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English for Academic Purposes Vocabulary

Is there support for an increased focus on EAP within
Swedish upper secondary school?

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Abstract

This paper presents a review of current literature regarding the use of English academic vocabulary in relation to the Swedish curriculum. Starting with a historical background to the English for Academic Purposes education and an attempt at defining what academic vocabulary is, the review continues to investigate if there is a need for increased academic vocabulary in Swedish schools and the possible social effects of an education focused towards academic vocabulary. Finally, the paper will discuss EAP vocabulary teaching and a perceived problematic implementation in Swedish upper secondary schools as well as suggest that future research should focus on the needs and problems of Swedish students.

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1 Introduction

In the current Swedish upper secondary school system not all programmes are designed to be preparatory for later university studies. Although the new government as of 2014's election has decided to make upper secondary school mandatory and all programs, both vocational and academic, preparatory for university studies. The new goal is that all students should have the opportunity to enter university after completing the core courses that exists at upper secondary school no matter which specialisation they choose. The English syllabus in Sweden however, does not emphasize English for Academic purposes (EAP), a subdivision of English for Specific Purposes (EAP) that aim to give the students the necessary English to manage their future education. Throughout upper secondary school the students take up to three core courses of English named English 5, 6 and 7. The syllabus describes the central content in each course. In the English 7 course, the final course before university; only half of the text indirectly touches upon EAP in the form of varied speech and social situations and the choice of texts that the student should be proficient with. With just one year left before entering higher education or starting their future careers, only one sentence in the upper secondary school's English syllabus specifically states that the students should be taught English regarding topics such as their future education and career choices (Skolverket, 2011b) and the vocational programs only goes as far as step 5, where EAP is not mentioned at all. The Swedish National Agency for Education has with good intent left room for interpretation of the syllabus, trusting in the teacher's professionalism and their ability to tailor classes according to the interests and needs of the students in order to achieve, among other reasons, classroom democracy. As a consequence, the English education is highly dependent on the teacher, which specialisation, or program the students have chosen. This is made evident by Berggren's (2013) study of English classes in a Swedish high school. The more academically inclined students of natural sciences receive far more training in English for academic purposes than students in the hotel and electric programmes whose English education is more aimed at reading manuals and get by in their everyday life.

Academic English is important for several reasons. Currently, all higher level education in most parts of the western world is written at least partly in English; so much that English is described as becoming *the* academic lingua franca (Mauranen, Hynninen & Ranta, 2010). For anyone that desires to study at a Swedish university, English is becoming

increasingly relevant. More and more courses are taught in English, and there are predictions that all programs in Sweden will be taught in English in 10-15 years (Airey, 2009). Around ninety percent of dissertations in Sweden are written in English making English the leading language for the highest form of education available in the country (Kokkinakis et al., 2012). As members of the Sydney school of thought (Hyland, 2004) have been saying for years, mastering the language is essential for social equality (Belcher, 2006). Without mastery of the language, students cannot progress to higher levels of education, and climb the social ladder. A common belief is that by using basic English vocabulary acquired through a *Teaching English for No Obvious Reason* (TENOR) approach students can still manage the texts required for university studies (Carver 1983). The basic vocabulary used in academic texts however is riddled with genre specific meanings that are different from the common usage (Hyland & Tse, 2007). Acquiring the proper academic vocabulary and learning to use it is crucial to prepare the students for their future and give them a chance to change their career path even if they have chosen a more vocationally oriented high school program. Learning adaptation and the varied use of academic vocabulary is also necessary to be able to fully understand international political debates (Mattsson & Håkansson, 2010). The common Intelligent Design argument “Evolution is just a theory” is a prime example of where even native speakers that lacks understanding of academic vocabulary can create great misunderstandings.

2 Research question

The aim of this literary review is to establish if there is support for EAP vocabulary education within a Swedish upper secondary school setting.

3 Background

This section will try to explain what Academic language is, the area of English that concerns EAP and how the current EAP vocabulary was established.

