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Zoi Tatsioka, Barbara Seidlhofer,
Nicos C. Sifakis, Gibson Ferguson (Eds.)

USING ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA IN EDUCATION IN EUROPE

ENGLISH IN EUROPE, VOLUME 4

LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL LIFE

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Using English as a Lingua Franca in Education in Europe

Language and Social Life

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Editors
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Volume 7

Using English as a Lingua Franca in Education in Europe

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English in Europe: Volume 4

Edited by
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This volume is dedicated to the memory of Professor Cem Alptekin (1942–2014).

Series Preface

The biggest language challenge in the world today is English. School children are expected to learn it; and the need to succeed in English is often fired by parental ambition and the requirements for entry into higher education, no matter what the proposed course of study. Once at university or college, students across the globe are increasingly finding that their teaching is delivered through the medium of English, making the learning process more onerous. Universities unquestioningly strive for a greater level of internationalization in teaching and in research, and this is in turn equated with greater use of English by non-native speakers. The need to use English to succeed in business is as much an issue for multinational corporations as it is for small traders in tourist destinations; meanwhile other languages are used and studied less and less. On the other hand, academic publishers get rich on the monolingual norm of the industry, and private language teaching is itself big business. In the market of English there are winners and there are losers.

The picture, however, is more complicated than one simply of winners and losers. What varieties of English are we talking about here, and who are their 'native speakers'? Is there something distinct we can identify as English, or is it merely part of a repertoire of language forms to be called upon as necessary? Is the looming presence of English an idea or a reality, and in any case is it really such a problem, and is it really killing off other languages as some commentators fear? Is the status and role of English the same in all parts of the world, or does it serve different purposes in different contexts? What forms of practical support do those trying to compete in this marketplace need in order to be amongst the winners?

These are all questions addressed by the *English in Europe: Opportunity or Threat?* project, which ran from January 2012 to October 2014. This international research network received generous funding from the Leverhulme Trust in the UK and was a partnership between the universities of Sheffield (UK), Copenhagen (Denmark) and Zaragoza (Spain), Charles University in Prague (Czech Republic) and the South-East European Research Centre in Thessaloniki (Greece). Each of the partners hosted a conference on a different topic and with a particular focus on English in their own region of Europe. During the course of the project 120 papers were presented, reporting on research projects from across Europe and beyond, providing for the first time a properly informed and nuanced picture of the reality of living with and through the medium of English.

The *English in Europe* book series takes the research presented in these conferences as its starting point. In each case, however, papers have been rewritten,

and many of the papers have been specially commissioned to provide a series of coherent and balanced collections, giving a thorough and authoritative picture of the challenges posed by teaching, studying and using English in Europe today.

Professor Andrew Linn
Director, *English in Europe* project

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We would like to wholeheartedly thank the *English in Europe: Opportunity or Threat?* project for the financial support in the organization of the conference which took place in Thessaloniki, on 23–24 November 2013. We would also like to thank all our *English in Europe* partners who participated in the blind peer review process of all chapters of the volume, thus ensuring its academic quality and professional standards. Their contribution to the volume, their help, support and guidance have been invaluable.

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Zoi Tatsioka, Barbara Seidlhofer, Nicos C. Sifakis
and Gibson Ferguson
Introduction

Over recent decades English has assumed an increasingly important role in higher education in Europe, where many universities have introduced English medium graduate courses in their drive to internationalise and recruit fee-paying students. However, in these settings the English language used for communication among students and academics of varied national backgrounds is not so much the standard English of the UK or of any other native variety but English as a lingua franca (henceforth ELF), and it is the challenges and opportunities of this use of English that is the main focus of the present volume.

More specifically, the volume examines ELF in European education with a primary focus on South East Europe (Bulgaria, Croatia and Greece), although the educational contexts of Central (Austria and the Czech Republic) and Western Europe (Spain, the UK) are also explored. Thus, the volume investigates a region where English has only recently assumed the role of a common language following the decline of French in the middle of the 20th century, and Russian after the fall of the Iron Curtain in the 1990s. Countries of this geographical area belong to Kachru's (1985) Expanding Circle and thus they are not associated at all with Britain's colonial history, although nativeness is a recurring theme in the volume. Moreover, all the countries whose educational contexts are examined in the following chapters constitute member states of the European Union (EU) and enjoy the benefits of free movement and residence as well as the opportunity to participate in funded educational programmes. All the aforementioned political and social developments have paved the road for the spread of English as a lingua franca in the region. The historical evolution of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) into ELF in different parts of Eastern Europe is discussed below.

1 EFL and ELF in Eastern Europe

English has been taught as a foreign language in the countries of Eastern Europe for a number of decades without having been granted any official status, as all of the countries belong within the Expanding Circle. Although in the past it had to compete with other dominant foreign languages, predominantly French, it has now assumed the role of 'first foreign language' in the region and it is certainly the most widely learnt language followed by French and German (EACEA/Eurydice 2012).

