking. Failure of Chinese to learn English well is often blamed on these conditions. Li Yang seeks to bridge the gap between years of formal educational use of grammar-translation methods in the classroom and students' lack of speaking practice and ability.

Although speaking practice is important for language acquisition, Li Yang's methods are not supported by Second Language Acquisition theory, and critics often question if anyone ever learned English from him. In various journals and newspapers, Li Yang has been described as

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having evangelical fervor (Dyer, 2010), as being a linguistic messiah (Schoof, 1999), a language guru extraordinaire, a rock star (Wang, 2004), the Elvis of English (Osnos, 2008) to name only a few. His messages have been described as laced with xenophobia, hardcore nationalism and racism. Amidst criticism from within China and abroad; amidst strong doubt over his students' success; amidst his baffling rise to fame and the unwavering devotion of his fans, after two decades, the growth and popularity of Li Yang Crazy English has steadily grown and has gained immense nationwide fame in China and parts of Asia.

In the early years of his fame, the West also began to give Li Yang and his growing Crazy English empire media attention. Li Yang and Crazy English name were mentioned in articles connecting him to the astonishing demand for English learning in China. Three key players dominate the English training industry in China: traditional institutes that are offshoots of the universities, foreign ventures (e.g Wall Street English), and domestic schools (e.g. New Oriental and Li Yang Crazy English). English as a business made its mark in China in the 1990s, and "[Li Yang] is one of those who changed the face of English instruction" (Zhang Rui, 2006, para. 4). It is, therefore, nearly impossible to discuss English in China without mentioning Li Yang and his empire.

Li Yang was also discussed in articles in China and in the West highlighting his incredible business success (*Publishers Weekly*, 1998; *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 1999; *Financial Times,* 2010). "He's a genius at marketing his methods," and "Charisma, charm and good looks probably have a lot to do with it (success)", writes *Cityweekend.com* in 2003.   His remarkable success and often times seemingly unchecked messages leads Woodward (2008) to even speculate that he is employed by the Chinese government, and although she does not go as far as to say, a creation of sorts by the Chinese government.

Discussion of Li Yang has not only been limited to English study and his business success, there has also been passing criticism of his methods and his messages. In 1999, Li Yang and his Crazy English Company gained wide publicity in China and abroad as Chinese independent director Zhang Yuan premiered his documentary, *Crazy English* (疯狂英语). Zhang Yuan's previous movies had been banned from sale domestically by the Chinese government due to the sensitive social and political matters they contained. Woodward (2008) suggests the Chinese government's approval of the Crazy English film is significant that "despite the troubled relationship with the film's director, the government demonstrates its tacit acceptance of Crazy English and Li Yang, including Li's intertwined political messages" (p. 46). Li Yang criticizes the director for catering to a Western audience. As Woodward points out that four major frames of the video highlight four different features of Li Yang and his program. They are the discrediting of Li Yang's ability to teach students intelligible English pronunciation; focusing on Li Yang's nationalistic rhetoric; displaying Li Yang as a mere pop icon; and revealing his racism towards foreigners, especially Japanese.

Again, China's craze for English as well as Li Yang and his non-traditional methods were shared with a large Western audience in a 2008 feature-length article in the *New Yorker* expressing the notion that popular Li Yang messages, such as, "'Conquer English to Make China Stronger!' ties the ability to speak English to personal strength, and personal strength to national power" (Osnos, para. 1).

As immense fame in China surrounds him, as news media coverage in China still tends to afford relatively good publicity to Li Yang, and the West has gone from documenting his success and unbridled fame to taking curious interest in his message and techniques, little research has

been done critically examining him, his methods, his ideology or his materials. The work done by Amber Woodward is an exception as she has done two comprehensive papers on Li Yang Crazy English[3]. Woodward voices her concern over Li Yang's political ideology and lack of attention given to this from legitimate news sources. She states that if Western sources were to pay closer attention "to sensationalist stories such as this, at least it would draw critical attention to the potentially world-shaking implications of the Crazy English movement" (p. 52).

Her work critically analyzing Li Yang and Crazy English has greatly paved the way for me to continue the critical analysis of Li Yang she has been calling for and specifically an analysis of his materials. As far as I know, there is no critical research done on Li Yang's Crazy English materials, especially from a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective. Work such as Woodward's on Li Yang Crazy English raise very useful questions about his motives, methods and, political and language learning philosophies. In my thesis, I will build on her work by critically analyzing the text, Li Yang's *Standard American English Course.*

This text which is roughly 200 pages and includes a CD (which is not analyzed in this thesis) was selected for several reasons: it was recently published in 2011, many of its features more closely resembled a language learning text, and the strong claim that it is a standard American English text. It is worth noting that much of the content, images and discourse strands are present in Li Yang's other publications as well.

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[3] 1. "Learning English, Losing Face, and Taking Over: The Method (or Madness) of Li Yang and His Crazy English" 2006; 2. "A Survey of Li Yang Crazy English" 2008. Both were both published in the *Sino-Platonic Papers*

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The way Chinese citizens view English or "Standard American English" is greatly influenced by what they are told about it by discourses found in their communities, not necessarily what is reality. The language and images used to present English in society are not neutral, but represent ideologies. In China, students and citizens feel they are left with no choice but to act to acquire competence in English, but realistically, many Chinese students who struggle wholeheartedly to achieve English as a foreign language, often never reach the goal being forced upon them.

The purpose of my thesis is to examine *A Standard American English Course*'s portrayal of power. My thesis will argue that through the use of the discourse(s) found portraying English and specifically Standard American English in Li Yang's English learning text, Li Yang and his Crazy English courses propagate a social construct in Chinese society which at times seems to challenge but actually reinforces Chinese societal power structures and ideologies. At the same time, the discourse(s) found in his Crazy English materials, methods and ideologies conflict with the realities of global power structures and second language acquisition theory, specifically the notion that culture and language play an integral part in each other's existence.

Without an examination of how power operates within a location, the power may remain invisible. Through examination of Li Yang's methods and discourses many hidden power relationships may be uncovered and possibly then addressed by societies and individuals.

Through a close analysis of these areas, I hope to offer some explanation of the social construct of English in Chinese society. This construct has now become a significant part of modern English language learning and culture in China. I believe the discourses heard in Li Yang's Crazy English program have shaped the face of English learning in China as these discourses have also been shaped by society. Li Yang's *A Standard American English Course* is

not so much a text to learn English, but rather a text which helps to construct what American

English is and what its role is in Chinese society.

2.0   THE GLOBAL MEETS LOCAL

Historical Context

Methodology will be fully addressed in Chapter 3, but a short mention of it serves a purpose here.   A key component to the Critical Discourse Analysis methodology used in this thesis is to identify that within the social order which keeps the problem intact.   This includes an examination of the context within which the problem occurs. In the following section, this part of the Critical Discourse Analysis is outlined through a brief socio-political history of English in China. Kingsley Bolton (2003) points out, "most of the descriptions of 'new Englishes' found in the literature are preceded or accompanied by details of the historical sociological and political underpinning of those societies; the 'external history' of these Englishes.   In such cases, sociohistorical information is typically expressed in a discussion of the 'status' and functions' of English in the community" (p. 21).   The following section also contributes vital background information into both global English and English in China and as a lead into the methodology selected to complete the analysis.   In addition to using Critical Discourse Analysis in creating this thesis, I also rely heavily on the theoretical concept of "capital" developed by Pierre Bourdieu which is addressed further in the methodology section. The following use of Bourdieu's theory adapted by Patricia Thomson is, however, particularly useful to connect his ideas to this section of the thesis; therefore it is included here.

According to Bourdieu's sociological vision, in order to understand interactions between people or to explain an event or social phenomenon, "it was insufficient to look at what was said, or what happened. It was necessary to examine the social space in which interactions, transactions and events occurred" (Thomson, 2008, p. 67). The following section of this thesis examines the social space (China) in which the phenomenon (rapid spread of English) occurs. Thomson's use of Bourdieu's concepts continues that an analysis of social space means "not only locating the object of investigation in its specific historical and local/national/international and relational context, but also interrogating the ways in which previous knowledge about the object under investigation had been generated, by whom, and whose interests were served by those knowledge-generation practices" (p. 67). Both Critical Discourse Analysis and Bourdieu's framework acknowledge the unseverable link between a social phenomenon's present day emergence to its roots in past history.

The English language has a rich and colorful past in China. Bob Adamson argues since the mid-nineteenth century, China has had a strategy to mitigate undesirable cultural transfer into China through the learning of English: "a policy of controlled and selective appropriation, to use English for the purposes of state building, while maintaining cultural integrity" (2002, p. 231). In much of the same ways English was accepted and not accepted in Chinese society in the past, these same themes can be seen in present day society as well. Without locating some of these trends of English in China's past, much of what is witnessed in the fervor for English witnessed in Chinese society today cannot be fully explained.

2.1   HISTORY OF ENGLISH IN CHINA

Most books on the study of English in mainland China frame the study of English learning into a historical perspective. English education and its existence in PRC is very closely linked to the political atmosphere at a certain time (Zheng and Davinson, 2008). Yi Yang in her thesis (2000) writes, "English, from its initial introduction into China, has been closely tied to its large historical environment" (p. 21). Historically, the English language was perceived to have close ties to Western culture and ideology; in this, its promulgation in China had a close relationship to the current Chinese political agenda at the time. Several scholars (Yang, 2000; Lam, 2005) who trace the development of foreign language education in modern China do so by following English's position in relation to distinct historical periods. Drawing from Lam's categorization, those periods are as follows: the first period (1949-65), the second period (1966-76) and the third period (from 1977 onwards).

Before the situation of English in those three modern periods is traced in Chinese history, I will first give a brief background of China's thrust into the modern age and documented accounts of Chinese initial contact with English speakers from the Western world. The intention in the following sections is by no means meant to provide a complete recount of the events that led to the formation of the PRC, but to highlight China's clash with Western nations (and Japan) as these episodes are vital reflections of the modern Chinese psyche.

2.2   PRE-MODERN PERIOD

The origins of English in China can be traced back to the 1630s, when the British trading ships reached Macau and Canton -- on board was English mercantile trader, Peter Mundy who kept detailed diary entries of his six month stay and his contact with the Chinese at the time (Bolton, 2003). Roughly from that time on, as European trade in South China continued to grow, so did a form of pidgin English which was used amongst traders. Samuel Wells Williams, one of the best known American sinologist of the nineteenth century attributed the emergence of this Canton jargon to be in part related to laws which denounced as traitors any Chinese who taught their native language to the foreigner barbarians (Bolton, 2003). The foreigners had little that the Chinese wanted, and to tip the severe trade imbalances in the British merchants' favor, during the 18th century, British traders began heavily importing opium into China, the effect of which left many Chinese addicted, causing major societal disruption for decades. Regulations, such as confinement of trade to the southernmost port of Canton as far away from Beijing as possible were set up to bar foreign intrusion but still permit the inflow of their money. Both foreign traders and Chinese alike grew rich on the immoral trade, and "the vast masquerade was not a good school of mutual respect" between East and West (Tucker, 1971, p.28). War eventually broke out between China and the West, not simply due to the opium trade "but the fact that the Chinese wanted to restrict, and the West to expand" (p. 28). By the end of the First Opium War (1839-42) and China's harsh defeat, Westerners gained access to numerous ports from Canton to Shanghai which was only the beginning of what became known as a long series of unequal treaties. Thus, knowledge of Canton-pidgin English spread throughout the treaty ports and into northern parts of the mainland by these compradors and linguistic middlemen. Hao (1970) as cited in Bolton (2003) expresses that some knowledge of English was a requirement for the

position of comprador, as "through his expertise in pidgin English and his knowledge of the West, he became a middleman between East and West, not only economically but also socially, politically, and culturally" (p. 156).

It was not until the later part of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912), that formal education in English as a foreign language emerged in China, initiated by two separate groups of people: Western Protestant missionaries and Chinese reformers. The first mission schools started in Hong Kong, Canton, Amoy, Shanghai and Ningpo, and after the Second Opium War in 1860, these schools began to expand. In the 1870s there were approximately 230 students enrolled in mission schools; then after the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, the number of missionaries grew rapidly and by 1925 more than 250,000 children were being educated in these schools (Deng, 1997). Reformers of the Qing government set up the first Chinese-run English language school in Beijing (The School of Combined Learning 同文馆) in 1862. This became the beginning of English teaching in government schools.

After the Second Opium War (1856-1860), in which Western powers succeeded in furthering demands to open China, missionaries were also given the rights to own property outside of the port cities. Thus, English missionary education spread even more rapidly throughout many areas of China, giving an increasing number of students the opportunity to gain some knowledge of the language, a knowledge associated with the changing world of late Qing China, in which the technological advances of Western societies were now intruding rapidly. Knowledge of the Western world and English as the Western language became a hallmark of modernity, Chinese capitalism, and social and political change; however, the practice of English teaching in missionary schools, colleges and society by no means remained uncontested. In the 1880s, imperialism ravaged upon China was at its worst. Another Chinese tributary was lost in

1895 to a Japan which had been forced open by Western aggression and had succeeded in its transformation and development becoming a powerful modern military threatening its might over China.

By 1900, the Qing dynasty crumbled, greatly undermined by outside forces, such as the Opium Wars and continued foreign aggression and influence, as well as internal rebellions. Many within China felt that Chinese culture was under assault by these powerful Western, unfamiliar religions and secular cultures. The Boxer Rebellion, at the turn of the century is a clear reflection of the severe levels of unrest in Chinese society at the time and in the violently contrasting views Chinese society had towards foreigners and things foreign. "Xenophobia was the cry if not the entire cause. [Boxer fighters] were led by fanatics who blamed all China's ills on the foreigner . . ." (Tucker, p. 32). The uprising against foreigners and consequent events eventually lead to the end of China's last Dynasty in 1912.

In 1903, English entered the national secondary school curriculum as a required course. By 1911, there were more than 3,000 missionary schools operating in China, catering to an estimated 139,000 pupils (Deng 1997). In 1918, China mission schools enrolled about 8% of the total student population (Ford, 1988); in coastal regions, mission schools trained 40% of China's secondary school students. China started its English education program to learn from Britain and to strengthen itself. Progressives in China saw English and Western methods as a means of meeting the Western challenge. Its use was strongly associated with the teaching of scientific subjects as "most of the students seeking it desired it only as a means of obtaining employment in the customs service, in a minor government position, and in foreign business houses" (Latourette 1929 in Bolton, 2003 p. 193). Some foreign missionaries teaching English at this time opposed the widespread use of English. The protagonists maintained that many Chinese

wished to learn English and that if a missionary did not teach it they would get it elsewhere under non-Christian direction. The opponents contended that few pupils remained in school long enough to acquire sufficient English to enable them to read it well.

The weakening of the entire Chinese political system and the threat to the social and cultural systems as well caused the general concern amongst the Chinese that English was a weapon to this demise. Many strongly believed Western thought entering China through English was feared to be an even further polluter of Chinese society, helping to support strong political and social opposition to the widespread use of English which continues into the following century.

Uprisings were led by Western educated Dr. Sun Yat-sen from 1907-09. While foreign aggressors were enemies, the Revolution was primarily anti-Qing. In October 1911, their efforts eventually paid off and they succeeded in overthrowing the Manchu Dynasty. As Western attention was diverted to the beginnings of war in Europe, in 1914, Japan used its military leverage and levied the hefty Twenty-One Demands on the extremely weak Chinese Republic. Even greater civil unrest abounded as strong anti-Japanese sentiment grew, Western influence abated due to distraction of war in Europe and provincial warlords fought over control of the Republic. Sun Yat-sen struggled to gain the military power and needed foreign and national support to unite the country.

During the Republican Period (1912-1949), as sectors of China opened doors to the Western ideal of democracy, English became even more important in Chinese society. In coastal cities, it was the language of business, commerce, finance, and education. British and American movies, newspapers, magazines, and posters could be seen everywhere (Fu, 1986). At this time, college admission was based on the results of competitive entrance exams that required foreign

language competence, specifically English. Missionary secondary and college schools continued to expand out from the treaty ports inland. China experienced much internal unrest and civil war fueled by Japanese and Russian northern invasions.