3.1 Academic Language

English for Academic Purposes is a subdivision of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) that started to grow into its own discipline during the 1980s. At the beginning it was defined as ‘how to study through English’ even if longer and more specific explanations existed at the same time (Jordan, 1989). The vocabulary of EAP has repeatedly changed name as EAP can often be divided into more specific technical forms of teaching such as English for Military

Purposes (EMP) or English for Science and Technology (EST). This makes defining ‘academic purposes’ problematic. EAP is considered to be ‘for general’ academic purposes, words that do not belong to any specific academic discipline. Despite several attempts at creating an all-encompassing corpora to suit EAP teaching there is no set definition of words or talents that a student will need in order to pass higher education. An economics student will require a different form of literacy compared to medicine student or architecture student (Baumann & Graves, 2010). Even though they encounter similar words and diagrams the meanings and usage can vary from the standard forms encountered in everyday English or another academic discipline (Hyland & Tse, 2007). Meaning and usage are rapidly changing according to times and trends as well as cultural and national factors (Tangpijaikul, 2014). There is an ongoing debate as to what actually constitutes academic language. The description used earlier is insufficient. A quick google search will tell us that “**Academic language** refers to the oral, written, auditory, and visual language proficiency required to learn effectively in schools and academic programs—i.e., it’s the language used in classroom lessons, books, tests, and assignments, and it’s the language that students are expected to learn and achieve fluency in” (Academic Language, 2014). What does that mean? It would be hard for a teacher and near impossible for a student to realise what the actual meaning is, and harder still to put it into practice without teacher assistance. There are some common features that current EAP researchers (Deluca, 2010; Ucelli, Dobbs & Scott, 2013; Coxhead & Byrd, 2007). agrees upon. Compared to other texts academic language uses more:

- Low frequency words, lexical items not commonly seen in everyday texts
- Diverse and precise vocabulary, for example modifiers such as *very* are often removed in favour for more exact vocabulary
- Nominalization, the use of a verb, adjective or adverb as the head of a noun phrase
- Explicit discourse organisation, specific words rules for the particular discipline and academia in general
- Markers to indicate the authors stance, choosing words to convey the author’s opinion instead of stating it outright
- Simple present tense verbs
- Frequent use of the passive voice

While these common features creates an idea of what a reader should expect to encounter during higher education, it does not provide a clear picture of which lexical items

will appear in academic texts. The next section will review some of the current available academic vocabulary lists and talk about their creation process.

3.2 Academic vocabulary

There have been several attempts at creating an all-encompassing academic vocabulary list. In the earliest attempts researchers ask their students which words they had found problematic, and from those words a list was created. Several of those lists were eventually compiled into the University Word List (UWL) (Coxhead 2000). This list had considerable influence on the content of EAP vocabulary teaching. As research and computing power increased, the UWL was criticised for being too small in scope and favouring certain academic disciplines (Gardner & Davies 2014). The first attempts at English academic word lists were made by hand, thereby limiting the analysable data. Varying from 272 000 running words to later 478 700 running words, the earlier versions fell short as more efficient corpora software was developed and led to the creation of the Academic Word List (AWL) (Coxhead 2000). 3 500 000 running words were searched through and compared to the General Service List (GSL), a list of the most frequent words in the English language. If a word appeared 100 times and at the same time did NOT appear in the GSL, it was added to the AWL (Tangpijaikul 2014, Coxhead, 2000). The AWL now serves as the standard for EAP education in the USA. It is from the AWL that EAP text books, vocabulary lists and similar items are created. The AWL uses word families in order to achieve a more effective learning and organisation system. Each word family consists of the headword together with all closely related affixed forms. The headwords need to be able to stand by themselves to be selectable for the list, meaning words such as specify and special are not in the same family as spec is not useable on its own (Coxhead, 2000). The word family of the react would look like this:

Table 4.2:

Example of a word family tree following Coxhead (2000) (from Gardner & Davies, 2014 p 307)

<i>react (headword)</i>	<i>Reaction</i>	<i>Reaction</i>	<i>reacted</i>
<i>reactions</i>	<i>Reactivate</i>	<i>reacts</i>	<i>reactionaries</i>
<i>reactivation</i>	<i>reacting</i>	<i>reactionary</i>	<i>reactor</i>
<i>reactors</i>			

This form of systemising has long been popular in the teaching of Chinese and Japanese as the thousands of characters used in their writing system requires the inexperienced learner to come up with efficient methods of memorization in order to read

longer texts but there are problems with the system. Critics have remarked upon the AWL system's unfairness to the inexperienced learner. Word families are not always relatable. The word '*react*' (respond) for example is not directly relatable to '*reactivation*' (to use again) despite being similar in spelling and meaning (Gardner & Davies, 2014). Separation of word siblings requires a lot of the student in form of context and pre-knowledge of the subject matter. Without sufficient instruction '*reactionary*' could be read as 'one who reacts' by comparing with similar words such as '*mission*' and '*missionary*' (Hajer & Meestringa, 2010). More problems emerge as the AWL does not differ between word classes. Using the word *proceeds* as an example, it has different meanings as a noun with the meaning *profit* and as a verb with the meaning *continues*. Depending on the students' chosen discipline, one is far more likely than the other (Gardner & Davies, 2014). There are also advantages with the AWL families. Classification is used from the start in most language education, especially with children. Students are taught to classify which words are fruits and which words are animals by looking at pictures. In later stages of education there is a greater focus on the word classes but the classification continues (Deluca, 2010).