Starting with the USSR, the most powerful state of the 20th century in Eastern Europe, foreign language learning boomed only after the end of World War II. According to Lewis (1962), English language lessons were offered even in preschool education during that period and Special Foreign Language Medium High Schools were established in six major cities. In Moscow alone in 1962 there were 500 kindergartens where English was taught. In Russia, Ukraine and Georgia in particular, English language teaching was highly promoted by pedagogical institutes. Contrary to the picture Lewis paints, Ustinova (2005) claims that there was a delay in the expansion of English in the USSR due to the dominant role of Russian as a lingua franca in Eastern European countries, the popularity of French as a foreign language in the 20th century and the limited contacts with the Western world until the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991.

In other countries of East Europe such as Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria, which were not part of the USSR but acted as satellite states, English became the first foreign language only after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, when the focus shifted to the Western world (Simigné Fenyő 2003). In the 2000s English became the medium of instruction in various universities and since then it has gradually replaced Russian as a lingua franca in this part of Europe. In Bulgaria, a country examined in the volume, English has been viewed positively especially after the collapse of the USSR when it started being perceived as the language of civil rights, freedom, democracy and economic progress (Georgieva 2011 in Slavova this volume). English language teaching in Bulgaria starts in the first grade and has mostly been influenced by British and American English (O'Reilly 1998).

In the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, French was the first foreign language taught in schools followed by German until the late 1950s, when English and Russian became particularly popular due to the socio-political context of the state. The French government of that period reacted instantly to this change by providing schools with teachers who were native speakers of French in an effort to intensify French language learning. After the breakup of Yugoslavia, English became a compulsory foreign language from the first grade of primary school in Serbia in 2005, while second foreign language learning starts in the fifth grade (Filipović, Vučo and Djurić 2008). Similarly, in Croatia foreign language learning is promoted at all levels of education with a primary focus on English. English is taught from the first grade of primary school and it is native-speaker-oriented (Drljača Margić and Vodopija-Krstanović this volume).

Following the Greek War of Independence (1821–1832), foreign language learning was introduced in public secondary education in Greece with French as the compulsory foreign language. However, due to the influence of the Anglophone world, English gained an equal status with French in 1945, and in 1989 it became a compulsory foreign language in primary schools too (Papaefthymiou-Lytra 2012).

In 2010 English as a Foreign Language was introduced in the first and second grades of 1,000 primary schools (Dendrinos, Zouganelli and Karavas 2013) and as of 2016 it is taught in all grades of primary and secondary education throughout Greece. Sifakis (2007) and Sifakis and Bayyurt (2015) strongly argue for the endorsement of the teaching of English as a lingua franca and the integration of an ELF curriculum at schools stressing at the same time the emerging need for ELF-aware teacher education programmes. It is also noteworthy that a large part of English language teaching in Greece takes place in private language schools whose primary learning objectives are exam-oriented. Finally, English has quite recently been perceived as a lingua franca in higher education with a small number of university programmes offered in English.

As mentioned earlier, all the countries whose ELF educational contexts are examined in this volume constitute member states of the European Union. Most South and Central East European countries joined the EU in the 2000s (i.e. Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia, Slovenia in 2004; Bulgaria and Romania in 2007) with the exception of Greece, which has been a member state since 1981, Austria which became a member state in 1995 and Croatia, which joined the EU in 2013 (EU Commission 2017). Applicant countries include Albania, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), Montenegro, Serbia and Turkey, and their admission is expected to strengthen the role of ELF in South East Europe and the Balkans. One of the EU's core values is the promotion of linguistic diversity and multilingualism; however, since its foundation, the EU has also contributed to the development of ELF around Europe. In particular, the establishment of freedom of movement and residence for EU citizens as well as the operation and expansion of language programmes such as the recent Lifelong Learning Programme (LLP) until 2013 and ERASMUS+ from 2014–2020 have been pivotal in solidifying the role of English in Europe.

Regarding the use of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) in South East Europe, only a small proportion of higher education institutions offer English-taught programmes (ETPs). Cyprus has the highest proportion (47.8%), but percentages drop significantly in the case of Greece (19%), Romania (16.9%), Bulgaria (16.3%) and Croatia (6.9%). In terms of the proportion of programmes provided in English measured against the overall number of programmes offered in each country, the highest percentages can be found in Cyprus (25.5%) and Turkey (19%) (Wächter and Maiworm 2014). In Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece and Romania the proportion ranges only from 1–2%. As far as Central East Europe is concerned, the highest proportion can be found in Slovenia and the Czech Republic (9.9% and 6.3% respectively) (Wächter and Maiworm 2014). Percentages are significantly higher in Central West Europe (6–30%) and in the Nordic countries (3–38%) but equally low in South West Europe (2–3%), showing that internationalisation is

mostly seen as a priority in Northern Europe. It is for this reason that the volume focuses on ELF in European education in the Eastern part of the continent.