The eventual combined support and training from Russia and alliance with the Chinese Comintern in the 1920s afforded some needed weight to Sun Yat-sen's program for the new Republic. Soon an ideological schism between the Chinese allying forces developed dividing the Republic government into the Nationalists and Communists parties which would embark on long and bloody civil wars. When Japan fell in 1945, leaders of both Chinese parties were present for post-war peace negotiations, but peace between them did not prevail. Eventually, the United States was in full support of the Nationalist Party with not only financial aid to fund the war but US troops and weapons. Their eventual retreat to Taiwan and the onset of the Korean War led to their continued support by the US.

During this turbulent nation-forming period, English was esteemed as it was the vehicle which provided technological information, but it was still feared as a carrier of Western culture and ideas which were believed by many to pose an imperialistic threat to the Chinese way of life and thinking. As during the times of the Boxer Rebellion, organized attacks on foreigners persisted and caused many missionaries to leave the country in fear. Society at the time simultaneously viewed English as a skill to be desired and a poison to be avoided. English education began officially in China in 1862, but no consistent English language policy and no well-designed plan for English language education was ever put in place during this period. Importantly during this time, China's attitudes towards the West were formed, and eventually America's support of the 'losing' forces during China's Civil War would build the foundation and add to the strain between East and West.

2.3 THE FIRST PERIOD (1949-65): PRE-CULTURAL REVOLUTION

The Communist victory in 1949 led to the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and a completely new social, political and economic system in China. New educational systems had to be set up. The Korean War and Cold War resulted in the national campaign in China to "Resist America". The Anti-Rightist Movement and the great Leap Forward further weakened English teaching and learning in the PRC. As English became increasingly associated with imperialism, fewer people were willing to learn it. It was seen merely as a vehicle to acquire scientific and technological knowledge from the Western world, and hence had a very low official status (Zheng & Davison, 2008). Mission schools were accused of serving imperialist and colonialist ends and were shut down or taken over by the government; foreign companies were also shut down. Missionaries fled completely or retreated to Hong Kong.

Parallel to the resistance to the US was China's growing intimacy with the Soviet Union. The Soviet model of socialist reconstruction was adopted, and China borrowed heavily from the Soviet Union. Because of its political inclinations, China was initially hopeful about finding an ally in the Soviet Union and based its development in several areas including its economy and educational system on the Soviet model, including Russian style educational structures, curriculum, pedagogy and teaching materials. Political and economic considerations at this time meant that the Russian language was also adopted and promoted as the first preferred foreign language in schools and society, and English was pushed to the verge of extinction in the 1950s. Russian soon became the most influential foreign language. Many teachers of English were forced to switch to teaching Russian practically overnight. They had to rely on short-term courses or self-study just to be a little ahead of the students.

As Sino-Soviet relations tensed in the late 1950s, China began to look to the West for economic ties. As early as 1957, a draft syllabus for teaching English in junior secondary school was distributed. In 1961, the syllabus for English majors at university and college was defined. About this same time, English began to displace Russian as the main foreign language in China.

In 1964, the Ministry of Education officially stipulated English as the first foreign language in schools, thus accelerating English education. This was the first time China had officially raised the concept of a first foreign language, indicating a great change in English language policy in China. Designers of this new policy took into consideration political and long-term economic needs; therefore, they considered the direction they were to implement to have been practical and beneficial.

It is also important to note that as language planning in China during this time started with Russian and ended with the promotion of English, the central government was also involved in another very important language planning task. Immediately after the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the central government faced the staggering task of rebuilding a unified nation from ruins. On matters related to language and communication, the tremendous linguistic diversity across the country and a largely illiterate citizenry were two main hurdles that had to be overcome toward the goal of nation-building. Cross-dialectical intelligibility problems were so acute that the promotion of Putonghua (Mandarin) nationwide was considered a task of top priority in language reforms. Two-thousand more or less distinct dialects and subdialects were and are still today spoken in different regions at the county and municipal levels. This background led to a number of resolutions charting language reforms in three main areas, all with great urgency: codification and standardization of Modern Standard

Chinese, promotion of Putonghua as a lingua franca in China, and the simplification of Chinese characters.

These tasks were of paramount significance and primary concern to the government of the new China because, apart from being an important symbol of national unity, a standardized national language is not only indispensable for effective governance and socioeconomic development, it is also crucial for the national aspiration of progress through education, and the cultivation of shared cultural values.

After a national conference on language and script in October 1955, a directive from the State Council dated February 1956 initiated the propagation of Putonghua. From this directive, it was clear that the propagation of Putonghua was planned as an all-encompassing policy involving the schools, the media and other public services with specific implementation targets and follow-up action at both national and regional levels. The standardized language was defined as: the standard form of Modern Chinese with the Beijing phonological system as its norm of pronunciation, and the Northern dialects as its base dialect, and looking to exemplary modern works in *baihua* (vernacular literary language) for its grammatical norms (Li, 2006). The manpower and resources which were mobilized for policy implementation were immense and the roles of respective units were clearly specified. It should be noted that Putonghua does not correspond entirely with any geographically based Chinese dialect, for it was developed from select linguistic features of various Mandarin sub-dialects, and as such is probably best regarded as a product of careful national planning.

It is also important to note the central government's successful language planning strategies and to consider their effectiveness when looking at the government's language planning strategy related to English. Chen 1999 (as cited in Li, 2006) discusses four main

factors which had and continues to have an impact on the effectiveness of the promotion of

Putonghua:

A.   There is no strong high-prestige dialect competing with putonghua (eg Cantonese)
B.   The dialect of the local community is linguistically heterogeneous (eg Fujian which is well-known for many mutually unintelligible dialects)
C.   The mobility of the people is high, as in the case of 50 million workers from economically less developed inland provinces looking for employment opportunities along the economically more developed coastal provinces
D.   The percentage of local people receiving formal education is high

There are also psychological and acquisitional dimensions to the effectiveness of the

Putonghua promotion campaign.   The attraction of a standard Chinese variety is partly

determined by its perceived social prestige.

In December 1997, a national symposium on language and script was convened, among

other objectives, to review progress and set realistic goals for the promotion of Putonghua. It

was resolved that by 2050, there should be no more blind spots within the borders of the People's

Republic where Putonghua cannot be understood, and that communication problems caused by

mutually intelligible dialects should cease to exist (Li, 2006).

Although Putonghua has been propagated from around 1955, its spread in certain areas is

incomplete; learners coming from rural or minority language areas in recent years may still face

difficulty or feel a sense of inferiority about their ability to acquire an accurate or respected

accent. The policy as a whole has been largely successful though individuals may vary in their

experiences. A study mentioned in Li (2006) reflects the success of the language planning

promoted during this time with the number of Putonghua users increased from 41% in the early

1950s to 90% in the 1984. Today as a lingua franca, Putonghua has the highest number of

speakers in the world; it is also one of the six working languages of the United Nations. The

continual promotion of Mandarin is still a part of government planning policy. The Ministry of

Education and the State Language Commission dated February 29, 2000, stated that "the target for the use of Putonghua to spread all over the country by 2010 has been set in; in light of the information age, Putonghua proficiency and the use of simplified script to enhance language use are considered all the more necessary for mastering scientific and cultural knowledge" (Lam, p. 42).

2.4 THE SECOND PERIOD (1966-76): THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

By the early 1960s, there was already much unrest within China and under Chairman Mao, the Cultural Revolution broke out in the mid-1960s. Hundreds of thousands of young and educated Han Chinese were persuaded or assigned to settle down in minority-dominated areas (Tai, 1988). The greatest disruption in education during the Cultural Revolution was in higher education as regular universities were closed down and academic research was discredited. During the Cultural Revolution, hundreds of thousands of young and educated Han Chinese were persuaded or assigned to settle in rural areas. In the early years of the Cultural Revolution, everything foreign became under suspicion. Contemporary literature, foreign classic literature were burned and banned. Education throughout China was interrupted for about a decade. "Mao instructed that every class in every school across China should be temporarily suspended for the purpose of 'making revolution'. The Cultural Revolution aimed to eradicate the 'four olds' – old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits of exploitation. English language teaching and learning was seen as the hothouse for cultivating bourgeois and revisionist ideas and intellectuals, and therefore was banned (Zheng & Davison, 2008).

The rapid development of English education that had started to take place in the early part of the 1960s was halted by the political turmoil during the Cultural Revolution. Although a few training classes were organized during this period, education was severely affected by the strong political influence.

In the early 70s, relations with the West were resumed. English was brought back into the schools. This time it was not considered a tool for an individual's intellectual and academic development, nor was it seen as a gateway for China's interaction with other nations. Instead, it was used as a weapon for preaching political dogma. Most students found no use for learning English, and teachers did not dare to be too enthusiastic about teaching the language as the political climate was deemed unsteady. The general goal of the English curriculum at this time was for students to acquire a working knowledge of the language, without acquiring foreign ideas, as revealed in the speech made by Chen Yi, a high-level government official, to foreign students in 1962. He affirmed the need to master "the foreign way of expression" and learn to think in the foreign language. However, he stressed that this did not mean to learn the "way of thinking of the foreigner." Foreign languages were to be used "in our own way". (Price, 1979. p. 180).

Very little spontaneous classroom interaction in English occurred during this time. Political slogans, moral doctrines and negative descriptions of capitalistic society constituted the themes of the textbooks during this period. The English texts were highly politicized; almost every text, except the English alphabet, was translated from Chinese political dogmas. The only materials from abroad were from left-wing publications in England and the US containing topics concerning racial discrimination and the labor movement (Ford, 1988).

The English language was taught only to protect and strengthen the proletariat dictatorship. The instructional materials were so politicized that nothing was taken into consideration about the personal interests of students and teachers, the introduction of the English-speaking peoples and cultures, nor were diverse language acquisition theories applied.

In 1971, the US recognized China as a member of the United Nations, and in 1972, US President Nixon's visit to China opened relations. The slogan of 'Red and Expert' meaning 'learning foreign matters to serve the people as an expert' was revived in the same year.

After the Cultural Revolution was officially over with the death of Chairman Mao in 1976, university admission resumed in 1978, and more attention was paid to teach English for non-majors and English in schools. With Deng Xiaoping's Policy of Four Modernizations (Agriculture, Industry, National Defense and Science and Technology) announced in the same year, the prominence of English escalated and has not abated since.

2.5 THE THIRD PERIOD (1977-ONWARDS): POST-CULTURAL REVOLUTION

The third period has seen modernization and reform and educational expansion at all levels. In 1963, Mao had pointed out that China was in need of all-around modernization. It was Zhou Enlai in 1964 who identified four specific sectors in need of modernization – agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology; and it was the government under Deng Xiao Ping which proposed to realize the 'Four Modernizations' by the year 2000.

The policies put forth by the new leader soon evolved into the Reform and Open Policy, making it vital for Chinese to learn English and other foreign languages. In 1982, English was announced as the main foreign language in secondary education. Then in 1985, the 1st

international conference on English Language Teaching (ELT) was held in Guangzhou. Government language policy directions met support in terms of syllabus design and materials development from ELT professionals in China and from some professionals from overseas. During this time, the government took on strong centralization policies towards education. The policies were reflected in the Ministry of Education's creation and imposition of unified curriculums, syllabuses, textbooks and materials for all school subjects, including English (Hu, 2002).

Quality in education became important during this time as well. Although the development of a correct political orientation was still stressed in education, courses with ideological and political content were greatly reduced in the school curriculum. In 1982, Katherine Flowers, host of BBC production 'Follow me', a highly successful televised English language teaching program aired in China. It was the first television program imported into the newly opened-China and remained popular for many years. Also, around this same time, the State Council issued the Temporary Regulations on Self-funded Overseas Study. This created an explosion in Chinese students eligible to go abroad to study. The TOEFL test was introduced in 1981 in which only 285 students sat for, compared to the 18,000 five years later (Fang, 2003). The desire for Chinese students to study abroad has only continued to grow. In 2112, ETS (Educational Testing Service) announced a 19% increase in the number of Chinese TOEFL test takers for 2011 from the prior year, representing the largest number of Chinese TOEFL test takers in its history of over 50 years (ETS website, 2012). Ever since the implementation of reforms made during the opening up period, there have been 1.9 million Chinese students studying overseas. In 2010, this number was nearly 300,000 (Zhou, 2012).

The Reform and Opening Policy progressed uninterrupted until the Tian An Men Incident in June of 1989 when the Chinese government cracked down on citizens causing great ill-will between China and many in the international community. China's gradual opening up in the 1980s suffered a severe setback in the immediate aftermath of the incident, but in 1991, the disintegration of the Soviet Union provided the vacuum for China to re-enter the international arena. China joined the WTO in December 2001 and hosted the Olympics in 2008.

In 1957 when Russian was still being promoted in the schools, it is estimated that there were only 850 secondary-school English teachers in the whole country. By 2000, this figure had risen to about 500,000 (Bolton, 2002). By the end of 1996, the number of university students studying English as a major had reached 55, 899, far exceeding any other foreign language class enrolment offered in universities (Cen, 1997, p. 7). As cited in Chang (2006), the number of institutions training English majors in higher education increased from eight in 1952 (MOE, 1999, p. 5) to 304 (MOE, 1999, p. 7) and to 420 in 2002 (SCFLM) (p. 517). Since 1999, student enrolment as English majors has been increasing at even greater speed.

The loosening of ideological controls by the government brought more and more authentic English language and foreign cultural ideas into China, and the increase in living standards made them accessible to average citizens. "Foreign staff was recruited as language instructors and as teachers in science and engineering, movies, videos were made public, and foreign companies flooded into China. The fervor for learning English was fanned by teach yourself English programs on television, watched by hundreds of millions of people" (Boyle, 2000). This stimulated enthusiasm for learning languages throughout the country (Ng & Tang, 1997). Social, economic and political forces were important factors in the massive expansion of ELT (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996).

The socio-political atmosphere during the Open Door Period contributed tremendously to the rising of English standards in China. For example, vocabulary expectations increased to 1600 words in 1998, from 600-800 words in 1978. From 1982 to 1993, as China increasingly opened up to the West, and Chinese scholars were permitted to go abroad, the need for both social and academic English became apparent. As markets also opened up and more foreigners were allowed into the country to do business, the appetite for Business English among all levels of Chinese people became insatiable (Boyle, 2000). A good command of English was seen as giving opportunities for higher education, for career advancement, for better jobs with better pay in foreign-funded joint ventures, for study and travel abroad (Dzau, 1990). English was also seen as the key to an enormous store of readily available knowledge essential to speed up the modernization process, since English was the international language of science and technology (Zheng & Davison, 2008). Chinese leaders were also directly drafting and implementing English promotion policies. In 1992, Deng Xiaoping affirmed the need to continue practicing the Open Door Policy. He said, "English is now in China not only a tool for the nation's modernization, but also a ticket for an individual's social mobility and academic advancement."

The following factors have been noted to explain why English is currently so popular in China (Chen, 1999 in Li, 2006, p. 160):

1. English is one of the three required subjects in secondary school curricula
2. Must pass English to graduate from college
3. Those who intend to study abroad must take competitive English exams
4. Those who want a title above associate professor or engineer must pass a foreign language test, preferably English.
5. Those with a good command of English can get a job that pays 5 to 10 times that of a college professor

In even more recent years, China experienced an unprecedented popular enthusiasm for learning English, manifested in the growth of English studies in formal education and the success

of language learning books and software, private language schools and tutors, and educational entrepreneurs hawking study methods guaranteeing quick results (Jun, 2007).

According to numbers cited in Wolff with Qiang, ESL has become a 10-billion yuan business in China; of the 37-billion yuan annual book sales, ESL takes up as much as 25% of the market share (2009). In September 2001 the Chinese Ministry of Education released the "Fundamental requirements of English curricula and teaching in primary schools"; since then, English has been introduced at Grade 3 in almost all primary schools, lowering the grade of compulsory instruction of English as a school subject from age eleven (grade 5) to age nine (grade 3). The goal of this even earlier English education in China is to spark students' interest and build their confidence in learning English, cultivate their right attitudes towards English, enable them to have a solid foundation in pronunciation and intonation, and maintain a basic level of communication (Jun, 2007).