The main reason for the word families is not the learning advantage. It comes from the problem of what classifies as a word. Using this system when selecting lexical items, the AWL has avoided being filled with words that are just slight morphological variations of each other, effectively keeping the number of lexical items in the list down to a manageable number (Coxhead, 2012). Through the research done on the AWL and the Academic Corpus Coxhead (2000) claims the AWL contains the vocabulary needed to manage university level texts. 94% of the words in the AWL occur in 20 of the 28 subject areas within the Academic Corpus, presenting a clear, if somewhat limited in scope, idea of what the students will encounter when they reach university. Any critical reader will quickly start to question the validity of that claim. The research community seems to agree with Coxhead as she receives support from among others Khani & Tazik (2013), Wang, Liang & Ge (2008), as well as Gardner & Davies (2013). The AWL is of course not the only available list. There are discipline specific lists for most subjects as well as individual discipline lists for meeting the specific needs of countries practicing EAP education. Most current research is based on Coxhead's AWL from 2000.

Newer research such as Gardner & Davies report (2013) has pointed out the need to refine the AWL. Languages evolve and the AWL as mentioned earlier is created by comparing words encountered within academia with the GSL. The most frequent words have changed since the GSL was created by Michael West in 1953 (Gardner & Davies, 2013). An

attempt at creating a new wider and larger in scope academic word list resulted in the Billuroğlu–Neufeld List (BNL) named after its creators Steve Neufeld and Ali Billuroğlu (2005). The list tried to correct what the authors believed was a mistake in the AWL. They used a significantly larger collection of data, which incorporated texts and lexical items from more varied academic disciplines. While it delivered a more accurate word list the amount of lexical units rose from AWL's 2000 to 50 000 in the BNL making it unpractical to use for both teachers and students (Gardner & Davies 2013). 50 000 lexical units has the ability to create a very negative affective filter for a student that is interested in raising his academic ability and further makes it unsuitable for the form of specialization that EAP symbolizes.

Sweden's English – Swedish Academic Word List is created by the Swedish National Agency for Higher Education (as of 2012 divided into the Swedish Council for Higher Education and the Swedish Higher Education Authority) through cooperation with various universities in the country. It was created to standardize the use of English in terminology in the higher education sector. (Stockholms Universitet, 2012). Despite the possible benefits of using it, it is currently not used as part of the upper secondary school education in Sweden.

4 A perceived need for EAP vocabulary in Swedish schools?

“Repetition is the mother of all knowledge”, “You learn what you practice for”, “Practice makes perfect”, there are many quotes about learning through practice. There seems to be a general agreement that to get better you need to practice a lot and you need to practice what it is you are going to do. While authentic learning material is a relative new idea even Aristotle (in *The Nicomachean Ethics*) realized the value of practicing the skills that a person will need when he talks about how practice comes from doing the desired action before we can do it well (Tredennick, 2004).

There is a distinct need for practicing academic English in Sweden, as mentioned earlier, ninety percent of all dissertations are being written in English (Kokkinakis et al., 2012) and the universities, despite teaching that all forms of expression is equally valuable, does not practice what they teach (Abrahamsson & Bergman, 2005). Failure to adapt your language to the academic norms set by the student's university means that the student's work will not be accepted, forcing him to either rework it or redo it from the start. The student might possess the ability to express themselves in an academic standard using the L1. Creating the same text using the L2 is a process that requires repeated practice (and failure), creating their own hypothesises and adjusting them until they match the target language

(Abrahamsson & Bergman, 2005). Using the target vocabulary is not a question of the students lacking experience in the subject. It is that they are lacking the *right* experience (Dewey, 1938). The input hypothesis tells us that students need to be given enough target language input through authentic academic vocabulary to have a fair chance at mastering it. The vocabulary during lessons must be within an attainable distance, that is to say, slightly above the skill the student already possesses (Markee, 1984).