2 Structure and outline of the volume

In addition to some invited chapters, the volume comprises papers presented at the conference held in Thessaloniki, Greece in 2013 under the auspices of the *English in Europe: Opportunity or Threat?* project 2012–2014 funded by the Leverhulme Trust. Central to the project was a series of five conferences in different European countries (UK, Spain, Denmark, Greece, Czech Republic) dedicated to exploring the contemporary role and status of English in Europe, as well as attitudes to the language, across a range of domains – e.g. higher education, academic research, business and commerce. The fourth conference in Thessaloniki, entitled 'Responses to the lingua franca role of English', focused in particular on English in education in South-Eastern Europe and the Balkans with the aim of generating a better understanding of English in this region relative to other regions of the continent. Thus, the reader will find papers from Austria (1), Croatia (1), the Czech Republic (1), Bulgaria (1), Greece (2), as well from Spain (3) and the UK (1).

The volume divides into three main parts, moving from the general to the more specific. In the first part two papers explore, first, English as a source of potential empowerment of teachers and academics, and, second, questions of linguistic justice in relation to the increasing influence of English in Europe and the EU. The first part consists of the following chapters:

In his chapter "ELF as an opportunity for foreign language use, learning and instruction in Greece and beyond", Nicos C. Sifakis examines the challenges and opportunities ELF poses and offers in Greece, where English has no statutory or historical role, but is taught as a foreign language (EFL). The author argues that ELF research can be used to inform EFL contexts, empower non-native speakers of English and contribute to teacher development. Sifakis also discusses the four possibilities for teaching and learning English in countries of the Expanding Circle: (i) the "foreign language" possibility with a focus on accuracy, fluency and native speaker varieties; (ii) the "exam-oriented" possibility which has as its main objective the sitting and passing of language exams and which similarly to the EFL possibility is native-speaker-oriented; (iii) the "international" possibility which aims at preparing learners for future interactions with non-native speakers and emphasizes the development of a set of strategies that will help learners communicate effectively; (iv) the "multicultural" possibility, which shares

many similarities with the "international" possibility but focuses on interactions between non-native speakers of English which take place in increasingly multi-cultural contexts.

Gibson Ferguson's chapter, "European language policy and English as a lingua franca: a critique of Van Parijs's 'linguistic justice'" examines language policies, practices and ideologies through a critical evaluation of Van Parijs's work (2011) on linguistic justice in a European context. The author questions the empirical premises and assumptions regarding language, language use and acquisition and proposes alternative measures for the redress of linguistic injustice. In more detail, Ferguson discusses the commitment of the European Union (EU) to the protection of multilingualism and diversity, but also stresses the fact that English is the most widely used language in the EU. He emphasizes this mismatch between EU principles and practices which is primarily due to the increasing power of English as the former language of colonial domination and global capitalism as well as to the number of speakers in the Expanding Circle. He critiques Van Parijs's proposal for the accelerated spread of English as the EU's sole lingua franca by foregrounding the complexities involved in ELF, the lack of competence of the European population and the real challenges of a transnational demos.

The second part of the volume comprises three chapters examining attitudes toward ELF in education, and emphasizing the need, among other things, to problematise and re-evaluate the notion of the native speaker in the field of education. The three chapters concur that it is time to accept the new role of English as a facilitator of intercultural communication and integrate ELF in language education. The chapters also explore issues of teacher training in different teaching contexts. This second part of the volume consists of the following chapters:

In "English language education in Croatia: Elitist purism or paradigmatic shift?" Branka Drljača Margić and Irena Vodopija-Krstanović examine the attitudes of 114 English language teachers in Croatia towards the potential integration of ELF into language education following a mixed-method approach, namely using questionnaires and interviews. The results demonstrate that for the majority of participants the ultimate objective of language learners ought to be the achievement of native-like competence in English. Similarly, most informants argue that it is pivotal for teachers who are non-native speakers of English to have a native-like pronunciation. In the same vein only a small percentage agree that communicative competence is important regardless of accuracy. On the other hand, the vast majority argue that it is important for students and teachers to be introduced to ELF, but they claim that ELF can strongly impact the teaching of vocabulary and grammar as well as of speaking, listening, writing and reading. Significantly, the findings suggest that although most of the participants

acknowledge the usefulness of raising student awareness of the different uses of English, only a few are willing to implement ELF practices in the classroom.