Apart from the attention English receives within the nationalized educational system from grade 3 on, English is also becoming 'big business' in the wider community (Wang, 2001, p. 149). The cover story of the December 2001 issue of Yanzhou Zhoukan traced such development, citing examples like the New Oriental English centers and Li Yang's multimillion Crazy English program, in which learners may be taught in classes of a few thousand per class, a practice which has attracted much controversy (Bolton, 2003). There are many other similar commercial enterprises, particularly in the coastal cities, which further enhances the status and profile of English teaching. In 2008, a subsidiary of Disney launched its own line of teaching language schools in Shanghai and has projected to increase its number of schools to 148 by 2015. They are already in ten cities across China.

Even with intense social, political and personal attention focused on the acquisition of English in China in the past several decades, there is widespread acknowledgment that English learning has not been a success and it is described as being high investment but with low efficiency (Yang, 2009). The reasons for this inefficiency are numerous and include well researched causes such as motivation, age, L1 influence, but also include high teacher-student ratios, out-dated teaching methods, unqualified teachers (foreign and local), among others. One author observed an additional reason -- English textbooks for urban students are out-dated and for rural students too modern and too foreign (Yang, 2009). This intensity to learn English creates even more pressure on educators and their students, giving rise to new and old social concerns. For the amount of time, energy and money students are spending on English education, pinpointing the reasons for this inefficiency and working to resolve them are of utmost importance.

3.0   METHODOLOGY: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

My research utilizes a critical discourse analysis (CDA) perspective to examine the global power imbalances explicitly seen in the dominant discourse of Global English. I will further use the CDA perspective to examine Li Yang's English teaching materials, not as a critique of teaching materials for Chinese students to learn English but rather as a mediation of power between the global discourse and the local interpretation. The bulk of the theory will be drawn from the World English discipline[4], and will also be drawn from Pierre Bourdieu's notion of capital when constructing the framework. This chapter will first present a general overview of CDA; then, will explain the significance of CDA as theory and CDA as methodology and show why CDA is the most fitting tool in conducting this research. Bourdieu's theory will also be discussed in relevance to my thesis.

There are a wide variety of approaches, both theoretical and empirical, and a wide range of linguistic tools used to analyze discourse. One way to define discourse in the traditional sense is "formal and orderly and usually extended expression of thought on a subject"[5]. Critical Discourse Analysis is not described as one specific methodology or theory. Fairclough (2002) claims it is as much theory as method; Barker (2001) describes it as a toolkit; and Meyer (2002) as an approach.

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[4] There is a plethora of terms used to describe 'English'. Based on Saergeant's taxonomy of these terms, I elect to use the terminology "World English" to refer to the field.
[5] http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/discourse

Although the approaches and definitions used by researchers from varying theoretical backgrounds may differ, there are many common features shared by all. Paramount in all CDA research is the focus of power, viewing language as social practice. The context of language use is seen to be crucial. Another shared understanding among scholars of CDC is that the discursive event not only shapes a situation, institution and society but language is also shaped by society. Through the cyclic influence discourse has on society and society on discourse, CDA is concerned with the connection between discourse and power. In applying CDA, a researcher is examining ways in which discourse is used to sustain the status quo of social structures or the way in which that discourse contributes to change in the social structure. An important characteristic arises from the theory that all discourses are historical and can therefore only be understood with reference to their context. In accordance with this, CDA refers to such extralinguistic factors as culture, society and ideology. This notion of context is crucial to CDA, since this explicitly includes social-psychological, political and ideological components and thereby postulates an interdisciplinary procedure (Meyer, 2002, p. 15).

Wodak (2002) defines CDA as language as social practice, and crucially takes into consideration the context of language use. Critical discourse analysts agree that an understanding of the interwoven socio-historical roots within the context of a particular discourse is important in the analysis and meaning of it. (Some important socio-historical elements related to this thesis have been discussed in Chapter Two.)

CDA does not take this relationship between language and society to be simply deterministic but invokes an idea of mediation (Meyer, 2002). Another important feature which is shared by all CDA research and which mainly differentiates CDA from Discourse Analysis (DA) is that a political stance is stated and a theory or hypothesis about how such power can be

challenged is also proposed. The 'critical' part of a CDA is understood as having distance to the data, embedding the data in the social, taking a political stance explicitly, and a focus on self-reflection as scholars doing research (Wodak, 2002). Meyer (2002) claims one of the aims of CDA is to demystify discourses by deciphering ideologies, and producing enlightenment and emancipation. CDA scholars play an advocatory role for groups who suffer from social discrimination.

Research in the World English discipline has been very concerned with the politics of Englishization. Where there is some overlap between linguistics, ESL/EFL studies and World English studies, it is clearly within the discipline of World English Studies that the concern with the socio-political-cultural implications of Englishization are constantly addressed and are of primary concern for researchers. Seargeant (2008) very clearly states that "politics is the means by which all issues concerning English within the world today should be approached" (p. 217). He states, ". . . discourse over English's role within the world has vacillated between two poles: the local (i.e. the politically specific) and the universal. Any act of language regulation (be it academic, policy-generating, or pedagogic) will align itself, either implicitly or explicitly, in relation to a pluricentric or monocentric view of the language, and will do so in defiance of the counter-position" (p. 218).

Where politics is found, so there is power. "Issues of identity and cultural representation are 'political' because they are intrinsically bound up with questions of power. Power, as social regulation which is productive of the self, enables some kinds of knowledge and identities to exist while denying it to others" (Barker, 2001, p. 57). When the English language is promoted by an organization, another language is demoted. When one pedagogic method is implemented, another is discarded. One discourse is being chosen over another. Gee (2001) also states that

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"language-in use is everywhere and always 'political'" (p. 1). By politics he means "the things and places where social interactions and relationships have implications for how social goods ought to be distributed, and by 'social goods' it is meant to be anything that a group of people believes to be a source or power, status or worth" (p. 2). According to Bourdieu, the process that occurs in social spaces or fields is competitive. There are various social agents using differing strategies to maintain or improve their position. At stake in the field is the accumulation of different forms of capital. It is in the politics of the English language, the struggle between the local and the global social spaces and within the local that power imbalances can be found.

In this research, I will acknowledge the global power imbalances associated with Englishization, but the specific research looks at how these dominant discourses are mediated in local, Chinese society.

Critical Discourse Analysis provides me with a perspective and a vocabulary through which to examine the discourse of Li Yang's Crazy English materials both in the larger global context and in the local Chinese context. CDA offers a framework which connects these discourses to power in society. CDA is also particularly useful to my research in that it simultaneously provides a theory and method of language analysis. Theoretically, it can be applied to second language acquisition, specifically the notion that culture and language have some connection, if not a very strong one, and it offers an alternative to looking at words or sentences as the unit of linguistic analysis. Methodologically, it offers steps to a process which connects the discourse with power, context and society.

3.1 CDA AS THEORY

Prior to the 1970s, much linguistic research was focused on formal aspects of language which constituted the linguistic competence of speakers and which could theoretically be isolated from specific instances of language use. The relationship between language and context was considered mostly with a focus on speakers' pragmatic/sociolinguistic competence, where sentences and components of sentences were regarded as the basic units. Much sociolinguistic research at the time was aimed at describing and explaining language variation, language change and the structures of communicative interaction, with limited attention to issues of social hierarchy and power (Wodak, 2002).

Through the creation of a network of five scholars in the 1990s, CDA started to take on a unified approach causing it to become a valuable analysis tool for researchers who found the basic unit of communication to be the larger discursive unit of a text, opposed to the sentence or components of sentences. The meaning of 'text' here is borrowed from cultural studies which does not only refer to the traditional use of the word to refer to writing, but it has expanded to include "any phenomenon that generates meaning through signifying practices" (Barker & Galasinski, 2001, p. 5). This phenomenon can include, for example, dress, television programs, advertising images, sporting events, pop stars, and specifically related to the research of this paper, an English learning program which reflects the crazed attention Chinese society has placed on English.

A fully critical account of discourse would thus require a theorization and description of both the social processes and structures which give rise to the production of a text (written or other form), and of the social structures and processes within which individuals or groups as social historical subjects, create meanings in their interaction with texts (Wodak, 2002).

Therefore, in analyzing a text for meaning, the three concepts of power, history and ideology are indispensable. "Facets of a social formation that had previously been considered to be quite separate from culture can themselves be understood as cultural. For example, 'economic forces' are cultural because they involve a set of meaningful practices, including the social relations of production and consumption, along with questions of design and marketing" (Barker & Galasinski, 2001, p. 1).

It is within the confines of these concepts that the notion of a cultural importance within a discourse can be seen as vital to its understanding, not only analysis. As Raymond Williams (1983) observed, the concept of culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language. It is best not to pursue the question 'what is culture?' but rather to ask about how we talk about culture and for what purposes (in Barker & Galasinki, 2001). Contemporary cultural studies has a distinguishing take on 'culture'. It is one which stresses the intersection of language, meaning and power (Barker & Galasinki, 2001). Culture is said to be centrally concerned with questions of shared meanings so that,

> To say that two people belong to the same culture is to say that they interpret the world in roughly the same ways and can express themselves, their thoughts and feelings about the world, in ways which will be understood by each other. Thus culture depends on its participants interpreting meaningfully what is happening around them, and 'making sense' of the world, in broadly similar ways (Hall, 1997 in Barker, 2008, p. 42).

The shared meanings of culture are not just out there waiting for us to grasp them. Rather, they are the product of signifying practices, most notably those of language. Language constitutes material objects and social practices as meaningful and intelligible, it structures

which meanings can or cannot be deployed under determinate circumstances by speaking subjects. To understand culture is to explore how meaning is produced symbolically through the signifying practices of language within material and institutional contexts (Barker & Galasinski, 2001). Many scholars do argue that language and culture are closely related to one another. In Zhu (2003), Brown (1994) states that "A language is a part of a culture and a culture is a part of a language; the two are intricately interwoven so that one cannot separate the two without losing the significance of either language or culture" (pp. 39).

To my knowledge, CDA has not been readily applied to studies in Second Language Acquisition which itself has not traditionally focused on text (with cultural importance) as a basic unit (relevant unit) of language in communication. Gee's (2001) distinction between discourse (little "d") and Discourse (big "D") is particularly insightful here. He notes that applied linguists or sociolinguists "are interested in how language is used on site to enact activities and identities" (p. 7). This discourse is referred to as language-in-use. Activities and identities are rarely ever enacted through language alone. Gee's definition of Discourse (big "D") then includes the necessity to "get one's body, clothes, gestures, actions, interactions, ways with things, symbols, tools, technologies, and values, attitudes, beliefs and emotions 'right,' as well, and all at the 'right' places and times" (p. 7). Through Gee's broader understanding of D/discourse, the importance of 'culture' is explicitly considered and is of vital importance in the creation of meaning. The entire theory behind CDA supports that culture is a vital component of language and therefore second language learning as well. Critical Discourse theory is especially useful when applied to Global English. The histo-cultural analysis of a discourse is presumably still important to its understanding; it is now, just further complicated by this expanded global dimension.

From my own experience as a graduate student, the research in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and English as a Second Language studies lean heavily on analyzing teaching techniques and grammatical aspects of languages as well as pronunciation and did not have a heavy emphasis on the study of cultural relevance in acquiring a second language. I have become concerned with the cultural differences, or misunderstandings of discourse-in-Discourses, and believe these are a barrier to successfully learning an additional language. It is through CDA that an aspect of culture is recognized as important in language analysis and I conclude, language learning as well.

A CDA demands having a point to the research (Gee, 2001). It must have application and practice and the practicality of the research is not considered less important than the theory. Culture being hard to define must therefore be even harder to obtain through instruction, but it is my larger intention that through this thesis I contribute to the theory that culture is as important to language as language is to culture as applied to SLA. I do not however, support one cultural version over another and acknowledge a possible emerging Global culture associated with Global English. My use of CDA theory here is to show my point of view that culture (be it of whatever kind) will play an instrumental part in learning a language well. It is therefore imperative for language learners and users to determine what culture is attached to which language or context in order to make their studies of that language most fruitful. It is through this research that I hope to add to the volumes of work done in World English Studies to not only make English study easier for students but more directed for teachers.

3.2 CDA AS METHODOLOGY

This research method specifically considers institutional, political, gender and media discourses which testify to more or less overt relations of struggle and conflict (Wodak, 2001), and it is typical for researchers who use CDA to examine power imbalances found within already very familiar categories, such as race, gender and class seen and understood in contextualized western societies. CDA has characteristically been conducted on a limited representational text within a distinct socio-cultural boundary, such as a nation-state or particular sub-category within a nation-state, or between nation-states as in the discourse analysis of two newspaper articles, one in China and the other in the US as seen in the article by Li Juan (2009). One critical discourse analysis I drew on for my research was situated in Canada (Hobday, 2006); others done in Singapore, Korea, and the U.S were also noted.

However, Fairclough's more recent work on the 'language of globalization' (2009), 'transition', 'information society', 'knowledge-based economy' and 'learning society' has opened up CDA to an even wider spectrum of analysis. With the interconnectedness of nation-states and peoples across the world due to globalization, discourses are not only limited within a narrow boundary, but have been expanded and can include the entire world.[6] This ability for the world to connect has been greatly attributed to the spread of Global English. This added dimension of global communication makes for rich discourse analysis as various cultures, and English language styles and proficiencies come into contact. Therefore, many of the traditional themes looked at by critical discourse analysts will help continue to reveal insightful research through an extended global analysis, and new dominant categories may emerge. One category

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[6] Alastair Pennycook's *Global Englishes and Transcultural Flows* (2007) is another example of emerging related work

that has emerged due to Englishization and is already very prevalent in World English Studies is the power struggle found in the discourses between the local and the global.

Given the various versions and applications of CDA, I find that the version used by Norman Fairclough's in his recent work is most suitable for my research which aims to draw out some of the dominant discourses found in the language of Englishization. I will highlight some of the features which differentiate this version from others and include that which makes it particularly attractive to my research. The following features have been extracted from Norman Fairclough's theory and methodology (Fairclough, 2002; 2009).

First, methodologically, this approach entails working in a transdisciplinary way through dialogue with other disciplines and theories which are addressing contemporary processes of social change. As already mentioned, I will be drawing heavily upon theory found in World English Studies which focus on the processes of social change related to Englishization in the world.

Second, this approach involves looking at processes of social change in their discursive aspect. Social change includes change in social practices and in the networking of social practices, how social practices are articulated together in the constitution of social fields, institutions and organizations, and in the relations between fields, institutions and organizations. This includes change in orders of discourse and relations between orders of discourse (and so changes in genres, discourses and styles and relations between genres, discourses and styles). The social change I will be investigating in China is the deliberate incorporation of English into Chinese society and the dominant discourses found within and the meditation found between the global and local.

Third, at a higher level of analysis, part of the analysis of relations between different

social fields, institutions and (types of) organization(s) is analysis of relations between different orders of discourse. An order of discourse is a social structuring of semiotic difference – a particular social ordering of relationships amongst different ways of making meaning, i.e. different discourses and genres and styles. One aspect of this ordering is dominance: some ways of making meaning are dominant or mainstream in a particular order of discourse, others are marginal, or oppositional, or 'alternative'. In this version of CDA, the dominant discourse of a social field is analyzed. It is not taken for granted that these discourses are the only discourses available. Discourses include representations of how things are and have been, as well as imaginaries – representations of how things might or could or should be. They are themselves associated with particular strategies for change, and therefore with particular interested representations and imaginaries of change, whose epistemological and practical value may be difficult to unravel from their rhetorical value (and perhaps their ideological value). In part of my analysis, I will examine the discourse of Global English at this higher level of analysis before examining the discourse specific to Li Yang, as one representation of how China mediates this dominant discourse with the local.