There exists a general belief that English lessons should provide the *English* language, (vocabulary, syntax, grammar) whereas necessary subject content should be provided by the subjects' respective teachers. Research however shows learners cannot be expected to learn the necessary content words by themselves, making understanding the concepts of the subject difficult. More mentally demanding input in the form of challenging content areas requires more effort and higher levels of language complexity to create output that is both useful and understandable (Abrahamsson & Bergman, 2005). Hedge (2000) remarks that the frequency of encounters with the vocabulary is directly related to the ability to transfer vocabulary items from the *passive* side, where the student understands the word but cannot accurately reproduce it, to the *active* side, where the student can both accurately reproduce it and understand it. She also remarks that there is a considerable learning effort when memorizing vocabulary, vocabulary that is quickly forgotten if it is not put into meaningful context. In short, academic vocabulary must be learnt in the proper context for the students to be able to reproduce it. Arnó-Macia and Mancho-Barés (2014) agree that courses that focus both on the language and the content are more effective however it is rare that there is sufficient time to do so. Their study found little correction from content teachers meaning that the vocabulary was not properly acquired and as a consequence not properly reproduced. Their study was conducted with university level graduates where the language was expected to already be fluent and accurate or the students were expected to acquire those skills on their own. Such demands and expectations are not directly applicable on upper secondary students. Swedish students seem to believe that the language used during lectures is of little importance; they are confident in their own skills (Berggren, 2013). However Airey's (2009) study on Swedish university physics students showed that there were significant differences depending on if Swedish or English was used. When using English he found that students showed:

- Higher reluctance to ask questions.
- Higher reluctance to answer questions.
- More energy devoted to mechanical note taking.

- Higher dependency on work outside of class.
- Higher dependency on pre-studying the content.

This illuminates the clear disparity between the perceived knowledge and the actual knowledge of the Swedish students. The TENOR (Teaching English for No Obvious Reason) education they have received and their ability to communicate and understand everyday situations have given them a false sense of security. They lack fluency with academic vocabulary. The students compensate through the use of code switching (using words from the L1) and false friends (words in the L2 that resemble words in the student's L1) when conversing with the teachers but those strategies become problematic at best and dysfunctional at worst when producing their own texts. Pecorari, Shaw & Malmström (2011) found that while a good academic English vocabulary is often required to do well in the Swedish university environment, it is not always necessary once the students has reached their target profession. The unpredictable and varied nature of a student's career path makes it hard to create any meaningful target vocabulary that has not already been taken into account during the students' university studies. Once out in the professional world they rely more on direct and verbal communication. To get there, the students must first pass their necessary university education.

There are few that argue against education being the greatest form of social equalisation in today's rapidly changing world. As pointed out earlier, the Sydney school of thought insists that an advanced language is one very important contributing factor to this (Belcher 2006). Students can come from varying backgrounds; have varied motivation, independence and emotional security. They have different learning styles and strategies and of course different language backgrounds, some come from bilingual families while others are from monolingual homes. These factors contribute to making the classroom a difficult teaching environment. Prefabricated learning tools will never fit all students; it is the teacher's duty to oversee that all students meet the syllabus goals when they leave school (Hajer & Meestringa, 2010). Sarani and Sahebi's study on a task-based approach to vocabulary learning in ESP courses (2012) showed that students that received vocabulary teaching directed at a specific purpose greatly outperformed those that did not. It also showed a disparity between female and male learners, where males yielded greater results. This was believed to stem from the traditional gender roles of Iran leading to female students not participating in the given tasks. Coxhead and Byrd (2007) noticed that academic vocabulary can act as a "lexical bar". Students that failed to pass the 'bar' by converting everyday lexical items into their academic counterparts

are in danger of being barred from higher forms of education and in turn unable to achieve their career goals.

According to the Swedish upper secondary school curricula (Skolverket 2011a §2.1) students are supposed to:

“acquire good knowledge in the courses they have studied, and can use this knowledge for further studies, and in societal life, working life and everyday life,,

can use their knowledge as a tool to:

- formulate, analyse, test assumptions, and solve problems,
- reflect over their experiences and their individual ways of learning,
- critically examine and assess statements and relationships, and
- solve practical problems and tasks”

This means that students should be able to pass the “lexical bar” when they are done with upper secondary school