Emilia Slavova's chapter "Attitudes to English as a lingua franca and language teaching in a Bulgarian academic context" explores the applicability of the concept of ELF in a Bulgarian academic context through the attitudes of Bulgarian students to their own and others' native and non-native English accents. More specifically, the author investigated the attitudes of first year students at the Department of English and American Studies at the University of Sofia towards different native and non-native accents of English as well as towards their own competence and nativeness in English. According to the findings, native accents are viewed more positively and there is a clear preference for British over American accents, although only some students claim that they would like to acquire a native accent. Non-native accents are generally acceptable unless they impede understanding. It is also noteworthy that most participants acknowledge the role of English as an international language, although they lack familiarity with the term ELF. Finally, the author claims that ELF should no longer be perceived as a variety requiring description and standardization, but as a concept leading to a shift in attitudes, greater tolerance to differences and a heightened awareness of linguistic and cultural diversity.

Olga Dontcheva-Navratilova's study **"English language teacher education in the Czech Republic: Attitudes to ELF"** investigates the attitudes of teachers and teacher trainees in the Czech Republic towards the issue of (in)appropriateness of native-speaker standard English norms in English language teaching. The findings reveal that participants express ambivalent attitudes towards the teaching and learning of English, abiding by a native-speaker English ideology concerning their own language use, while they are also fully aware of the predominance of ELF outside university classrooms. In more detail, current and future teachers of English acknowledge the role of English as an international language but teachers-to-be prioritize effective communication as the main learning objective while their lecturers seem to also take into account the native-like level of language proficiency to a significant extent. The solution the author proposes is to approach English language teaching from the learner's rather than the teacher's perspective.

The third part of the volume includes five papers examining the role of ELF in different academic contexts: in academic blogs, intercultural student teamwork in a business University, English medium lectures, curriculum design for graduate students at a Spanish University, and intercultural communication for military students. All contributions discuss the challenges students and academics face in a globalised world where English is used for intercultural communication. They also stress the need for new teaching materials and training opportunities

to meet the changing needs of teachers and learners. This last part of the volume comprises the following chapters:

In "English as a lingua franca in academic blogs: its co-existence and inter-action with other languages" María José Luzón examines the use of English as a lingua franca in academic blogs and its co-existence and interaction with other languages aiming to identify the ways in which non-native speakers deploy their linguistic resources and the factors that influence language choice and language mixing in academic blogs. To this end, the author analysed 32 academic blogs by non-native English bloggers, all affiliated to non-Anglophone institutions and collected 12 online questionnaires completed by bloggers. According to the findings, some blogs were solely written in English. In other cases, English and another language interact as follows: (i) some posts make use of ELF throughout and other posts are written in another language (or in other languages); (ii) the same blogger writes two blogs: one using ELF and the other in his/her L1; (iii) the post using ELF includes its translation in the blogger's L1; (iv) code-switching in posts. Moreover, the analysis shows that language choice in academic blogs is affected by situational and pragmatic factors, expected audience and topic, and identity construction.

In her chapter, "Multilingual ELF interaction in multicultural student team-work at Europe's largest business university", Miya Komori-Glatz investigates the use of ELF in multicultural student teamwork in an English-medium master's programme at an Austrian university. The author focuses on examples of mul-tilingualism in negotiating meaning, building rapport and creating humour to examine the use of ELF in more interactional and less formal settings. In more detail, Komori-Glatz analyses transcriptions of audio and video recordings of a team of four postgraduate students, all non-native speakers of English working on a project. The results reveal that even though the students use predominantly English as a medium of communication, they often switch to other repertoires especially during the social phases of the discussions, confirming in this way the inherently multilingual and multicultural nature of the interaction. Unsurpris-ingly, German as the local language, is the second most frequently used language.

"Is everything clear so far? Lecturing in English as a lingua franca", written by Marina Tzoannopoulou, explores lecture comprehension in an English-me-dium programme in Greece, where English is used as a lingua franca, focusing on both students' perception of lectures and their comprehension as well as on lec-turers' views on the use of questions as a device that facilitates comprehension. The author states that although the number of English-medium programmes has increased in Southern Europe, it still remains relatively small with Greece lagging behind most Mediterranean countries. A mixed-method approach was used for the data collection, which involved both questionnaires completed by Erasmus

students from various European countries and interviews with lecturers and students. The findings show that lectures delivered in an ELF setting do not seem to have an adverse effect on lecture comprehension and that teachers use questions in order to ensure comprehensibility of content.

In "ELF and linguistic diversity in EAP writing pedagogy: academic biliteracy in doctoral education" Carmen Pérez-Llantada draws on the outcomes of the implementation of a biliteracy approach in a postgraduate academic writing course offered by a Spanish research university PhD programme and argues that the instruction of English for Academic Purposes should be recognized within the scope of ELF in present academic and research communication. The course methodology involved corpus- and genre-based instruction which engaged students in the analysis and critique of academic texts in English as a Native Language (ENL) and ELF in parallel with texts written in Spanish as a Native Language (SNL). According to the findings, the overwhelming majority of participants stated that they benefitted from the course which satisfied their academic language needs and they highly valued the approach used.