In doing the thesis as a whole, I will be following Fairclough's five-stage analytical framework for CDA. The first stage entails focusing on a social problem (either the practice itself or its representation that has a discourse-related or semiotic aspect. The social problem that I examine here is Englishization and its meditation in Chinese society particularly the manner in which Li Yang's Crazy English materials reinforces these societal (global and local) imbalances.

The second stage that Fairclough describes is identifying obstacles to the social problem being addressed, in other words, identifying that within the social order which keeps the problem intact. This consists of two parts: an examination of the context within which the problem occurs

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and an analysis of the semiosis (the language and images used) itself. The way in which Li Yang's Crazy English materials represent English learning in China is situated within the larger discourse of global Englishization. The fourth chapter of this thesis elaborates on the context of the problem and also seeks to determine dominant discourses found within Englishization globally and locally in China.

Fairclough's second stage also includes an analysis of the discourse itself. This includes examination of both paradigmatic aspects – the range of possibilities available and the choices made in particular texts (what has been selected and what has been left out) – and synatagmatic aspects – the chaining together of words or images in texts. The language of the text is analyzed by moving through the text at various levels – whole- text language organization, clauses, and words – to determine the way in which the text works on representations of the world, social relations, social identities, and cultural values. As the subject of analysis, Li Yang's Crazy English materials mostly comprise of written text, but I will be looking at visual text which includes images of Li Yang which leads to some analysis of Li Yang himself.

The third stage is a consideration of how the problem relates to the existing social order. In the case of my study, this is an examination of the manner in which the representation of Englishization in Li Yang's Crazy English materials connects power in global and local society. While I discuss this throughout my thesis, it is addressed in detail in the fifth chapter. Fairclough's fourth stage consists of identifying ways past the obstacles. I address this in the concluding chapter.

The fifth stage identified by Fairclough is a critical reflection on the researcher's social positioning and the manner in which the critical analysis can contribute to emancipatory change. Throughout the thesis, I have worked to expose any social positioning on my part which could be

related to the research.   Regarding the manner in which this analysis can contribute to emancipatory social change has been touched upon, but will more clearly be proposed in the final chapter.

4.0   BOURDIEU'S CAPITAL

English learning plays a major part in the everyday lives of Chinese citizens, from young to old. Much school time is consumed studying English. For workers, many after hours are spent in night or weekend classes. The ability one achieves in English determines many things, imagined and real. For many, one's ability in English determines many aspects of one's identity. In contemporary Chinese society, students must test well in English to gain academic achievement. On the job front, English proficiency is a must even when a job does not directly require English use. Social status is also often attributed based on one's ability in English. English proficiency is also seen as the precondition for a host of socioeconomic and educational opportunities, including university admission and graduation, postgraduate study, study abroad, recruitment to foreign companies or joint ventures, and promotion to higher professional ranks (Hu, 2002; Ng and Tang, 1997; Zheng & Davison, 2008).

Since the Third Period (1977-present) in the history of English in China, English has remained relatively unobstructed and has rapidly penetrated nearly every aspect of Chinese society and has become a national obsession. Cotazzi and Jin agreed in 1996 that "social, economic and political forces were important factors in the massive expansion of English Language Teaching" in China (p. 61). These three forces are pertinent to my analysis of English as a global language and specifically point to how the discourse seen in Li Yang's English

language materials perpetuates the craze to learn English in China. These social, economic and political forces can best be explained by Bourdieu's concept of capital.

Bourdieu extended the Marxist idea of capital to include well-known categories such as cultural capital, social capital and symbolic capital. Cultural capital can be explained as one's form of knowledge, taste (meaning aesthetic and cultural preferences), narrative and voice in language, and so forth. Social capital includes such aspects as one's affiliations and networks, and religious and cultural heritage. Last, symbolic capital is represented through possessions or actions such as credentials, titles, or physical possessions which can stand for all the other forms of capital in a society.

Anne-Marie De Mejia (2002) observes that according to "Bourdieu's (1982, 1991) sociological vision, language is considered a form of cultural or symbolic capital which is available to be exchanged in the 'marketplace' of social interaction. Thus, language may be seen as a symbolic resource which can receive different values depending on the market. The possession of symbolic resources, such as certain highly valued types of linguistic skills, cultural knowledge and specialized skills, helps to gain access to valuable social, educational and material resources" (p. 36).

As Anne Johnson (2009) points out from her semi-comparative research on English popularity in China and Europe, English is associated with all things "modern". Internationally, many advertising companies capitalize on "lingual imagery", using English when they want to communicate globality, modernism, and progressivism. Johnson argues that English in Europe "lacks the symbolic connotations it carries in China as an envoy of modernity, globalization, and Westernization" (p. 152).

In the case of China, training or expertise in English is not only manifested as a form of symbolic capital to be used to assess further advantages, it can also distinctly be associated with the forms of cultural, economic and political capital. The extreme obsession for English in China which can be seen by the massive audience numbers attracted to Li Yang's teaching performances can be attributed to the fact that English proficiency has become a representation (image) of many of the different forms of capital in the society. I find the accounting for cultural capital, economic capital and political capital to be a crucial component for my viewing of Li Yang's Crazy English as this text reflects numerous instances where these discourses are present.

Graddol's (1994) work which looks at the global future of English clearly points out the economic drive behind English popularity as well as the less tangible cultural and political facets. He acknowledges in his book that there is a strong argument against attempting forecasts of spheres of life, such as English learning and popularity, in which cultural and political factors are so salient. "Real-life decisions are taken for a variety of reasons. They are driven not simply by instrumental motives such as economic improvement, but also by less tangible, cultural and political processes, such as those connected with the construction of personal and national identities" (p. 21). In the case of China, I rely on Bourdieu's ideas to point out how cultural, economic and political forces come together in the form of capital and have contributed to the creation of the language phenomenon witnessed in China today. Through examining Li Yang's text at a macro level, the discourse used to describe English in the text, reveals how these three forces of capital are perpetuated and created in Chinese society.

4.1   CAPITAL: CULTURAL

China has historically placed great importance on the effects that outside cultural influences had on its society. This cultural influx was at times welcomed by China and at times completely rejected, and this was often bitterly debated by differing groups within China.   In his book focusing on the period between 1895 and 1919, Theodore Huters (2005) states that his framework on which the book is constructed rests on its "attempt to explain a repeating course of rejecting the old and then invoking the new, and the complicated and contradictory revisions and recantations that arose out of the process" (p. 7). He describes a central paradox termed "semicolonial" which is virtually unique to East Asia in the modern world which "describes a situation wherein a nation was obliged, under an indigenous government, to so extensively modify its culture to save it that questions inevitably arose as to whether the resulting entity was that which was intended to be saved in the first place" (p. 2).   In the period immediately after 1895, no ultimately satisfactory method could be found in Chinese society to balance the conflicting demands of accepting foreign ideas and fitting them neatly into traditional Chinese contexts.   China has at times, synonymously hated the West as an imperialist aggressor and admired them for the mastery of the secrets of wealth and power.

This dichotomy has not been completely resolved and still strongly exists in China. Historically for China, preventing the influence of cultural errors in society went hand-in-hand with limiting the influx of the English language. In modern times, in that mastery of English at some level has been mandated in many sectors of Chinese society, English has taken on the form of valuable cultural capital. It is no longer solely a form of symbolic capital used by those who saw its importance in their future education or careers, it has become important in nearly all aspects of Chinese life.

Below is number four of the "Twelve Passages That Change Your Life" found in Li Yang's text. Its title is: "English – the International Language" (英语－－国际语言）

> English is very widely used. It is spoken by people in England, the United States, Australia, India and many other countries all over the world. It is one of the working languages at international meetings. Most international business letters are written in English. Thousands of books and magazines are written in English, too. If you know English, you will find you can enjoy so many more books. English is a bridge to so much knowledge. If you master English, you master the world. (Li Yang, p. 173)

Although the idea that ability in English is vital in order for one to access tangible resources still remains viable in Chinese society, it has shifted in a slightly different manner. In today's China, the ability to master English, most notably in the recent past by scoring well on standardized tests and more recently by studying abroad in English speaking countries, not just allows these individuals access to Western ideas in science and technology, but has become a social asset in and of itself. In general terms, English ability provides access to privilege and distinction in Chinese society. This is in part because ability in English signifies an ability to interact and access the world or as Li Yang says 'knowledge' outside of China, but whereas in the past this was notably a drive for useful information found through the use of English, English is now widely viewed as the useful information itself. Individuals with this cultural capital are considered to be in better understanding of the world outside of China, of the people outside of China and therefore at a great advantage in both China and the global society.

English ability is heavily linked to global membership, and access to all things foreign, especially cultural tastes often associated with the West, and power and status.   Presently in China, it is desirable to display certain typically considered western cultural cues in Chinese society.   This would include, certain habits, selection of products, forms of entertainment, appreciation of particular habits, and other cultural tastes and values.   Bourdieu's idea of distinction, which discusses how those in power are those who have the privilege of defining aesthetic concepts such as 'taste' is helpful in my analysis of the popularity of English in China. Bourdieu goes into great depth laying out how those in power protect and reproduce their 'distinct' tastes within their own populace in order to maintain a distinction between themselves and the masses.   These aesthetic choices both create class-based social groups and work to distance one class from another.

With Bourdieu's work on class comes insight into class struggle.   Powerful groups in a field struggle to protect their distinct differences, while other groups struggle to gain acceptance into the protected field.   In regards to English and China's relationship with the West, specifically the United States, it is not a distinction which can be categorized as one of 'class' as Bourdieu explains, but still within the same understanding, rather a relationship strictly based on power, perceived or real.

As we know from scholars such as John Fairbank and his coauthors (Reischauer, E. & Craig, A.) ancient societies such as China offer the social scientist a wealth of knowledge, and "in certain periods and in certain fields, is fuller than that of the West" (1989, p. 2).   They also note that countries such as China in comparison to the West, "demonstrate alternative systems of value and belief, different traditions of aesthetic experience, and different forms of literary expression" (p. 2).   Craig Clunas (2004) describes in detail the unprecedented and greatly

increased concern by Chinese elites during the Ming Dynasty of the relationship between manufactured things and the social order in society. The clothes they wore, the gifts they gave, the vessels they chose to use at the table, and the production of texts which circulated among the literate minority at the time all helped place the relationship between the material world and the social order favored by the power-holding elite in the foreground and also highlighted the potential this development of symbolic capital has on inciting social conflict.

These traditional forms of symbolic capital grew relatively independently from those in the West. It is the interaction between many new forces derived in the West and traditional habits and modes of thinking that is in part to blame for the "present turmoil in East Asia" (Fairbank, 1989, p. 4). Fairbanks et al. caution East Asia researchers to look at the "distinctive aesthetic, intellectual, and institutional achievements" of this region as they evolved, and that they "should be looked at separately from the rapidly changing cultures of contemporary East Asia" (p. 3). It is in this distinction between traditional forms of capital seen rapidly developing in the Ming Dynasty, for example, and contemporary Chinese culture seen today in which my discussion of cultural capital in China diverges. The focus here lies on the modern contact between China and the West, and the 'other' forms of capital that have emerged due to this interaction.

English is not only perceived to be a bridge into the Western cultural field, in Chinese society, mastery of English is often perceived as the cultural field itself. If in this regard, the West is in possession of linguistic capital and is currently in the position to define certain 'tastes' and therefore cultural aspects, it would follow that spaces in Chinese society would also be struggling to enter those fields. Bourdieu's notions are often deterministic in the sense that taste and culture are developed at very early stages of life and cannot be easily abandoned or changed;

therefore, making it highly unlikely for one from one class to successfully enter into another. I discard this deterministic notion, but I do glean from Bourdieu's theory here the importance of culture and its absolute relevance within a society and between societies. Taste and culture are fluid and ever-changing. This is not always by intended self-preservation and exclusion that cause this struggle, as suggested by Bourdieu, but by natural evolution of the societies. Lastly, it is the language of that distinct group, whether it be a dialect of the affluent class within a society or English used between the US and China, which holds access to those cultural tastes, and therefore understanding and use of these tastes which are necessary for power to be distributed evenly in a field.

There are many instances of English and the cultural knowledge attributed to it as being poised as cultural capital in *Li Yang Standard American English Course.* It is an 'American' English course, so as the title would suggest, students would be learning through the use of English, culturally relevant topics which would lead to their development of cultural capital that presumably would be useful locally and globally. I argue that, Li Yang's discourse of English as cultural capital is only manifested in Chinese society, and does not translate completely to the United States or the global community.

Take for example, the three sentences from the text:

Have you decided to go to Harvard to study? (p. 94)

你决定去哈弗学习了吗？

Yale University is not in the state of New York. (p. 156)

耶鲁大学不在纽约州内。

I've been studying at New York University for a few years. (p. 157)

我在纽约大学学习了几年。

Li Yang has chosen two of America's ivy league universities and another just as famous as topics in practice sentences for his students to learn and recite. By Li Yang using these universities as examples, he has placed importance on them and passed that importance on to his students. Mentioning of these universities also connects the study of English with access, even remotely to such privileged institutions. Knowledge of these 'famous' places and being able to say them in English becomes a form of cultural capital in China, a perceived awareness and sharing of what the elites in both China and America value. This knowledge and awareness does not, however, transfer globally. In the US, for example, it is not simply awareness of these privileged institutions which awards one cultural capital but true association with them.

There are also other examples throughout Li Yang's text which offer this same superficial access to western information which can be used as cultural capital in Chinese society. In Li Yang's text, there is a repeated section seen ten times, roughly once at the end of a five chapter unit called: Li Yang's strong recommendation of stories which must be repeatedly read aloud (李阳老师 热烈推荐必须反复朗读的故事). Within these sections is a full page in Chinese-only of other distinctively American cultural icons. Three of them introduce the success stories of, Bill Gates (p. 30), Disney (p. 44), and Hilton (p. 90).

As Li Yang's book is a text teaching Standard American English, it is important to note that these story sections are only ever in Chinese with no English translation or glossary provided. Without any form of language guide, these sections serve another purpose than language learning. Their inclusion in the text serves to offer students cultural information related to the West in the quickest, most direct way --in Chinese. Li Yang has provided bits and pieces of cultural information without the English language component, so that this immediate cultural knowledge associated with English can be used in Chinese society to improve or maintain an

individual's social status. Inclusion of these types of stories reinforces that cultural awareness is translated to cultural capital in Chinese society.

4.2   CAPITAL: ECONOMIC

As shown above, English has taken on the form of cultural capital, and as will be discussed further below, English also has taken on an important form of political capital, but the economic capital form English has taken on is also huge in understanding the role English plays in modern Chinese society.

Graddol (1997) points out that "it is clear that a language which is spoken by rich countries is more attractive to learners than one which provides no access to personal betterment or lucrative markets" (p. 28). Graddol uses a GLP (Gross Language Product) forecasting model which allocates the GDP of each country proportionately to the language spoken there. Britain as native speakers of English and its past colonial expansion and the US's rise as a superpower have, with the recent increasing popularity of English give English a high position on the GLP indicator.

"In many parts of the world, English is regarded as a language of power, success and prestige:" The global language can be seen to open doors, which fuels a 'demand' for English. This demand reflects contemporary power balances and the hope that mastery of English will lead to the prosperity and glamorous hedonism that the privileged in this world have access to and that is projected in Hollywood films, MTV videos, and ads for transnational corporations (Phillipson, 1996 in Graddol, 1997, p. 38).

For Chinese citizens, the wealth associated with the West is constantly seen by them in the form of Hollywood movies and internet access. The West, or America, is viewed very much as a place of big houses, big cars and extravagance. Where much of this it could be argued is an inaccurate portrayal of average America, the idea of high living standards reflected in such images is seen by all of China and therefore economic wealth is attributed to the West.