Berggren (2013) noticed that the students he interviewed did not believe that the English they were practicing was useful in the future, the more academically inclined natural science program less so than the vocational hotel and electric programmes. The material used and reproduced by the students was not at an authentic academic level and did not challenge the students nor prepare them for the future. When asked what the students wanted if they could decide the lesson content themselves, they requested more general and social content, examples mentioned were vampire novels and popular music. They seemed unaware of the difficult vocabulary they will encounter at later stages of their education. The study however does not present a proper interview about the students’ motivation. The natural science students express a desire for high grades; the learned content was not relevant to them. The rest expressed an integrative motivation to learn the necessary words to handle popular culture and media. They want English vocabulary to fit into the global world and were mostly upset with what they perceived as boring and outdated syllabus content. Hyland and Tse (2007) argue that general English, even with a basic academic vocabulary, is not enough as writers often use general English with a specialized meaning understandable only to disciplinary insiders. That decoding process is a necessary part of challenging the academic vocabulary. The different genre specific meanings and metaphors used in academic texts become illegible if the students have not received proper decoding education (Charteris-Black, 2000). The programs that receive less academically focused education sustains a discriminating state, locking students’ career paths or making further advances unattainable

due to a lack of the necessary higher level education. Students should be made aware of the challenges ahead when the academic and discipline context change the vocabulary they have previously encountered (Berggren 2013).

There is a cultural aspect to EAP as well. Basturkmen & Shackleford (2014) brings up the difference in performance of international students with different L2s. They described themselves as ‘lost in a flood of terminology’. The study looked at *Language Related Episodes* (LRE) in the classroom, interaction between the teacher and the students concerning the language used in the subject. They found that in advanced accounting classes there were several such LRE per class, most often initiated by the teachers, showing the need to be able to use academic vocabulary in class in order to follow the lecture and process the content. The teachers saw the vocabulary as critical in order to understand the concepts of their lectures and in the first year put a greater effort to the lexical content of their discipline compared to later years where students were expected to have reached the necessary level of mastery. Those that do not pass the ‘lexical bar’, international students with a different L1 more so than native speakers, are once again at a disadvantage; they are in fact studying two topics at once having to both learn the necessary vocabulary and the concepts represented within but are still competing for the same jobs, scholarships and tenures as native speakers and those who have already mastered the academic code (Basturkmen & Shackleford, 2014) (Martinez, 2011). Airey’s dissertation (2009) serves as a reminder that contrary to the students’ beliefs there were noticeable differences when English academic language was used in the classroom. Swedish students and other L2 speakers of English are in the same race for academic recognition as native speakers. Today, with the Internet and global publications, Swedish students are competing and cooperating with native speakers. Hyland (2011) remarks upon how the academic vocabulary can directly affect the students’ chances to get future research grants or employment. The markers used to indicate the author’s stance are required to show a certain reverence and respect to other researchers, especially established names. Failure to abide by these rules can mean that the academic society might shun your work or choose a more preferable author even if the content is valid. In the struggle to create an academic identity, an author’s culture and background is often lost, even more so if the author lacks the vocabulary to express himself properly. Giltrow (2002) similarly writes about the negative attitudes towards different variants of English where especially creole is seemed as unfit of academic writing. Using Latin America as an example, because they have a similar situation as Sweden, 95% of all dissertations are written in English despite it being an L2 for the majority. There is a noticeable link between academic success and the author’s command of

English. The chance for getting published is significantly higher if the writer chooses English rather than his L1 and with publication being a requirement for a doctorate, it creates a very literal 'lexical bar' the students need to pass to enter the upper echelons of the academic society (Martinez, 2011). Academic English can be a decisive factor in students' futures, a key to get academic attention and through it improve your social standing and/or income. The Committee for Upper Secondary School has said that to stay competitive in a rapidly changing society, Sweden needs a well-educated workforce that possesses a broad core competence (SOU, 2002 s120). To achieve this they press that it is the 'functional and practical' side of English that should be focused upon (p 165) as well as the skills to adjust to internationalisation and globalisation of the world (p 235).

5 Teaching EAP vocabulary

The next chapter will look into problem areas when teaching academic vocabulary within the confines of the Swedish curriculum and syllabi.