By means of a questionnaire-based survey, Concepción Orna-Montesinos examines military students' perceptions of the reasons and challenges involved in the acquisition of intercultural communication competence in the language classroom in "Perceptions towards intercultural communication: Military students in a higher education context". Furthermore, the author discusses the pedagogical implications for the training of expert professionals who are required to work in multicultural and multilingual contexts. Findings demonstrate the informants' awareness of the role of English as the main language of personal, professional and academic communication as well as their growing interest in participating in international activities. Moreover, survey results reveal that the cadets interviewed perceive enhanced linguistic competence to be not only the cause but also the effect of internationalization and consider the acquisition of communicative competence to be of fundamental importance.

Responding to the need expressed by various scholars (Ferguson 2009; Jenkins 2015; Seidlhofer 2009) to reconceptualize ELF, the ten chapters of this volume evaluate the notion of ELF, taking into consideration the values and objectives of 21st century European education of the Expanding Circle. Through examining the uses and practices of English as a lingua franca in South East/ Central Europe in particular, the volume contributes to a deeper understanding of the issues surrounding ELF in European education and sheds light on some of the most prominent debates and discussions in the field. The volume foregrounds themes such as the emerging need to reassess the status of nativeness and provide extensive teacher training in ELF education, the challenges of internationalization in higher education, and the complex shift from traditional EFL

classrooms to realistic modern-day pedagogy which takes ELF into account. In so doing, this volume seeks to raise the reader's awareness of the benefits, challenges and complexities concerning the role of English in multicultural and multilingual education not only in the linguistically and ethnically diverse region of South East Europe but in the continent as a whole.

It needs to be noted that this volume was compiled at a time when Britain was still a member of the European Union. What effect Brexit might have on the role of English in Europe in the future, what different benefits, challenges and complexities it might give rise to have already been the subject of speculation in a recent issue of *World Englishes* which publishes an article by Marko Modiano entitled *English in a post Brexit European Union,* together with reactions from a number of scholars. Whatever change there might be, however, it will necessarily involve the kind of issues that have been discussed in this book and lend a timely relevance to its publication.

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Part I: **English in Europe: complexities and possibilities**

Nicos C. Sifakis

ELF as an opportunity for foreign language use, learning and instruction in Greece and beyond

Abstract: The chapter focuses on the challenges and opportunities raised by the growing awareness of the role that English as a lingua franca (ELF) can play in Expanding Circle contexts, namely, contexts where English does not have a historical or statutory role of any kind. The context under review is Greece, where English is taught as a foreign language (EFL). I present an account of the English language teaching, learning and use situation in Greece and reflect on the impact ELF can have for domains like language instruction, materials design, selection and evaluation and teacher education. I argue that ELF research can inform EFL contexts in a number of ways: It can be used to empower non-native speakers of English by broadening their perspective of communicating on a global scale in the 21st century. It can also be used as a means of teacher development. The essential element that underpins this perspective is that, for Expanding Circle contexts like the Greek one, English is not a foreign language (in the way that other major languages like French and German are), but a language with which learners have some degree of familiarity.

Keywords: English as a Lingua Franca, English as a foreign language, teacher education, teacher development, non-native speakers of English, Expanding Circle, Greece

1 Introduction

The ongoing debate about the function and importance of successful communication in English involving so-called non-native speakers of English on a global scale is crucial in that it has shed light on a series of "deep fundamentals" in the area of English language teaching and learning to speakers of other languages (ESOL). My aim in this chapter is to address the ways in which these fundamentals have been challenged. As a case in point, I focus on the context of Greece, a country of the so-called Expanding Circle (Kachru 1985).

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I begin by addressing a number of ESOL fundamentals, drawn from the work of Hans Stern. I attempt to show how the current debate in the area of English as a lingua franca (ELF) can significantly impact these fundamentals. My focus then shifts to the Greek context. I discuss the different uses of English in this context, in the state and private domains, and briefly review the curricular situation of the state sector, together with perspectives of teachers and learners regarding the teaching, learning, assessment and use of English. I also review research related to the uses of English by young people in Greece outside school. What I aim to show is that both the uses of English and the perspectives of the users of English in a country like Greece are changing rapidly as a result of the spread of English as an international language of communication. I conclude the chapter with implications for teaching and curriculum designing.

2 ELF research and the fundamentals of English language teaching and learning

This section explores ways in which the current use of English on a global scale can impact the fundamentals of English language teaching and learning to speakers of other languages (ESOL). My concern here is to pose questions that spring from an awareness of the global character of English and its link to and implications for ESOL pedagogy. These questions draw on Hans Stern's "basic building blocks of all language teaching" (Stern 1983, 1992). Drawing from his experience of researching the teaching and learning of French in predominantly English-speaking regions in Canada, Stern posits that these building blocks (or fundamentals) are "language", "learning", "teaching" and "context". Essentially, all language teaching involves a concept of the nature of language ("what" is taught), a perspective of the learner ("who" is involved), an all-round awareness of the processes involved in language learning (which corresponds to the "how" of teaching) and a comprehensive appreciation of the characteristics of the immediate and broader environments in which the language is learned and used (if at all).