Within China, foreign corporations also are symbols of wealth reflecting their status in modern cities, such as Shanghai and Beijing and in modern skyscrapers. Locally, economic wealth is also seen in success stories such as Li Yang and others who capitalized on English and became wealthy. For Li Yang, for example, it is not the use of English as a skill which brought him into wealth, but it is the selling of the product of English which has brought him such valued wealth and fame. This distinction is clearly not made in his text where there is a deep blending of language success equaling financial success. Two examples are seen below:

我成功的秘诀 The secret of My Success

Ladies and Gentlemen, / today/ I'd like / to sum up / some of my secrets / of success. / The reasons / why I'm so successful / are: / I love / my family. / I love / my job. / I love / my company. / I love / speaking English. /I love challenges. / I love / to help others. / I love life. / I love / the world. / I'm very lucky / to have / such a great life. / I'm a wonderful person. / My advice to you is: / study hard / and get ready. / Never give up! / You must be ready / for any challenge. / Someday / your chance / will come. (Li Yang, p. 29)

The voice in this passage is distinctively Li Yang's. By Li Yang partly attributing his success, specifically financial success on loving to speak English, he is encouraging the idea in

society that access to English does equal financial success. The realities of his financial climb to wealth on the sale of English is masked by society's bigger discourse of English being the key to lucrative markets, jobs, opportunities, etc. Li Yang is then simply a societal proof that knowledge in English does equal financial gain. The way in which English was used is ultimately not considered or important.

The more / you learn, / the more / you will earn. / This is / the truth of life. (p. 34)

你学的越多，收获也越多。这是生活的真理。

Again, Li Yang is promoting the discourse that the more one learns (related to English learning) the more one will earn (related to financial gain). In order to achieve financial success, it is imperative that one learns English. In this discourse, the path to financial gain is seen through access to English. The connection Li Yang has with English and wealth along with his blending of English study with financial gain in his text builds on the discourse already present in modern Chinese society, building into the crazed demand for English.

4.3   CAPITAL: POLITICAL

Xueguang Zhou (2004) marks a stark difference between social stratification and life chances in industrialized market societies with that of nations which follow a state socialistic redistribution model such as China where state policies have historically changed the very meaning of 'capital'. The research in state-run societies differs from the research on social stratification in industrialized market societies that rest their core idea that human, social, cultural and political capitals invariably have positive returns and enhance an individual's upward mobility. One empirical finding of Zhou's work is that the effects of individual or family-based attributes and

capital on life chances in China vary over time and can be dependent on political movements. For example, in China, educational qualifications were treated as political liabilities rather than as personal resources during the Cultural Revolution.

The political twists and turns induced by shifting state policies have been a salient social observation throughout the political history of the PRC. In considering the political/economic campaigns in the history of the PRC, Zhou notes that these were state-initiated mobilizations to carry out new policy initiatives, and that such mobilizations were often implemented in the form of large-scale mass participation in political and economic processes, and were beyond routine-based activities organized by state bureaucracies. Zhou notes three important features of these political/economic campaigns – all of which are useful to my analysis. The first one: that these campaigns were an integral part of the political and economic organization in China and served as critical and institutionalized means for political mobilization and resource allocation. The second one: they often drew in large number of individuals and affected their lives directly and often disruptively with each campaign generating different political opportunities, with victors and victims. The third one: the campaigns were not confined to the political arena but affected all walks of life.

Zhou notes that in the Chinese experience, today's capital may be tomorrow's liability, and vice versa (2004). Due to this close relationship between state and social mobility, Zhou notes that to understand the meaning and effect of resources associated with social positions requires substantive interpretations of the historical context.

In the context of China today, language is not only cultural and economic capital, but also political capital. In doing her research on English learning in China, Heidi A. Ross expressed that

"Foreign languages are, in fact, described by school leaders as the primary channel through which students make their contribution to China's modernization efforts" (Ross, 1993, pp. 193).

China is making a $250 billion yearly investment in human capital (Bradsher, 2013), as the Chinese government is using large subsidies to educate tens of millions of young people as they move from farms to the cities. In the last decade, China doubled the number of colleges and universities, to 2,409 (Bradsher, 2013). China now produces 8 million graduates a year from universities and community colleges. As the *New York Times*' article implies English language and Western cultural familiarity concerns are still viable issues for many of these college graduates (Bradsher, 2013). Even as stricter nationalized English testing standards are imposed by the Chinese government for college graduates as well as others in society, global proficiency in English is still a concern. It is in this highly favorable context in which English is being promoted by the government and accepted into society in which Li Yang also promotes his English courses.

In Li Yang's Standard American English Course, there are multiple instances in which English is portrayed as valuable political capital. A selected few are given below:

"Totally Mastering English/is the most effective way/ to love your country!" (p. 45)

彻底征服英语就是最好的爱国.

"Make the voice of China be widely heard throughout the world." (p. 106)

让中国之声响彻全世界！

"Everybody has responsibility for the fall and rise of the nation." (p. 135)

天下兴亡，匹夫有责。

"Let's conquer English to show our love for our motherland." (p.147)

让我们一起征服英语来表达对祖国的爱吧。

Li Yang is explicitly drawing the connection between a person's English ability and his success as a good citizen of the State. The social context is not only favorable to learning English, but it is politically necessary. Li Yang's success as an entrepreneur and his accessibility to such a large platform in which to express his beliefs has been questioned by scholars such as Woodward who also question if Li Yang is not a tool being used by the Chinese government to promote English education to the masses. Either way, the discourse Li Yang uses in his text strongly reflects the relationship between ability in English and politically favorable. From a historical viewpoint, Chinese citizens clearly are aware of the implications an individual could face if a government campaign is not adhered to. Where some political campaigns in China have resulted in violent circumstances for the citizenry, I not am expressing that this is the case with the English campaign. I am, however, suggesting that citizens are aware that much of their life circumstances within China rest on their willingness and ability to learn English. As a form of political capital, in essence, learning English offers social peace to its owner.

The government Putonghua Campaign of the 1950s was by all accounts a successful undertaking. The level of success in which Mandarin was popularized locally within China is commendable. The government campaign for China to acquire English is still new and developing. The global world of English has its own peculiarities. Particularly, as I have highlighted in this thesis is the relationship between language and culture. How China ultimately deals with English language acquisition along with Western culture awareness are left to be seen.

Wenzhong Hu (2001) observes that: "English language education suffers when the political agenda prevails over the long-term economic and educational agenda regardless of the

global tide, while it helps China's economic progress when the political agenda converges with the economic and educational agenda and when it goes in the direction of the global tide" (250).

Currently, it seems the context in which English is striving is economically, socially and politically agreeable.

5.0   WHOSE LANGUAGE AND FOR WHOSE PURPOSE?

Rodney H. Jones (2010) defines World Englishes as: "a creative interdiscourse, a nexus of applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, critical linguistics, lexicography, literature and literary criticism, education, commerce and the voices of everyday life in a globalized world which has resulted in a 'paradigm shift' (Bolton 2005), not just in research and teaching in English studies, but also in educational practice, language policy, literature and the arts, journalism and politics. Its ultimate goal is to discover or debate about new linguistic forms as to break down social and intellectual dichotomies (us and them, native speaker and non-native speaker, teacher and learner, developed world and developing world), to alter relationships of power between nations and between individuals (Kachru 1986), to undermine the institutionalized stigmatization of local language users, and to make available to English users all over the world the communicative resources, to grapple creatively with the complex political, social, cultural, religious, environmental and economic issues with which we are faced" (p. 478).

5.1   IS IT ALL IN A NAME?

As is seen and widely addressed in World English Studies, English is a catalyst to much social, political and economic debate seen on global and local levels. Li Yang's work was born out of and feeds into these controversies. By examining the strands of discourse available to discuss English and then examining the message Li Yang creates and delivers to his students, many of these global and local levels of societal power are exposed. Following Fairclough's framework of analysis, in undertaking a Critical Discourse Analysis, the editor's language and image choices at various levels are examined, from what is included and excluded to a careful examination of the images and words that are included.

Before analyzing certain images and language of the text, a step further removed from Li Yang's text is taken to examine the conceptualization of English as seen in World English Studies. Li Yang's work is created under these global conceptualizations, but Li Yang has manipulated them to serve very different purposes and to fit the local Chinese community. Ultimately, the way English is conceptualized by Li Yang and then represented to his students is central to his work and holds the framework which builds his entire English empire. I will closely look at how Li Yang uses English to construct a strong Chinese identity by distinguishing Chinese from others, by calling for nation building and reinterpretation of culture.

The role English plays in societies is mulitifaceted and often complicated, and the terms created to name English are socio-politically sensitive and nuanced. Philip Seargeant (2010) notes that the term 'English' itself is one of the most contested concepts in World English

Studies. This has led to a proliferation of new terminology in an attempt to more precisely name and define the 'English' being referred to. Pennycook (2007) (in Seargeant, 2008) argues that "English as a coherent conceptual entity emerges through manipulation of the discourse" about English (p. 97). The many names given to the description of English indicates an interest in both the nature and social role of the language. Seargeant's (2010) taxonomy of the names of English is useful to my analysis in that through his groupings of the names, the way in which the language is socially conceptualized can be identified. "The act of naming transforms the language practice into an ideological construct (a particular concept of the language), which in turn feeds back into the way the language is institutionally-regulated (via-policy, education, the media and so on). It is for this reason that the names that the discipline chooses for its central objects of study will have an effect on the nature of those objects of study, and thus the diversity of English is both identified and shaped by acts of naming. As such, acts of naming are a powerful theoretical and political tool for the focusing of debate on certain aspects of contemporary linguistic behavior" (Seargeant, 2010, p. 111).

Seargeant (2010) has created six categories which represent the fundamental distinctions between the different types of name. Each of these categories represents a particular perspective on the status of the language within human society. They are: function, community, history, structure, ecological model, and multiplex. Varieties marked for function include, for example, English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL). The function of both would generally be to work in the public or institutional domains, and thus contrast with the language of the home, which is likely to be a heritage language.

Varieties marked according to community include, for example, regional dialects (British, American or Chinese English), and Global English, for example. The names in this

subset are often politically conceptualized as communities are often constructed in this manner. Seargeant notes that the "association of a language with the community which speaks it has traditionally been, and continues to be, a mainstay of language conceptualization, with the consequence that beliefs about language play a fundamental role in the politics of identity" (p. 104). The usage of the terms Global and Global English, for example, "divorces the language from its history, and through the act of re-naming reflect the fact that the language as spoken in a global context today is no longer under the ownership of the British or Americans. The name "Global" also "draws on the discursive connotations of theories of globalization" (pp. 105).

Varieties marked in terms of their history include, for example, Colonial Standards and Indigenized Englishes. The grouping of this subset highlights the diachronic processes in which gave rise to them. Varieties marked according to their structure include for example, Pidgin English or Hybrid Englishes. Names which highlight structure are relatively uncommon in World English Studies and the ones that do are perceived as being on the outer margins of the family of Englishes.

Varieties marked with reference to an ecology of other varieties include for example, Inner, Outer and Expanding Circle varieties and World Englishes. This subset of terminology "draws attention to the ways in which the nature or status of a given variety is conceptualized in part by the role it plays in a world system of Englishes, in addition to its discrete characteristics" (p. 107). Kachru's (1985) model of English varieties around the world has been used readily in World English Studies. The Inner Circle varieties (Britain and the US, for example) are characterized as 'norm-providing', Outer Circle varieties as 'norm-developing', and the Expanding Circle as having not yet developed internal norms and relying instead on the external norms provided by the Inner Circle.

Last is the categorization of English as multiplex and includes, for example, World English. The names used in this category highlight the diversity in the World English field and serve the purpose of providing a name which does not imply a monolithic English.

5.2   LI YANG'S CONCEPTUALIZATION OF ENGLISH

This taxonomy is very useful in analyzing Li Yang's conceptualization of English. Li Yang's naming of his brand of English as 'Standard American English' has put it into Saergeant's category of varieties marked according to community. By titling his book, *Li Yang Standard American English Course*, Li Yang is claiming to be teaching American English opposed to all other varieties, including the culturally neutral Global English variety. There are many reasons why he may have chosen this name for his English variety, for example: his text is a pronunciation guide and follows most closely the US pronunciation code, or he is distinguishing between the two currently most popular English versions in China, American or British, or possibly he is capitalizing on the current popularity and global status of the American English brand in order to generate more sales for his products. There are various overlapping explanations.

For whatever the reason may be, by naming his brand of English Standard American English, it is clear that he is suggesting that the American Standard English brand is the standard which he promotes for Chinese students to achieve. Through this, it would appear that American Standard English is being esteemed by Li Yang. By following B.B. Kachru's categorization, American English is placed on the 'Inner Circle' by Li Yang for Chinese to emulate giving American English high social status. This conceptualization draws attention and positions these

"varieties within a relational matrix (foreigner's version good, Chinese version bad), indicating not merely function, but also status, on both an overtly political as well as sociolinguistic level." Li Yang's conceptualization of English does follow Kachru's categorization in that American English is to be emulated, but Li Yang's conceptualization of American English stops at attaching "political or sociolinguistic status" to the American brand. In fact, in this thesis, I argue that Li Yang's text does the opposite and incites Chinese nationalism in its readership. Li Yang's conceptualization of English draws very clear distinction between two political and cultural communities of people, the Chinese and the Americans.

This distinction between the two communities is further compounded through other discourses used by Li Yang in his *Standard American English Course*, and this conceptualization can be seen consistently throughout the text.

Another way this can be seen in his text is, there are many references to Chinese as a collective whole and Americans/foreigners as a different separate entity. One English standard and one learning method are placed upon the Chinese community as a whole. This is best expressed in the section "The Secret of Failure for Chinese English Learners". In this three page essay-style in Chinese text only, Li Yang explicitly categorizes all Chinese together with expressions such as

All Chinese Nationals are wasting their time. 全国人民都在浪费时间 (p. 6)

The name 中国人 Chinese people/person is used regularly in this section. Li Yang addresses his readership, "the English that you read to yourself is Chinese style, so of course you will not understand the 'authentic English' of foreigners" . .自己读的英语基本都是中国式的，当然听不懂外国人的 "地道英语 (p. 6).

Here Chinese, all Chinese are categorized as speaking a poor Chinese style English and are compared to foreigners who speak an "authentic" style. The assumption also being made is that 'foreigners' are Westerners and 'native speakers'.

Li Yang further unifies Chinese in his description of Japanese and Koreans as having better historical cause to have learned English better than the Chinese, but still speak English very poorly.

Li Yang challenges all Chinese to do what the Koreans and Japanese could not do: "Turn English into the tool and servant of the Chinese people." 用最短的时间突被英语，讲一口流利的英语，让英文成为中国人民的工具和仆人！(p. 6)[7]

By using the terminology "American English" in the Chinese context to describe his brand of English being presented and by then consistently throughout his text segregating Chinese from all other nationalities, Li Yang has imposed strong "political identity" upon the Chinese as they are contrasted to the Americans, as well as other nationalities. Li Yang's text is not inviting Chinese to be a part of the American English speaking community, but rather drawing out very distinct identities, in which the two communities do not identify with each other and are distinctly very different. Li Yang's "Standard American English" name is a divider rather than unifier.

Li Yang's conceptualization of English goes further. In recent years, English language proficiency has been looked upon favorably by the Chinese government. It has been mandated that every citizen do his part in modernizing the nation. The best way for an individual to do that is by learning English. Li Yang also heavily promotes this same use for English in his text. For Chinese nationals it has become a duty to learn English to make China stronger. Seargaent,

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[7] Translations provided by author

(2010) notes that, "The ascription of different functions to different languages is a key means of rationalizing the co-existence of multiple languages and of justifying policy decisions about language regulation within a community" (pp. 102). One of the assigned functions of English by the Chinese government and Li Yang is to help in making China stronger. Li Yang frequently emphasizes this in his discourse.