5.1 Encountering authentic vocabulary

Just as there is a difference between using the general vocabulary appearing in GSL and the academic vocabulary of AWL there is a significant difference in teaching the use of general vocabulary and academic vocabulary. Lexical items that appear in the student's usable vocabulary are used in different ways in academic writing. The word *require* for example is overwhelmingly used in the form of *required* and then mostly in the passive form not the simple past tense. Simply making the students memorize vocabulary is not enough; the students need pragmatic competence as well to handle academic situations (Coxhead & Byrd, 2007). Hyland and Tse's (2007) argue that this is why EAP is not enough because the customs might be too varied between different subjects and a teacher is better off teaching content specific words in accordance with ESP. Eldridge (2011) points out that content words are likely to be glossed over by EAP teachers due to the sheer amount. Instead the teacher's should focus on scaffolding to help the student use their available vocabulary in an academic fashion. It is in the co-occurrence and collocations where the real academic vocabulary appears. To attain an understanding of the unusual interaction between lexical items repeated encounters is required (Coxhead & Byrd, 2007). The most important factor becomes the use of authentic materials so the student can by themselves discover new ways of interacting with sentence construction. That allows the students to activate the knowledge they already possess and work with expanding it in a new direction. It is especially helpful if the student already

possesses an academic vocabulary in his L1 (Hajer & Meestringa, 2010). Gradual approximation is commonly used in schools to introduce difficult language sections. The students are supposed to become guided into the setting by seeing semi-authentic material allowing them to learn patterns and routines that will help them internalize the language. While patterns and routines are helpful at the beginning as a strategy for memorization, it does not constitute true learning. It is not until the student is able to break from those routines and patterns to command the language into the shape he desires that he has mastered it (Carver, 1983). More authentic learning experiences and less repetition of patterns and routines matches Berggren's findings in his dissertation (2013). Students that did not receive a passing grade felt that English was a subject where they could not affect the content. They were just repeating what the teacher had told them and performed given assignments without much reflection. Abrahamsson and Bergman (2012) note that often students engaged in complex tasks in their L2 have a lot more they want to express than they can accurately convey. An L2 student starts with a high mental complexity (advanced ways of thinking) and later develops linguistic complexity (advanced ways to express himself) before finally reaching high levels of linguistic correctness (the student's language matches the target language). Routines and patterns can allow the students for a short while to express a higher level of linguistic correctness by trading in a lower level of linguistic complexity. The more the student relies on those patterns, the less mental complexity can be displayed as the lack of linguistic complexity does not allow the student to express identity or exactness. This is the same problem that Hyland (2011) noticed in his research. While blindly following academic standards can allow the student to finish a task, less accurate vocabulary makes it hard for the student to establish his own academic identity; the mental complexity is lost in linguistic simplicity. Allison (2006) suggests that more demanding text production forces the student to encounter their linguistic problem areas. The teacher should act as a critical reviewer instead of an all-knowing teacher that assists by filling out the gaps in knowledge. Both Bergman's (2012) and Airey's (2007) dissertations found that the Swedish students interviewed thought that semi-authentic assignments and lessons were not 'real' or useful. They all expressed concern that those assignments were constructed because they were easy to correct and easy to grade, they felt that it was not useful language that was being taught, hinting at a need for assignments with more authentic language.

5.2 An accurate vocabulary

It is interesting to note is that the students in all programs, both academic and vocational felt that there was too much focus on text production and they instead felt that they needed to practice speaking. O'Boyle (2014) findings match Airey's (2007) were students believe themselves to possess a greater vocabulary than actually do. They are not used to genre specific functions and cannot accurately use their vocabulary in an academic setting. There were significant differences when speaking in the use of pronouns between non-native speakers and native speakers' academic English, with non-native speakers often using pronouns as hesitation devices and to create cognitive space whereas native speakers use different and more varied discourse markers to achieve the same effect. O'boyle (2014) believes this to be an area that teachers need to focus on. The improper use of pronouns in academic language was seen as a marker of disfluency and disturbed the natural flow. O'Boyle believes that this is a sign of the material that is being used. The students are mimicking the language they have seen in semi-authentic material that has projected an inaccurate target language. He suggests an increased use of more authentic speech so the learners can see a greater variation and align their own production with more native like speech. Similarly Hyland (2002 s 130) suggests that more research needs to be done in the selection of reporting verbs. The author's voice is a powerful tool in academic discourse, selecting 'reports', 'suggest' or 'says' displays the your level of trust in your reference. There are significant differences between the different academic disciplines when writing. Soft disciplines put emphasis on the verbal accounts and thoughts of the researchers (127). Giltrow (2002) argues the need for an appropriate and accurate academic language. Even lay-people are quick to judge other people's speech and devalue the content if it does not match the standard they expect. Worse still is that the speakers themselves learn to devalue their own speech and content if they feel that they do not match the standards set up by the dominating community. Students are quick to accept their own production as 'sloppy' 'careless' or 'disrespectful' if they are put under scrutiny. Giltrow therefore believes that "linguistic relativism" (the belief that any usage is as good as any other) is potentially harmful to the students. She does however suggest the same for an over critical and evaluative attitude. The key lies in meeting the audience's expectations of an academic vocabulary. Being accurate and precise in your choice of vocabulary makes all the difference when producing an academic text or speech. Sweden's national agency of education says in the syllabus that:

“Students should be given the opportunity, through the use of language in functional and meaningful contexts, to develop all-round communicative skills. These skills cover both reception, which means understanding spoken language and texts, and production and interaction, which means expressing oneself and interacting with others in speech and writing, as well as adapting their language to different situations, purposes and recipients. Through teaching students should also be given the opportunity to develop correctness in their use of language in speech and writing, and also the ability to express themselves with variation and complexity. In addition, students should be given the opportunity to develop their ability to use different strategies to support communication and to solve problems when language skills are inadequate” (Skolverket 2011b)

The quote illustrates directly that the students should develop correctness in their language in both writing and speech during varied and complex situations as well as the strategies to deal with situations that are beyond their current skills. Correctness when it comes to academic vocabulary is, as mentioned earlier, linked with the correct choice of words to represent your stance and understand the texts stance as well as the disciplines own set of correct words. Unlike ESP and TENOR, an academic vocabulary also functions as a communicative strategy to support the communicative needs within all academic disciplines (Coxhead 2012). The national agency of education (2011b) goes on to specify:

- “1) Understanding of spoken and written English, and also the ability to interpret content.
- 2)The ability to express oneself and communicate in English in speech and writing.
- 3)The ability to use different language strategies in different contexts.
- 4)The ability to adapt language to different purposes, recipients and situations.”

This together with the more interpretational: “How oral and written communications in different genres are built up. How stylistics and rhetorical devices are used for different purposes and how language is used as an instrument to exercise power” creates the need for an accurate vocabulary. The general academic vocabulary requires practice in which phrases that are appropriate for discourse structuring, such as emphasis and hedging, linking words and idiomatic expressions. High frequency words and their concordances should be studied through corpora research by the teachers to better understand the students’ needs (Hyland & Milton, 2006) More in depth research needs to be done to look at the how EAP vocabulary can be used specifically with the Swedish curriculum. These areas of future research will be returned to in conclusion section of this literary review.

6 Discussion

The difficulty in defining which lexical items are going to be useful to students will be an ongoing debate for years to come, forever most likely, as the world is rapidly changing and the language changes with it. The inaccuracy of the General Service List which forms the base of the Academic Word List (AWL) is one of the most valid sources of critique raised against it (Gardner & Davies 2013). It is the reason why the AWL needs to be updated and a new list of similar learning effectiveness should take over as the foundation for English for Academic Purposes (EAP) education. The benefits of EAP vocabulary is its focus and usefulness for further education. If the lexical items being taught are outdated then the focus is in the wrong direction. The Billuroğlu–Neufeld List (BNL) on the other hand is too wide in scope for effective use. A shorter word list that not only focuses on the accuracy of the lexical items in the data but also the frequency to maximize the usage per taught word could be a useful to create an updated foundation for EAP education. Such a list would still be insufficient to handle the context bound nature of academic vocabulary, a probable reason as to why the more accurate BNL list has not taken over AWL's position as the standard for EAP education. An academic vocabulary needs to be easy to acquire for the students or the student must have a very high instrumental motivation to take on academic vocabulary, which is more difficult and has a more limited usability outside of education. This speaks in the favor of ESP and the current “tinting”¹ that is used in Swedish upper secondary education. Tinting is often underused as it requires the English teacher to either possess knowledge of the needed vocabulary for each specialization or start projects together with other subjects' teachers. There is also a lack of materials available as each Swedish school for economic reasons usually only relies on a single English book per step, not per step and program. Any tinting requires the teachers to find the necessary material by themselves.