According to Stern, it is essential for teachers to know as much as possible about the learners of their particular context, instead of unquestionably endorsing the profiling of their proficiency levels put forward by the broader curricular and textbook specifications. This means that, in certain cases, it might be perfectly possible for learners to follow one particular curricular and courseware orientation at school and have a completely autonomous life using English, through gaming, texting, Skyping, etc., outside school (see below).

It is therefore crucial that these different pathways are explored and taken advantage of by teachers.

On the other hand, it is equally important that teachers gather information about another dimension of language learning, namely, the reasons learners have for attending their classes – the "why". While the target situation of most teaching contexts is more or less specified (e.g. sitting a particular exam, going from one proficiency level to a higher one or even becoming more skillful in a particular skill, micro-skill, or combination of skills), individual learners may have different practical reasons for attending (Ghenghesh and Nakhla 2011). The process of researching the "why" in language teaching further involves looking into other stakeholders' perspectives (e.g. parents or sponsoring institutions), which can significantly shape all aspects of curriculum designing and implementation, namely, content (what students should know, be able to do and be committed to), assessment (a measurement of what learners are doing at each time and how well they are doing) and context (how the education system is organized).

How does the global spread of English affect the "basic building blocks", or fundamentals, of ESOL teaching laid out above? It is established that English is successfully used by more non-native than native users in contexts that are extremely varied (Crystal 2003). Successful, intelligible usage depends on parameters that are user- and context-specific, such as the proficiency levels of the interlocutors and the extent to which they can accommodate their discourse to each other's needs, other languages that may be shared between them, etc. (Deterding 2012). Research on ELF shows that communication involving non-native users of English (Cogo and Dewey 2012; Seidlhofer 2011) can significantly deviate from descriptions of the so-called standard varieties in ways that demonstrate interlocutors' creativity in the areas of pragmatics, phonology or syntax. This is clearly demonstrated in numerous studies on ELF-related corpora such as the ELFA corpus of academic ELF (www.eng.helsinki.fi/elfa) and the VOICE corpus (www.univie.ac.at/voice). These studies, and others, show that, when involved in ELF communications, non-native speakers from different professional and lingua-cultural backgrounds co-create a transnational space, where they are prompted to negotiate meaning across mother-tongue boundaries and professional and discipline-specific practices. This results in their forming distinct communities of practice that are informed and co-developed by their shared background and identities (see Ehrenreich 2009; Seidlhofer 2007). These communities of practice are particularly salient in online communicative contexts (e.g. Hanson-Smith 2013), where multicultural communication is the norm and the need to adapt to the discoursal demands of online applications (e.g. Skype, Facebook and the like) and gaming platforms (through their chat-rooms) results in ELF interactions.

In this sense, ELF usage results in non-native speakers appropriating English for their own communication purposes, which further develops their awareness of the possibilities of such usage. As successful usage expands across domains (professional, academic, entertainment, etc.), it impacts the attitudes of ELF speakers about what is appropriate and acceptable in these interactions. Soon, notions like the ownership of English begin to take a much broader meaning in the minds of ELF users (e.g. Kubota and McKay 2009), and especially in younger users. For example, access of comments of affiliated groups on Facebook (which feature each participant's fan pages, favourite sports, films, television shows, songs etc., all in English) expose young people to large amounts of authentic information that is not available to them at school (Blattner and Fiori 2009: 22). The same is the case with computer gaming, itself an activity that has great bearing on learning and literacy (Gee 2003), where the dominant use of English makes for a cognitively and linguistically rich involvement (Peterson 2010; Thorne, Fisher and Lu 2012) and impacts learning in ways that engage participants far more than what is usually encountered in the typical ESOL classroom (Zheng, Newgarden and Young, 2012). Teenagers have also been shown to self-regulate their use of English in these online contexts depending on their self-awareness of their level of English proficiency, apart from other factors, such as personal values and emotions (Leppänen 2009).

Such "multiply placed" practices (Bulfin and Koutsogiannis 2012) render English a significant part of participants' "literate underlife" (Finders 1997), which are transferred to their school context as well (Rothoni 2015: 284–7). This has very specific implications for the ESOL classroom, as learners are also users of English, with a high awareness of its global function. Research confirms this shift. For example, a survey of 518 learners in Chile showed the emergence of a 'new language-learning goal [...]: international posture' (Kormos, Kiddle and Csizér 2011: 496), which refers to learners' perceptions about and willingness not meely to use ELF in interactions with other non-native users, but to consider ELF one of the central concerns for their ESOL studies. Another study of Finnish primary school learners' perceptions drew similar conclusions (Ranta 2010). ESOL teachers also begin to develop an understanding of the fact that 'there are other sources of foreign language contact apart from their classrooms' and, at the same time, of the 'lack of dialogue between students and teachers about this aspect' (Grau 2009: 171).