Conquer English to make our land stronger. 征服英语，让祖国更强大. (Front page)

A country's English level determines a country's international competiveness 一个国家的英语水平决定了一个国家的国际竞争力！ (Li Yang, 2010, p. 294)

Chinese people pity foreigners in that they cannot learn Chinese well, so we must learn English. Chinese people should be able to quickly conquer English and the world! 中国人是可怜外国人学不会汉语才学英语的！中国人一定可以快速征服英语和世界！ (p. VIII Number 7 of Crazy English Beliefs)

Li Yang's conceptualization of English in naming his text "American English" is not a way of esteeming American English, but rather a clarification of who the biggest competitor is and therefore who needs to be defeated. In his book, *The Secret of Success* (2010*)*, Li Yang shares a goal with his students: "I will speak English as well as American movie stars. I will speak English as well as American TV and radio anchors. I will speak better English than most Americans. This is my goal" (p. 183). American English is the standard because it is the language spoken by the country which currently holds the world's most political, cultural and economic power. American English is not esteemed as a model for Chinese to defer to; it is

being presented as the model to conquer and control. It is used to learn what the standard is so it can be defeated.

Seargeant, in his taxonomy, describes terms naming English such as, English as an international language (EIL) and English as a lingua franca (ELF) as English brands which do not "need to be modeled on native standards nor have the cultural associations with ENL (English Native Language) countries" (p. 103). Sowden (2011) explains that it has been hard for former colonial and other peoples "subjugated to Anglophone hegemony to escape from the linguistic legacy of the past. One response has been to attempt to neutralize English, to sheer it of its cultural baggage, to remove it from the hands of its Anglo-Saxon native speakers, and to emphasize its role as a value-free means of international communication belonging equally to all who speak it as their first or second language" (p. 90). To Sowden, the purpose of the simplification seems clear: "to exclude culturally restricted items, particularly Anglo-Saxon ones, so easing the process of communication and curbing the authority of the native speakers" (p. 90).

In his text, Li Yang is delivering an English stripped of its American 'cultural baggage' but in the name 'Standard American English' he is promoting and at the same time creating a new Chinese American English brand. The few attempts at representing American culture are shallow, out of context, and far from achieving that goal. Li Yang's use of American presidential images and speeches in his text shows an attempt to deliver an "American English" to his readership. The front cover of the book displays photos of five American presidents (Kennedy, Reagan, Clinton, George W. Bush and Obama) visually promoting the notion of an American English brand. On pages 2-4, these presidents are seen once again (except for Reagan who is replaced by Hillary Clinton). Very short excerpts of speeches given by these politicians

are included, none is longer than nine lines, along with photos, full Chinese translations and vocabulary boxes. In the preface to this unit in Chinese only, Li Yang states that the best way to study English is to mimic authentic English. "Within any English learning materials, the speeches of politicians whether it be the wording or tone of voice is the absolute highest level of English. If you follow these materials, your English will be super-pure." 在所有的英语材料中，政治人物的演讲无论是措辞还是语音语调是超以流水准，绝对是英语的最高境界。 跟着录音反复疯狂模仿这些高级的演讲, 你的英语一定会超级纯正, 底气十足（p. 1). Li Yang's conceptualization of American English is not as a cultural model to be emulated. Cultural emblems, such as politicians are not being used by Li Yang as a tool to impart American cultural knowledge to his students, but rather are used as standards for Chinese students to aim for.

The content of the politicians' speech excerpts string together "American English" with Li Yang's own conceptualization of English and English language learning in China. Li Yang consistently directs Chinese students to sacrifice, work hard, never give up in the learning of English, and learn English to make China stronger.

You have to undergo / countless hardships / and tremendous sacrifice / to achieve any success. 要获得任何的成功，你都要经历无数的磨难，做出巨大的牺牲. (p. 31)

English is hard, but it is harder for parents to raise their children! Whenever we think of parents who take care of their kids very single day for a decade, our hearts should feel the awesome power! This is the greatest thing on earth! 英语再难，也没有父母把我们养大难！每当想到父母几十年如一日的付出，你的心中就应该充满力量！这是人世间最伟大的! (p. I)

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Li Yang has chosen American icons saying much of the same thing, in a non-specified context, but the language very closely resembles Li Yang's own and is used to further his conceptualization of English. The example of Bill Clinton's speech reflects the essence of the excerpts:

> To renew America, we must be bold. We must do what no generation has had to do before. We must invest more in our own people, in their jobs, and in their future, and at the same time cut our massive debt. And we must do so in a world in which we must compete for every opportunity. It will not be easy. It will require sacrifice, but it can be done and done fairly, not choosing sacrifice for its own sake but for our own sake. We must provide for our Nation the way a family provides for its children. (p. 2)

In his use of select portions of speeches by famous American politicians, Li Yang has made what were very American discourses fit very well into the current discourses of English promulgation in China.

5.3   THE ENGLISH HAVES AND HAVE NOTS

A major issue debated in the World Englishes literature is the concern that access to English and English language education is limited to the elites in society. As Graddol states, "In many countries English has become implicated in social and economic mechanisms which structure inequality" (pp. 38). Globally, the elites are citizens in native English speaking countries, such as the US. Locally, the elites are those within a society who are privileged economically,

geographically, politically, intellectually or otherwise and have access to quality English education or English speaking environments.

On the global social field, Kingsley Bolton (2003) mentions Kachru's (1992) viewpoint that, "a consideration of the 'power and politics of English' involves issues that relate to the ideological, cultural and elitist power of English, associated with 'the immense economic advantage of English to the countries of the Inner Circle, particularly Britain and the United States'" (Bolton, 2003, pp. 19). According to Bourdieu's notion of symbolic violence which is explained as the symbolic power exercised by those who posses symbolic resources, such as English skills over those who do not, limited access to quality English education is encouraged by those in the Inner Circle as well as Chinese elites, thus helping to further secure their elitist position in society. Kachru argues that "the very existence of their power thus provides the Inner Circle with incentives for devising ways to maintain attitudinal and formal control; it is both a psychological and sociopolitical process. And linguistic control is yet another such strategy, exercised in three ways; by the use of various channels of codification and by controlling these channels; by the attitude towards linguistic innovations (in the Outer Circle): and by suggesting dichotomies which are sociolinguistically and pragmatically unrealistic" (1992, pp. 9).

According to numbers cited by Phillipson (2008) and originally generated by Grin (2005), the U.S. saves $19 billion per year due the fact that: 1. Other countries are investing so much in teaching their citizens English the U.S. need not invest much in teaching its citizens these languages; and 2. As a core English speaking country it is able to reap large amounts of money from the teaching of English around the world. Reports show that ESL has become a 10-billion yuan business in China. Of the 37-billion yuan annual book sales, ESL takes up as much as 25% of the market share (Wolff & Qiang, 2003).

"Education has been seen as a powerful means of providing access to valued symbolic resources, such as bilingualism or multilingualism in prestigious world languages", mainly English (De Mejia, 2002, pp. 37). In societies, such as China, the bourgeoisie have turned to education in efforts to balance out inequalities created by English, but again access to education and the quality of that education is often determined by a person's position in society. "In many cases, access to particular forms of bilingual education provision are restricted to those who can afford to pay, or those who demonstrate high levels of academic ability thus conserving the notion of valuable linguistic resources as the privilege of certain powerful groups" (pp. 37).

As the Chinese government mandated that English education begin for all Grade 3 students, it cannot, however, fully control the quality of the English education provided from region to region, or teacher to teacher within China. "Certain municipal governments require all of their civil servants to have a minimum of 1000 English words in their vocabulary (China Daily, 10-05-02" 99 "This official policy forces Chinese speakers of Mandarin to sprinkle a few English words in to give a little English flavor to their Mandarin. This is nothing less than an officially sanctioned and promulgated form of Chinglish" (Wolff & Qiang, 2003, pp 35).

Chinese elites have better control over the quality of their English education and choose topnotch schools in China and abroad. Those in China who learn English at a basic level will be competing with those who learn it at a more sophisticated level, and those who learned it as a second language will defer to those who learned it as a mother tongue.

Currently, this is the linguistic hierarchy of power, and even though there are now more 'non-native' speakers of English in the world than 'native' speakers, possibly tipping the balance of power, English norms are still held by the Inner Circle.

There is a very large gap between the haves and have nots in China, which is most drastically seen between the rural and urban sectors. Although wealthy Chinese have many more educational advantages available to them, the main system of educational advancement in China is through achieving high scores on the national exams. In *Reproduction*, Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) argue that schools commit acts of symbolic violence and reproduce inequality by imposing and privileging arbitrary cultural forms reflective of dominant class interests. Those who are in possession of particular bodies of knowledge tastes, resources, academic investments, and so forth, known as cultural capital are able to more successfully negotiate the schooling process (Lamont Hill, 2008). Within China, the elites possess this cultural capital which enables them to excel in nationalized schools and exams. However, in terms of English acquisition, the elites in China lose their positioning when the social field is expanded to the global level. For privileged Chinese students who receive higher standards of English education, they still will find their own level of English to be inadequate when speaking to native speakers and often times second language speakers from many European countries. Chinese students are very consciously aware of the test-driven educational system which mastery of excels one in the Chinese system, but leaves little time or priority for the practical study and use of English and lowers their status when operating in English internationally. Chinese students from both urban and rural (haves and have nots) communities alike are all aware of their educational system and language environment which are consistently blamed on producing weak oral English skills in students.

Li Yang capitalizes on this widespread Chinese notion that English levels of Chinese students is universally poor. Li Yang's message is that in order to achieve success in English one is not required to be better positioned in society. In fact, he points to students at China's

best universities who cannot speak English well. In the first letter addressed to all college students, he claims that he visited the top universities in China and tested the students' English levels to find that they were awful (p. I). Any privilege they may have had to get where they are does not help them excel in English. All that is required of students for success in English is that they follow his method. Li Yang's target audience is everyone in China (and East Asia), but his methods and his products primarily cater to Chinese middle school, high school, and college students who have already taken English courses (Woodard, 2008). He makes this accessibility very clear as he delivers four different letters in the front of his text clearly addressing the Chinese population as a whole. On the inside front cover he addresses a general audience and then on page I, III, and V of the text, his letters address college students, high school students and middle school students all throughout China. No one is excluded.

He addresses the issue of equality in access to English by leveling both the local and global playing fields. Li Yang's solution is to highlight the weaknesses of the Chinese education system and Chinese students as a whole and to then offer educational methods which he claims fill the holes left open by the testing mentality found in all Chinese schools. The affordability and accessibility of his materials make them a neutralizer between the haves and have nots in English language education in China and his self-proclaimed results which students gain from his materials makes them a neutralizer between China and the English-speaking world. The wide accessibility of the materials along with their purported international quality, allows for neither the global nor the local notion of language inequality to be addressed.

At the same time, Li Yang is confirming that all Chinese students speak poor English, he is also promising that there is a very simple solution to this problem which is available to all. First confirming Chinese students' inability, he states that Chinese have been "using the wrong

method to study English, and this leads to the deaf-mute English spoken by Chinese 用错误的方法学习英语导致效率低下，导致聋哑英语.(6)[8]" He then quickly offers the solution: that correct pronunciation is all that is needed and that he can offer the solution to achieve this. The notion that access to English education is made available for society's select few does not exist as Li Yang calls all Chinese to: "Create a great English speaking miracle 中国人将创造英语学习的伟大奇迹： 用最短的时间突被英语，讲一口流利的英语 ．．．". (6) Li Yang makes reference to the English levels of the Japanese and Koreans English, stating that they have had a much longer exposure to English than the Chinese but speak it the worst in the world. Li Yang does not use this as an example to point out that that English is difficult to learn in certain environments, but uses this rather as a rallying call for Chinese to show they are different than, better than the Japanese and Koreans and can master English in a short amount of time.

He acknowledges without harshly criticizing that the Chinese testing system is very difficult for students. He doesn't discredit it, but claims that his method of providing 'real-life ability' will help students do even better on the nationalized exams. "My heart aches at the torture Chinese students go through to pass the various exams required of them. English is a prime example of paper versus real-life ability. I know that tests are an inescapable reality for Chinese students. I only hope that I can do something to help them crack the exams through real-life ability!" (pg II) On the inside front cover he claims that by blurting out the material in this book and listening to the accompanying materials, "你就可以成为一个真正的国际交流着！ You will become a real international communicator!" He claims throughout his text that he is offering real-life communication. His method to do this is focusing solely on

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[8] Translation provided by author.

pronunciation. (His definition of spoken English is pronunciation). Li Yang and his learn English "right methods" have seemingly given every citizen an equal chance at access to English capital. He is claiming to open a new door offering his method to learn English to globally underprivileged Chinese who English is not their mother tongue and also to the locally underprivileged Chinese who do not have traditional access to quality English educational opportunities with in China. By stripping English of cultural baggage and simplifying proficiency in a language solely based on pronunciation, Li Yang is successfully able to universally distribute his brand of the language throughout China – but it is not the 'Standard American English' brand he claims to be offering.

In World Englishes literature, there is no magic solution to this problem as Li Yang claims to be able to offer. Graddol states that, "Not all speakers will be fluent in language varieties at the higher levels. The normal pattern of acquisition will begin with those languages at the base of the spectrum. Many of the world's population never require the use of varieties at the uppermost layers because they never find themselves in the communicative position which requires such language" (pp. 12). "Language shift often needs three generations to take full effect, which means that there may be initial signs now of long-term changes which might take the greater part of another 100 years to fully complete" (pp.16). The same can be seen in China as can be seen in the world regarding English education. Even as a government regulates and promotes a language, it often still remains a resource accessible by the privileged.

6.0   FURTHER ANALYSIS (MORE THAN JUST ENGLISH)

The Power of Words 语言的威力

Ladies and Gentlemen, today I want to talk about the power of words. Words can express your feelings. Words influence people. Words can hurt people. Words can encourage people. Words can start wars and words can end wars. Words can help you become a successful speaker and powerful leader. Words can help you win friends. That's why I feel puzzled about why Chinese students hate words. Students should love words and learn how to use their power. Words are beautiful and words should be our friends. That's why you should learn as many words as you can. Start learning and using new words today.

Li Yang (p. 163)

6.1   IS LI YANG'S STANDARD AMERICAN ENGLISH ALL ABOUT PRONUNCIATION?

Li Yang: A Course in Standard American English is advertised and marketed as an English language course. Consumers purchase these materials with the intention of learning English, and in the case of this publication, learn standard American English. Typical foreign language textbooks are generally laid out according to an array of categories, such as: themes, topics, grammar patterns, vocabulary, and so on. Li Yang's text represents some of these recognizable features as well as many features which do correspond to the typical content found within many foreign language texts. Below, briefly outlined is the general structure of the textbook, beginning with the sections that have recognizable language text features and then using CDA methods look more closely at some of the less traditional components.

Li Yang on Language

Li Yang's approach to the teaching of English as a foreign language in the text is entirely focused on pronunciation. Each of the two page chapters (except Chapter 1 which is four pages) is headed by a different standard American phoneme. There are fifty chapters each with a different phoneme. This language portion of the book makes up 100 of the 206 pages and are exclusively focused on pronunciation. Each chapter is included in a five chapter unit, titled, 第一单云（the first single phoneme) and so on, making up the ten units. The top of each chapter displays the featured phoneme in IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) form. Each chapter includes three English words which use the featured phoneme. These words are listed in

English, IPA, then Chinese. Each chapter then provides ten sentences which use the featured phoneme and are translated into Chinese. The content of these sentences varies, but they often have no relation to one another

On page two of each chapter is a short section with one or two sentences and responses. Directly following is always a short prepared speech that is always fully translated. The topics of the speeches vary extensively. Although the speeches are provided for students to use as practice tools, the voice rings of Li Yang himself. An example of a speech is below:

Chapter 2 超级挑战: 英语和汉语 Chinese and English

[1] Ladies and Gentlemen, / today / I want / to talk about / the differences / between English / and Chinese. / English / is very different / from Chinese. / The sounds / are different, / the grammar / is different, / and the writing / is totally different. / It's very difficult / to learn English well. / It is even more difficult / to speak English fluently.

[2] If you want / to speak English well, / you must / forget about / the differences. / Just practice / correct sentences and passages / until you're used to them. / The more things / you can blurt out, / the better / you can express yourselves. / If you believe in yourself / and practice crazily / every day, / you will make it. / You will conquer English. / Chinese / is the most difficult language / in the world. / If you can speak Chinese, / you can speak English. / It's up to you. / I think / you can make it!