It is important that the curriculum and the syllabi start to address the linguistic relativity of the TENOR approach. All forms of English are not equal and there are consequences when students cannot accurately use academic vocabulary. Language is still going to be a lexical bar to academic world that is not likely to disappear anytime soon. Likewise, Sweden is no longer a country that has a substantial amount of industrial

¹ The Swedish word *Infärgning*, in this case refers to each program should adjust its subjects to the programs' specialty, i.e the Hotel program should receive math and English tasks relating to their line of business

production and that too is not likely to change. An average worker is going to need an increasing amount of education to handle the globalization and internationalization that is occurring in all aspects of the modern world. Hindering people from gaining access to that education through ignoring the challenges that faces the students seems to go against the intentions of the Swedish curriculum. One of the most important aspects of it is to create an autonomous learner, a student that can seek out the knowledge needed to keep on learning. Is not the language needed for higher education one of the most important factors for autonomy? How can the student be expected to continue his education without possessing the linguistic capability to use and produce the texts needed to study on his own? Academic Vocabulary is generally only encountered in an educational environment making it highly unlikely that the student would engage it before he has the need. There is a time limit before university starts. Once upper secondary school is over, they are expected to start reading academic texts and produce their own. By the time the students reach university they should already have an academic vocabulary ready to face the challenges provided. Imagine if you will that the school did not provide the basic math necessary for the hard sciences? That has sadly been the state of the Swedish school system, with the result that students were forced to take an extra year of preparatory math before they could enter the University. That is one of the reasons as to why the math courses were changed. The question is whether it is time for the English courses to be reconstructed as well to provide an equal education to both the academic and vocational programmes.

Airey's (2009) research's results are worrying. Students believe they have knowledge they do not have and when faced with challenging material they use avoidance as a strategy. There are negative effects with the students' lack of ability (Giltrow 2002). If the language does not meet the expected standard the students' affective filter will be increasingly negative, as well as their opinion of the subject and their English skills. This goes against both the curriculum's idea of improving the students' confidence and preparing them for later studies (Skolverket 2001a §2.1). In §2.2 the national agency of education (2011a) states that teachers should guide and inform the students about choice of courses, their future careers and education, and make sure that those choices are not restricted by the students perception of gender, social status, race or culture. With that in mind it seems strange academic language would only be made available to the academic programs that take the final 7th course. Education and the language that comes with it are as mentioned earlier in the review a social divider. From an equality perspective the current system seems contra-productive. Should not all students have access to the language of higher education?

One final note regarding EAP education in Sweden, can EAP be used in Swedish upper secondary schools? While freedom exists to adjust the content in the courses I would have to argue that the current syllabi does not allow for effective use of it. Simply stated, there are too many different topics to be covered to take more than shallow swim into the pool of academia. There is also a worrying trend among the teachers interviewed in Berggren (2012) and Arie (2009) where the motivation and the students' perception of fun take precedence to useful vocabulary and challenging tasks. While the academic natural science program would be easy to convince and motivate as they are driven by a desire for high grades, there are problems with motivating the vocational programs that already feel that the language taught was not useful. To show the usefulness of EAP vocabulary you have to expose the students to academic text that might be too advanced and a detriment to unmotivated students' will to learn. Without backing from the national agency of education where they actively promote an increased focus on academic language, it would be a massive task for any one teacher to work around the syllabi in order to help seemingly unwilling students.

7 Conclusion

English Academic Vocabulary is hard to define as there are variations between the different academic disciplines and academic texts that rely on the English general vocabulary to express discipline specific meanings. A thorough study should be conducted to establish a basic academic vocabulary that would allow Swedish student to confidently face the requirements of university education.

EAP vocabulary is well suited for the democratic goals expressed in the Swedish curriculum as it strengthens the ability of citizens to take part in higher education, express their opinions and research in a respectable fashion, creating an understanding for others opinions and research as well as being able to separate the two. Furthermore it would strengthen Sweden's global competitiveness and the adaptability of the workforce. EAP vocabulary is not well aligned with the current English Syllabi in Swedish upper secondary school as it is only part of the 7th step which is not taken by all students. There are areas of future research that could benefit Swedish EAP research.

- In depth corpus studies of the materials used by Swedish Universities as well as Swedish specific purpose schools, such as the vocational academy of marketing, with the aim to establish the accuracy of the current vocabulary lists in a Swedish setting.

- Further studies on the perceived knowledge and the actual ability of the Swedish students. It is important to establish whether it is the lack of ability in productive skills that causes a lack of confidence in participation within an academic settings or if it is the lack of confidence that influences the productive skills.
- Studies of the level of authenticity of the materials used for vocabulary education in upper secondary schools in Sweden and whether an increased focus on authentic vocabulary education would have a positive effect on students' willingness to tackle higher education material.

Studies in these areas could reveal whether EAP vocabulary is an area that teachers need to focus more upon or whether the current level is enough to meet the students' needs in regard to the current Swedish curriculum.

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