In Expanding Circle contexts, these developments in the mindsets of teachers and learners point to the fact that English no longer meets the requirements of a "foreign" language (see Ehlich 2009). Typically, a language is considered as foreign when it is only used inside the language classroom. When it is used outside the language classroom as well (in Inner and Outer Circle contexts, in the case of

English), then it is considered a "second" language. In the case of the foreign language, learners typically study in order to sit an exam and get a certificate of proficiency or to use the language with its native speakers, in predominantly native speaker contexts. In the case of the second language, learners typically learn the language of the country in which they are staying, either for academic or for professional/occupational purposes. In the case of English language teaching and learning, in both of the above cases, the model for learning is either a variety of Standard English (predominantly, British English or General American) or a variety of the language that is dominant in that particular context (e.g. Indian English). These are varieties 'whose grammar has been described and given public recognition in grammar books and dictionaries, with [their] norms being widely considered to be "correct" and constituting "good usage"' (Trudgill and Hannah 2008: 92). In Expanding Circle ESOL contexts it seems that none of the above requirements are met: English is a language that is used (and treated) in one way inside the ESOL classroom (as a foreign language) and in another way outside it (as ELF). This shift in the recognition of the different functions of English and the treatment of English inside and outside of the ESOL classroom is already echoed, as we have seen, in the mindsets of teachers and learners and is likely to be reflected in perceptions about pedagogy and assessment as well (Jenkins 2006).

To return to Stern's "basic building blocks of language teaching", ELF has implications for all of them. What is taught ("language") should allow for functions and structures that deviate from the standard varieties, to the extent that these deviations are meaningful and necessary in interactions involving non-native users. As concerns "learning", teachers are requested to become aware of and favourable towards the uses of English by their learners outside their ESOL classroom. This implies a shift in teachers' perceptions about "context" and the legitimacy of the uses of English in activities like texting, gaming, web browsing, Skyping, Facebooking, and so on, by their learners. Finally, as regards "teaching", teachers should become aware of their role as facilitators of language learning, and not only as custodians of "proper" English (Sifakis 2009). This implies, for example, an increased focus on using accommodation strategies and a shift in the nature of feedback provision and the function of correcting that draws on learners' current knowledge and practice.

3 The Greek context

In the light of the above, let us zoom into the Greek context of teaching, learning and using English. In broad terms, Greece is part of the Expanding Circle, i.e., it is not a country where English has any statutory or otherwise publicly recognized

role. As with most typical Expanding Circle contexts, English constitutes the "primary foreign language" (Crystal 2003) of Greek state schooling: English is the only foreign language taught at schools from the third grade of primary school onward; since 2011 20% of schools (around 800 in number) introduced English as a compulsory subject from the first two grades on an experimental basis (for more on this, see http://rcel.enl.uoa.gr/peap/en). English language teaching has dominated foreign language teaching in Greece for more than sixty years; the first curriculum for state junior high schools was published in 1953. Despite the developments in ELT in the 1970s and 1980s and the concomitant introduction of curricula that espoused the communicative language teaching methodology in the early 1980s, the approach to the teaching of English in Greek state schools has been typically identical with that of any other subject (history, geography, etc.). In this way, the best way to describe English language teaching in these contexts is as 'teaching English for no obvious reason' (or TENOR – Abbot 1981). According to Abbot, TENOR contexts are mainly school-based, with learner motivation levels being low and learning needs undetermined.

On the other hand, another major route of English language teaching in Greece is in the private sector, where learners follow organized and at times intensive courses that prepare them for sitting high-stakes exams. The exams in question characterize a general standard of competence in English as a foreign language at various levels, with those of intermediate and advance levels (roughly corresponding to B2 and above of the CEFR – Council of Europe 2001) being considered as the most statutory, due to the fact that the certificates issued are officially recognized by the Greek State as compulsory qualification for the hiring and promotion of employees (Government Gazette 1/772/2005). Research has shown that high-stakes exams prep classes have a negative impact (or washback) on teaching and learning (e.g., Cheng 2005; Saif 2006; Wall 2005) and this is even more markedly so for the Greek context (Tsagari 2009, 2011).

As regards attitudes towards English, research shows that the overwhelming majority of Greeks is favourably inclined. According to a recent Eurobarometer study, English was perceived as the most useful language after the mother tongue for 74% of respondents (Council of Europe 2012: 69), with 92% claiming to be one of the two most useful languages for children to learn for their future (Council of Europe 2012: 80). Forty-six percent acknowledged understanding English well enough to be able to use it for online communication (Council of Europe 2012: 35). The situation is quite different when we look at statistics from high-stakes examinations in Greece. A report by Cambridge ESOL Exams from 2006 shows that Greece ranked 50th (out of 67 countries) in the FCE (First Certificate in English) exams, with 57% success rate. The same report places Greece at the bottom of the scale (31st) for the CPE (Cambridge of Proficiency in English) exams, with 46% success rate.