(Li Yang, p. 23)

On the very bottom of the page consistently in all 50 chapters is 李阳疯狂英语发音挂图 (LYCE Magic Pronunciation Poster). This is a box which always contains a cartoon cat demonstrating Li Yang's famous hand expressions – each character representing the featured hand gesture to match the chapter's phoneme. There are also two visuals of a human mouth in

each box. The first shows the side profile of the proper positioning of the tongue when forming the featured phoneme. The second shows the proper positioning of the lips when forming the featured phoneme.

For the purpose of this analysis, I have highlighted some of the format and style Li Yang uses in his teaching approach. Li Yang's take on pronunciation is unique, although creating a textbook designed around pronunciation is not. What is particularly interesting about his sole focus on pronunciation is the premise in which it is delivered. The title of the book is Li Yang's *Standard American English Course*. It is not titled Li Yang's *Standard American English Pronunciation Course* which would better address what he delivers.   Throughout the text, in various locations Li Yang insists that in order to become a 'master of English' all a student must do is 'grasp' the correct pronunciation.

Most importantly, if pronunciation is not good, all the effort and time spent on learning English is wasted. 更重要的是，发音不好，学习英语所付出的时间和精力都白费了. (p. 6)

If there is no pronunciation then there is no language! 没有发音就没有语言！ (p. 9)

Without (clear) pronunciation, all other hard work is futile.没有发音，一切的努力都是徒劳！ (p. 9)

There is very little mention or attempt to provide any aspect or feel of American culture, as would be expected from a standard American English course. Even the content chosen in all

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sections of the book are very distant from an American point of view or sensibility. The language learning philosophy portrayed by Li Yang in his text is that students should focus solely on pronunciation in order to master English. All other aspects of language learning are blatantly ignored and by not even properly crediting this as a pronunciation course, the acknowledgment of other language competency areas is further diminished. As second language learners and teachers of any foreign language well know, mastering pronunciation is a far cry from nearing fluency.

It is Li Yang's undervaluing of other very important aspects of language which make his focus on pronunciation particularly interesting, specifically cultural representations which would be expected in a Standard American English Course are not only not included but are also greatly devalued. Li Yang places sole importance and complete power and success in speaking English on pronunciation. For many successful second language learners (including Li Yang himself) and many SLA scholars this limited emphasis is knowingly false and misleading. The National Standards in Foreign Language Education Project (1996) states that students cannot truly master a language until they have mastered the cultural contexts in which the language occurs. "Linguistic competence alone is not enough for learners of a language to be competent in that language" (Krasner, 1999 in Peterson and Coltrane, 2003, para. 5) "Students will master a language only when they learn both its linguistic and cultural norms" (Peterson and Coltrane, 2003, para. 6). There are many Englishes with varying standards, but Li Yang has clearly named and marketed his version as American English; therefore adding to and creating the discourse surrounding English and specifically, American English in Chinese society.

Each unit and/or chapter also relatively consistently displays some or all of the following elements:

- Words of encouragement (Chinese only) (Heading of each unit)
- 疯狂外号 Crazy English nickname given to each phoneme. This includes one long Chinese expression and its abbreviation, also in Chinese (Chinese only)
- 李阳老师的话 (Li Yang's Words) (Chinese only)
- 李阳老师健康特别奉献 (Li Yang's Special dedication to health) (Chinese only)
- 李阳老师特别奉献励志名言 (Li Yang's special dedication of inspirational sayings) (Chinese and English)

6.2   POWER AND SOLIDARITY

In using CDA to examine Li Yang's *A Standard American English Course,* I closely examine the language and other semiotic material used in the text, including pictures, diagrams, cartoons and captions. Language is a system of meaning potential, and in any situation, including textbook creation, there are a number of meanings that a speaker or editor may wish to express and a number of wordings that the speaker may use to express the chosen meaning. Therefore, every speech act consists of choices, although the choices are not necessarily conscious ones. When designing a text to teach English, any number of styles, formats and content choices are made. It is not the purpose of this thesis to determine if these decisions made in the creation of this text were conscious ones or not, but rather to examine how the choices perpetuate and create the existing English environment in China.

An analysis of Li Yang's *A Standard Course in American English* reveals that the analysis of the language and discourse in the series makes it an effective agent in not only examining power relations but also in its usage as a unifying agent. Graddol explains that, "The concept of globalization includes the ideas both of flow and counter-flow, producing a tension between the global and local" (pp. 36). This solidarity caused by a global language is interesting in an era of globalization. As Anne Johnson (2009) points out in her case study research done in

Europe, "If left unmanaged, the economic and political havoc wreaked by English–language hegemony could provoke a backlash of nationalism in Europe, destroying the hard-earned benefits of European unification" (p. 157). In China, English is also inciting nationalism but not in the European sense of preserving independent national identities, but in the sense of creating a stronger individual Chinese identity.

The dimensions of power and solidarity have been fundamental to sociolinguistic theory since Brown and Gilman (1960) introduced the concept in relation to the "polite" and "familiar" pronoun forms found in some language systems. One finding from their work is the understanding that it is the reciprocal use of the forms by interlocutors, not the forms themselves which determine whether power or solidarity is primary. Reciprocal forms of address, whether familiar or formal, place speakers on an equal footing; nonreciprocal forms of address position those who receive the polite form as one-up and those who receive familiar form as one-down.

Since Brown and Gilman's 1960 pioneering study, and the subsequent contributions after, the concepts of power and solidarity have been fundamental to sociolinguistic theory. Power is associated with nonreciprocal forms of address: a speaker addresses another by title-last-name but is addressed by first name. Solidarity is associated with reciprocal forms of address: both speakers address each other by title-last-name or first name. Power governs asymmetrical relationships where one is subordinate to another; solidarity governs symmetrical relationships characterized by social equality and similarity.

In numerous articles and books [9], Deborah Tannen demonstrates the paradoxical relationship between power and solidarity as it emerges in conversational discourse. She claims

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[9] Complete list of her work is available at her website:
https://www9.georgetown.edu/faculty/tannend/

that far from being mutually exclusive, power and solidarity entail each other. According to Tannen, any show of solidarity necessarily entails power, in that claiming similarity and intimacy has an element of control; intimates, for example, are expected to do things for each other, and obligations to family and close friends often result in significant limitations on an individual's autonomy. Similarly, any show of power entails solidarity, in that controlling others necessarily involves them in a relationship. It is only with someone with whom one has no relationship at all that one is entirely uninvolved. The linguistic markers of power and solidarity are not only ambiguous-potentially signifying either power or solidarity- but also polysemous, simultaneously signifying both. Tannen's contributions exploring the relationship between power and solidarity as it emerges in conversational discourse, the claim that power and solidarity, closeness and distance entail each other is very useful to the research of Li Yang and the relationships he strives to build with his student audience.

A closer look at Li Yang's text using Fairclough's method, requires closely examining the text from a micro-level. The power-solidarity relationship portrayed in Li Yang's text are complicated and deeply intertwined. I have identified three main discourse aspects found in the text which strongly illustrate this complicated relationship. These are the use of: Li Yang's presence through photos and annotations, syntax styles and adjectives.

6.2.1   Li Yang's Presence, Syntax Styles, and Adjectives

The other sections of Li Yang's *Standard American English* not reflecting familiar language learning devices are numerous and varied, and account for nearly half of the book. They range from motivational texts, self-help strategies (not always related to language learning), slogans, images of Li Yang and a variety of other items, not all of which are analyzed in this thesis. This

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section will examine how photos of Li Yang attribute to creating the relationships of power and solidarity. Then how Li Yang's use of various syntax styles, such as motivational, antidotal, advice-giving and slogans is examined in the creation of power and solidarity relationships. Lastly, Li Yang's distribution of adjectives throughout the text is also examined to reveal power and solidarity relationship structures in Chinese society.

Starting from the Autograph Page through to the actual start of Chapter One language lesson are twenty-nine pages of content I have categorized as nontraditional language learning features. Interspersed throughout the 50 language chapters are also many elements which would be considered nontraditional language features as well. From the end of the 50th chapter on phonemes on page 165 to page 194 also consist predominantly of these nontraditional language features, such as but not limited to motivational poetry, stories, slogans, letters from Li Yang to his students, language learning advice, life advice, club membership forms, etc. A large portion of the entire book is devoted to the nontraditional language learning features. These features which do not directly serve a language learning purpose, serve the purpose of building strong, interdependent relationships of power and solidarity.

6.2.2 Li Yang's Presence: Images and Expressions

Starting with Li Yang's color photo of himself on the outside cover directly below the five faces of American Presidents, representations of Li Yang are also seen over and over again throughout the text. On the inside of the front cover is a full page color photograph of Li Yang with a microphone to his open mouth teaching to a packed crowd of Chinese students in front of the Forbidden City in Tian An Men Square. Throughout the text, there are nine full-page photos of Li Yang in various 'teaching' poses consistently with a huge student-audience surrounding him.

There are a total of twenty-five pictures focusing solely on Li Yang throughout the book. This is contrasted with the two or three other small pictures included in the text; one of which is of the Great Wall. The front cover is the first appearance of cartoon Li Yang holding a microphone and gesturing with his hand. He is next seen holding a calligraphy pen near the space for Li Yang's autograph. A total of 115 cartoon caricatures of Li Yang appear throughout the text. Most portray Li Yang with a microphone either in his right or left hand.

Although each picture of Li Yang places him center stage, in the background in most of the pictures is a portrayal of thousands upon thousands of students intently listening and following his hand movements. Faces of young and old, women and men can all be detected in the photos. A strong sense that everyone in China is involved in this language learning phenomenon is envisioned. To not be a part of it in some way, would be excluding oneself from this solidarity of being a part of this movement sweeping over China. A sense of urgency is created as each student strives for his own personal best in English, in hopes that his standardized score or his oral language skills can help make him stand out against the thousands of other hopefuls competing for the same job. The competitiveness and power associated with English is seen best through this display of solidarity. Thousands of students coming together under the motivation to learn English from a man who professes to possess the 'final solution for everyone' (inside front cover). The abundance of images of a linguistically and financially successful Li Yang, center-stage, in the Forbidden Palace, for example, with hoards of students surrounding him as in some degree of worship are commanding representations of power.   In these power images, Li Yang is portraying himself as teacher, linguistic savior, encourager, the ultimate example of success.   From the representations seen in the photos, Li Yang has successfully built a language empire that demands and obtains respect from his students. At the

same time, these photos reflect the bonds of solidarity created amongst all English language learners in China, within these bonds are also dovetailed power relationships. Together they are all learning English, but separately they are all competing and aspiring for the most coveted and limited places in society.

Li Yang also fosters these relationship throughout the book with the constant big or small images seen of him, as well as with the Li Yang caricatures. With the turn of every page, the constant Li Yang presence keeps him and all that he represents for in close mind for readers. These images are both a reminder of the power and success surrounding English and Li Yang as well as images representing his role as encourager, unifier, with every turn of the page, always there to push students and the nation forward.

On the Title Page, he starts off by telling students, "I'm always with you. 我一直在陪伴你". He follows through with this claim by the repetitive hammering of these photos and images into readers' minds.

6.2.3 Syntax Styles

There are other ways in which Li Yang makes his presence known throughout the text. One particularly unique way Li Yang does this is by adding his voice to the actual language text portion of the book through the addition of personal notes to his students. They are included within parenthesis in the text. There are 20 such examples in the first three chapters alone. They consist of encouragement, advice, and personal antidotal information. These appear after the ten

sentences offered in the text and are only in Chinese. The portions representing Li Yang discoursing with his students are in bold. [10]

Antidotal

#1 Breakfast / is ready. / Eat it / before it gets cold. 早饭好了，趁热吃吧。

〔**It took me three days to pronounce this sentence correctly. 我化了三天的时间才将这个句子读准。**〕 Lesson 3 (p. 24)

#4 I'm proud / to be Chinese. / I'm proud/ to be an international Chinese.

我位自己是中国人而自豪。我为自己是国际化的中国人而自豪。

[I say this everyday. 我天天说！〕 Lesson 1 (p. 18)

Advice

#10 You are / our special guest. / Let's have a toast / to our friendship!

您是我们的特别贵宾，让我们为发 谊干杯！

[This is beneficial to use with a leader/boss. 对领导绝对有用。]

Lesson 3 (p. 24)

Encouragement

#7 It's not difficult; it's very easy. 这不难，很简单。

[This is a very important belief! 这个信念很重要！〕 Lesson #2 (p. 22)

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[10] Author's translation

These frequent attempts of dialogue by Li Yang with his students throughout the text are ways to develop a closer relationship with them, perceived or real. Li Yang also only uses Chinese in these cases which speak directly to students without needing any translation. These are not examples of techniques directed at learning language components. These discourses serve the purpose of creating a more intimate bond between Li Yang and his readership which in turn, as Tannen points out is also a power relationship. In this case, it is one in which Li Yang can use to evoke his readership into doing and believing things he requests, such as:

1. **Recommending his books to others**: Our goal: to let China's hundreds of millions of English students all benefit from this course. It is hoped that you recommend this course to those you care about![11] (inside front cover)

   我们的目标：让中国亿万英语学者都能从这套教材中获盖！希望你把这套教材推荐给你关爱的人！

2. **Studying English for oneself and one's country:** Every student 'Crazy for English' should have this book! Blurt out the content of this book, listen to the recordings, you can become a real international communicator! This is definitely not an ordinary English Course. Our beliefs: By speaking fluent English, test scores will rise! By conquering English, our country is more powerful! (signature page)

   每个"疯狂英语"学习者都应该拥有的书！脱口而出这本书的内容，听透所有的录音，你就可以成为一个真正的国际交流者！这绝对不是普通的英语教程！我们的信念：讲一口流利的英语，顺便考高分！征服英语让祖国更强大

3. **Buying his products:** All that is needed is for you to master this book to become a true master of English. All that is needed is for you to blurt out the articles 200 times to become a translator for the U.N.

   只要掌握这套书，你就可以成为真正的英语大师。只要脱出口而出其中的两百遍文章，你就可以道联合国当翻译了 [12].（p. 185）

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[11] Translations provided by the author.
[12] This is in reference to his new book, Conquering Senior High School English in 5 Minutes Series （5 分钟突破高中英语）

Another way, Li Yang is successful in developing bonds with his students is through the use of slogans and inspirational, motivational rhetoric. There is prevalent usage of slogans and expressions throughout the text. Historically, slogans have been a big part of Chinese society as they were and are continued to be used in political and social campaigns. Li Yang's use of slogans and expressions is yet another way in which Li Yang can identify better with his readership as students are familiar and comfortable with these syntax and discourse styles. Part of Li Yang's not-so-traditional methods of teaching English is his invention and introduction of the "12 Ironclad Principles of English Learning"[13] (学习英语 12 大铁石原则).

Li Yang uses twelve slogans to represent these principles. For example, the first one is called "The Three Big Ones" (三大) which represent the Ironclad Principle related to loud voice, bravery, and frequent use (大声，大胆，大量). A loud voice is needed to gain confidence. Bravery is needed when speaking to foreigners in English and facing the fear of making a mistake. Frequency is needed to practice the international muscle (the tongue) as often as possible (p. 14-15).

None of these examples and uses of slogans are translated into English. As this style is very familiar to Chinese students, it creates a sense of trust and comradery amongst teacher and student and amongst students. It is in part Li Yang's use of this syntax style which helps create these bonds of solidarity. Another example of slogan use is in the following phrases. Crazily listen, crazily read, crazily memorize, crazily write! Let's develop the spirit of the "Four Crazies", being crazy makes a miracle! 狂听，狂读，狂背，狂写！发扬 "四狂" 精神，疯狂创造奇迹！（p. 185). It is very remnant of slogans used to describe the Four Modernizations

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[13] Translation provided by author.

of the Deng Xiaoping era. Slogans in China carry in them meanings not only in the content but historical underpinnings of national movements, a sense of national unity, a call to action, and change for what is considered good and necessary at the time. Li Yang's use of slogans incites an emotional chord in his readers that most likely would not be reached by other methods.

Similarly, the Chinese language has countless idiomatic expressions which are commonly used by speakers in everyday language as well as in written discourse. Proper use of these expressions in Chinese affords a speaker or a writer achieved eloquence.   English discourse is different in the sense that often what are considered clichéd idiomatic usage of words and phrases give less impact to the reader or listener and are generally less esteemed.

All throughout the text, Li Yang abundantly uses clichéd mottos in English with the usage of them falling some where in between how a Chinese student might view slogans and idioms in the Chinese context. Many of these are not translated from traditional four character Chinese idioms, but the use of the four characters in Chinese to express something 'profound' resonates in Li Yang's use of English clichés.

Where there is an open mind, there will always be a frontier. (p. 16)

有开阔的思路，就会有新的领域。

If you can / dream it,/ you can / achieve it! (p. 32)

敢于梦想，就能实现！

It is impossible / for a person / without great will / to become brave / and capable.

没有伟大的意志力，就不可能有雄才大略。（p. 91）

Courage / is the foremost / of all the virtues,/ for upon it / all others depend.（p. 119）

勇气是第一品格，其他一切都要依赖于它。

The overuse of such clichés would be frowned upon in most American English discourses, but due to inherent differences between American English and Chinese language traditions, this abundant usage stands to have some appeal with Chinese students. Where these structures do mostly contain semantically motivational meanings, it is the idiomatic-mottoesque syntax style which is of focus here.

Through the use of familiar syntactic structures, such as slogans, motivational language expressed in semi-idiomatic form, Li Yang creates a very strong Chinese appeal for a product which he is selling as American. Through Li Yang's choice of syntax styles, his discourse has further defined what American English is in Chinese society and has highlighted a power and solidarity relationship between readers as well as between himself and his readers.

6.2.4 Adjectives

The adjective is the part of speech which describes a noun, pronoun or noun phrase and is the describing word of the sentence. An author has a wide range of available adjectives to chose from, some neutral and others with negative or positive connotations. In this way, adjectives differ substantially from nouns and verbs in their sensitivity to the speaker and in their ability to carry out metalinguistic or metadiscoursal functions (McNally, 2008).

In Li Yang's *A Standard Course in American English,* the dichotomy of negative and positive descriptive words creates power and solidarity relationships of a different structure. Great unity is created amongst Chinese learners of English as Li Yang uses negative adjectives to encompass and describe all Chinese English speakers. At the same time, Li Yang uses adjectives to portray English and China in a positive fashion where the solidarity of learning English as a whole nation creates a stronger, more powerful Chinese nation and people.

On page II of the book there is a passage written by Li Yang "Fight for Real Ability" directed towards college students. It highlights two news articles one from the *China Daily* and the other from the *New York Times*, both criticizing the Chinese workforce. Li Yang states that "(all of China's other problems) can be resolved if China addresses its real crisis – producing a creative and highly skilled work force!" In his article, he takes from the *China Daily* noting, "a survey of multinational companies found less than half of Chinese university graduates were suitable for employment." He takes from the *New York Times* stating that, "multinational companies in China are filling more and more low-level positions from their home countries because there are not enough Chinese applicants with practical skills." Li Yang describes this as a "terrible, terrible tragedy!" He explains that the "days of securing a good job based on a certificate or degree are long gone!" and that "English is a prime example of paper versus real-life ability." Li Yang sympathizes with students, stating t,hat "I know that tests are an inescapable reality for Chinese students. I only hope that I can do something to help them crack the exams through real-life ability." He then concludes with "The choice is yours! You can begin right now to use English rather than just 'know' English. This book is your guide to winning the battle!"

The use of descriptions in the passage describe a Chinese work force that is not yet creative or highly skilled, not yet suitable for employment in multinational companies and not possessing practical skills. Strictly negative forms of adjectives are used in describing Chinese students. The acquisition of English is the underlying focus of the article. Gaining ability in English is equivalent to gaining creativity and high skills, in making one suitable for employment and possessing a practical skill. In addressing college students who will soon be seeking employment, these positive descriptions of English are particularly pertinent. The

dichotomy is staged; Chinese students' abilities are presented in a very negative fashion and ability in English in a very positive fashion. Li Yang and his series are then positioned to act as a bridge between them. Solidarity is again established amongst students as they are all shown to be struggling and not successful in their pursuit of English. Solidarity is also established amongst the students and Li Yang as he presents them with a universal solution to the problem.

Gradable adjectives are adjectives like 'cold' and 'hot'. One can be very cold or a bit cold. Gradable adjectives show that something can have different degrees. Barker (2002) argues that one of the main effects of the use of a gradable adjective is to clarify what constitutes the standard for truthful application of that adjective in a given context. Asserting that someone is tall can tell us something not only about the individual's height but also about what counts as tall in the speaker's mind. Li Yang's negation of such gradable adjectives such as 'suitable', 'practical', 'creative' in the context of learning English reflects Li Yang's conceptualization of how these adjectives are defined in the Chinese context, and that is for one to be considered 'suitable', 'practical' or 'creative', one must learn English well enough to be hired by an international company.

Another example of Li Yang's portrayal of Chinese students in a negative fashion is in Part 2 of the text, The Secret of Failure For Chinese Learners 中国人英语失败的秘密 （pp. 5-8). Nearly four pages, in Chinese only are devoted to Li Yang's explanation of this failure.

His final conclusion states that "Unclear pronunciation is the root cause of failure to study English well." [14] 发音不过关是英语学习失败的根本原因 (pg 8). In the process of coming to this conclusion in this passage, Li Yang describes Chinese students as speaking deaf-

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[14] Author's translation

mute English (聋哑英语)；as participating in ineffective study efforts 无效劳动； and as speaking Chinese style English （中国式的）so it is no wonder the authentic English of foreigners is not understood. Throughout the text, this attribution of Chinese speaking poor English remains consistent.

In contrast to the negative adjectives used to describe Chinese learners, there is an entire host of positive adjectives used to describe China.

I love China. / China / is an amazing country. / China / is the future / of the world. 我热爱中国。中国是一个了不起的国家。中国是世界上的未来.（p. 38）

China / is an amazing country. / China has friendly people / and great food. 中国是一个了不起的国家，中国人民很友好，食物很美味. (p. 39)

Splendid Motherland 伟大的祖国 (p. 131)

The future looks bright for China. 中国的未来一片光明. (p. 147)

Li Yang takes great pains to disparage the Chinese student, attributing various negative attributes to them as a collective group. In contrast, his discourse is full of positive descriptions of the English language and of China. In the sense that gradable adjectives can reveal a speaker's "standard for truthful application of that adjective in a given context", Li Yang's choice of negative or positive adjectives for specific entities also reveals his standard for truthful

application in the Chinese context.   In Li Yang's application, in order for Chinese citizens to elevate themselves and be a part of China's greatness and progress into the future, they must learn English.

Work hard. Make ourselves perfect. Serve the people, serve the motherland.

努力工作，自我完善。服务我们的人民，服务我们的国家.（p.11）

If we want / to ensure a great future / for China, / we must/ practice English harder / than ever before. 如果我们想确保中国又美好的未来，我们必须比以前更加刻苦的操练英语. (p. 53)

In the distribution of adjectives, there is great solidarity built in the sense that Li Yang is describing all Chinese students as speaking bad English. He is then offering encouragement and his own solution to this problem. For Chinese citizens, taking part in such a globally sweeping movement is unifying in both a global and local sense. The extremely positive descriptions of China throughout the text, on the other hand, foster a strong sense of global power amongst the readership.

We should never / let our country down. / We must / get ready / for the future.

永远不要让我们的祖国失望，我们要为将来做准备！(p. 24)

The realization that China is a rapidly developing country and rapidly gaining international recognition and respect is strongly echoed throughout the discourse found in Li Yang's text as well as in society.   This discourse found both in society and Li Yang's text reflects that by every citizen collectively doing his part, China will continue towards becoming a formidable world superpower.

7.0   LINGUISTIC WELFARE

Li Yang's immense success is not built upon a successful language learning program, but upon a social movement which has powerful global and local forces which Li Yang has greatly added to the momentum and makeup of in China. In returning to Fairclough's five step method, the intense societal and personal pressure and desire for so many people in China to learn English with the actuality of so few being successful is a social concern. The semiotic aspect used to examine this social concern is through the discourses concerning the phenomenon found in Li Yang's text.

Fairclough's second stage focuses on obstacles to be tackled, what factors are interacting in the creation and perpetuation of this problem. Li Yang's text strongly perpetuates the notion in Chinese society that acquisition of English awards one desired cultural, economic and political capital, and his discourse both creates this notion in society and is created by what exists already. Knowledge of English awards one social status at home, promises of economic affluence and political peace. Although China's contact with the English speaking West has records dating back to the early 17th century, it was the times leading up to, during and after the Opium Wars which set the pace for China's modern relations with the West. The conflicting spirit of using English to learn from the West to build a stronger China but parse the culture from the language has had a long evolution in China. As seen in components of Li Yang's text, this trend is still very strong in society.   The examination of Li Yang's discourse also revealed strong

relationships of power and solidarity within global and local contexts. "China today is divided by, class, opportunity, and power, but one of its few unifying beliefs – something shared by waiters, politicians, intellectuals, tycoons – is the power of English" (Osnos, p2.).   The evolution of English is still evolving in China into something the global community can accept as a respectable form of English amongst the World Englishes and one in which China is comfortable with in its function and form.

The third stage of Fairclough's methods is looking at how this problem relates to the social order and what power dynamics are intact due to this structure. Li Yang's discourse has revealed many power relationships which he both helps to create and sustain.   There is a huge and ever growing socio-economic gap between the rich and the poor in China.   News sources in China and the world outside report heavily on this issue in recent times.   In October 2012, the Pew Global Attitudes Project[15] found that 48% of the 3,177 adults surveyed in China said the gap between the rich and poor in China is a "very big problem."   In 2010, China's Director of Statistics reported that 150 million Chinese are still living in abject poverty.[16] In 2010, figures showed that the Gini coefficient reached 0.47, far exceeding the internationally recognized warning level of 0.4. News reporters, social commentators and strategists are increasingly heard commenting that the widening gap between rich and poor in China has prompted warnings of potential social instability and chaos.   Better quality education and, specifically superior language education are afforded by the haves in China and not the have nots. At a time in China

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[15] http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-10-16/chinese-growing-more-concerned-about-rich-poor-gap-survey-finds.html

[16]   http://www.theepochtimes.com/n2/china-news/gap-between-rich-and-poor-widens-in-china-28883.html

when it is beneficial to know or experience things Western, especially American, at a time when American capitalism is filling the local society with newly-made millionaires, and at a time when the government is calling for every citizen to do his duty to make China stronger, the pressure and the advertised incentives for the mastery of English are enormous. Those with less or no access to quality education can place all their aspirations on Li Yang and his promises of helping them attain English fluency and a place in local and global societies.

He levels the playing field, and accuses all Chinese of speaking English badly - - even those privileged students at topnotch universities. Li Yang also promises to help these topnotch Chinese students who have had access to quality education in China in their efforts to linguistically compete globally by offering "American English" but he simply dilutes this down to pronunciation.

In Li Yang's incorporation of Chinese styles, sentiments and text, for example, he is expressing his acute awareness that culture is extremely important in learning a language. It is language and the embedded culture within which tie a people together. Li Yang's clear removal of American/Western cultural influences and his replacement of them by Chinese discourse style and nationalistic rhetoric clearly show LiYang's knowledge and importance of cultural values in relation to language learning. In Li Yang's manipulation of American English, his knowledge of culture's importance is starkly obvious.

Social commentators and researchers (Woodard) have speculated on the Chinese government's apparent support of Li Yang and his success. He is rallying thousands upon thousands of students to learn "American English". Although in society, there is an unquenchable thirst for all things Western, there is still a political leash put on what and how much of the West is acceptable, yet Li Yang and his rallies continue, seemingly uninterrupted.

In his redefining of "American English" in the Chinese context, Li Yang's definition of it is stripped of all of its American culture and is replaced plentifully by Chinese nationalism and sentimentality. For those in power positions to understand this, such as Li Yang and relevant Chinese officials, they have no concern that American culture is piggybacking in on the back of the Crazy English Li Yang is offering.

Li Yang's "American English" is in fact a pseudo-learning tool to help bridge the huge gap between the rich and the poor, and to appease a growing interest in Western things by re-introducing Chinese themes of nationalism and nation-building in under the umbrella and distortion of "American English". Li Yang's creation of Linguistic Welfare is a tool to appease the masses and provide the have nots with enough hope and information to satisfy them at hand. Li Yang's program, in fact, does not level the linguistic playing field, it increases the disparity. The haves will continue to access quality education sources, and the have nots will be fooled for now into thinking they have done so as well. For the have nots, Li Yang promises them if they just study harder the U.N. is waiting, but the realities are much harsher. "You only need to blurt out about 200 essays, then you can go to the U.N. as an interpreter" 只要脱口而出其中的两百篇文章，你就可以到联合国当翻译了！(p. 185)[17].

As English continues to embody cultural, economic and political capital in China, the demand for its acquisition shows no signs of ceasing. Li Yang fuels these demands in the discourses he uses throughout the text. His appeal has far-reaching aim in China. As long as English remains globally hot, he can locally sell his version of "English". As long as the socio-economically less privileged remain linguistically less-privileged and China, in general, turns to

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[17] Author's translation

the West as its linguistic model, Li Yang and his discourse will remain popular, and as long as China is pushing for modernization and nationalism, Li Yang's discourse plays a role.

His Linguistic Welfare system has appeased the masses for now. The greater question is as China's gap between the rich and poor increases, and in looking at all the masses of people gathered at his events, one must wonder how long until they feel completely marginalized from the other successful segments of society? How long can the guise of equality burn true before it is completely extinguished?

Societies as well as power structures found within are ever-changing and evolving. Does the English fire burn out slowly or is it extinguished by the people, the Chinese government, global trends or something else?

The final part of Fairclough's CDA methodology is offering a solution to the problem, eliciting emancipatory social change. As Fairclough states, "This does not provide a clearly defined and uncontroversial set of social problems. What is problematic and calls for change is an inherently contested and controversial matter" (2002, pp125). Li Yang amassed his wealth and power on his ability to appease the masses. It is not until society's discourse starts to change that power structures may also change. If history offers any indicator of how China will resolve these issues related to language and culture, the Chinese government will continue to strictly monitor the 'winners' and 'losers' of society.

In the context of Chinese society and international standing, the Chinese government is taking an active role in promoting Chinese culture and language throughout the world, for example, by establishing several Confucian Institutes which are setup in educational institutions for this purpose. With further international interest in China's culture and language, a more balanced approach to East-West relations can be had. In the interests of the individual in China,

it has always served one better to participate in the most current campaign but keep one's eyes and ears open to the seemingly inevitable winds of change.

In considering ways of emancipatory change it is also necessary to involve Fairclough's fifth piece of the process which is for me, as the researcher, to critically reflect on my own social positioning and how it may have influenced my analysis. I am a native speaker of American English who worked as an English teacher in China for several years. I taught at an affluent private high school, at weekend cram schools, and to workers in international hotels. In returning to the US, I taught English to immigrants (some with documentation and some without), business people, scholars, and young children. Important in all of this too was my own trials and tribulations in learning Chinese. Many real and perceived obstacles to my acquisition of Chinese are also found in the phenomenon of a global English. I have also slowly come to acceptance that whether I like it or not, English is now globally all encompassing. It is a force too big to fight against, but should be dealt with head on for what it is.

As an English teacher, I have never been completely comfortable in limiting my services to the socially privileged in a society, and in helping to reproduce these unequal power structures found in societies. There have always been opportunities for me to share these resources with less privileged sectors as well, and I believe this, in a tiny way can lead to change. In some ways, I feel some of Li Yang's linguistic welfare serves a needed purpose, but as in any welfare system, without a real pathway out, the system become more oppressive and powerful than the services they were meant to provide.

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