What the studies show is an incongruity between the broader sentiment towards English in Greece, which is very positive, and the actual competence in English, as shown by achievement rates in high-stakes proficiency exams. In other words, people claim to feel confident in using English but at the same time seem to lack the competence to actually use the language in specific contexts. There are various reasons for this. One major reason is related to the fact that most FCE and CPE exam sitters in Greece are far below the age recommended by the hosting examination bodies. The general tendency in Greece is for adolescents to get the B2, C1 and C2 certificates as early as possible in their school life, and this leads learners to attend exam prep classes that "teach to the test" rather than invest in learning to use the language in different settings.

At the same time, however, the use of English by teenagers, adolescents and young adults outside school in Greece is overwhelming, and this corroborates the heightened confidence mentioned above. A recent study by Rothoni (2015) showed that 15 year-olds use English to communicate and express themselves in diverse activities that include listening to and sharing songs, exchanging messages through Facebook, texting and email, downloading and watching films, online videos, trailers and TV shows (with and without Greek subtitles), reading online magazines, books and comics, writing notes and graffiti and playing video games. All these activities require the use of some form of English and it is interesting, according to the researcher, that the adolescents who participated in her study were not fully conscious of the great extent to which they used English in their everyday lives. Rothoni argues convincingly that while school-based and out-of-school English-related activities are widely different, the two seem to overlap quite extensively. Adolescents' school-based literacy practices have an impact on their home and social lives; at the same time, their out-of-school practices constitute a powerful resource of learning that is motivating and authentic, in ways that their school-based experiences can never be. It should be noted that out-of-school practices offer opportunities for meaningful learning even in Expanding Circle contexts that are more form-focused (for instance, in China) and can be linked to 'the degree of diversity in the overall language learning ecology' (Lai, Zhu and Gong 2015: 298).

4 Four options for ESOL teaching and learning in Expanding Circle contexts

If we attempt to generalize from the descriptions of in-school and out-of-school uses of English in Greece, it should be possible to draw out four possibilities for

teaching and learning English at school in Expanding Circle contexts. The issue in question is dual: first, what English we teach and secondly, how we teach English.

The first possibility, which I shall call the *"foreign language"* possibility, is representative of the traditional EFL perspective that treats English as a foreign language, i.e., a language that learners know very little about and have very limited access to outside school. This implies that the types of English targeted at are native speaker varieties, predominantly, in the case of Greece, British or General American English. In terms of instruction, as the native speaker models dominate, teachers focus on accuracy and fluency, which means that they are expected to view any deviations from the norm as mistakes and have a predominantly "corrective" policy, with extensive feedback provided in an attempt to help learners "acquire" the correct norms.

The second possibility, which I shall call *"exam-oriented"*, is a version of the first and is different from it only in terms of need. While the FL option has a distinct TENOR orientation that is, as we have seen, typical of Greek state schooling, the exam-oriented option has a distinct exam-focused orientation. Exam-oriented contexts are native-speaker-oriented, instruction is also based on helping learners to become accurate and fluent users, and the end result is sitting and passing a high-stakes exam that is also native-speaker-oriented. The exam-oriented case is also different from the foreign language case in that learners (or their parents or sponsors) spend enormous amounts of money in exam prep classes, which makes their motivation to participate a lot higher than the average learner motivation of foreign language classes.

While these two options are typical of state and private schooling in Greece and in many other Expanding Circle contexts, I would like to propose that there are two more possibilities for ESOL teaching and learning in these contexts. These possibilities emerge from an awareness of the extensive use of English outside school and are therefore not necessarily already visible, at least not in the vast majority of Greek schools. However, they should be made possible if curriculum designers and practitioners are ready to acknowledge that English is a global language that is already known and used by a growing number of learners in countries like Greece. In both of these cases, the primary concern is the creative exploitation of the cultural anthropogeography of the EFL classroom.

With this in mind, the third option is the *"international"* one. According to this possibility, teaching prioritises making learners aware of the international functions of English and engaging them in activities that will prepare them to use English successfully in their interactions with other non-native users around the world. In this context, while native speaker orientations have a place, the focus is not on correcting what deviates from their norms, but on helping learners

develop a repertoire of strategies that would help them bypass problems of communication with other non-native users. In other words, the concern here is creativity rather than an uncritical submission to the native speaker norms (McKay 2002; Seidlhofer, Breiteneder and Pitzl 2006). A teaching context espousing the international orientation would make the best of digital communication environments and forums (Warschauer 1997). For example, learners can be engaged in task-based real-time one-to-one computer-mediated communications using video calling and instant chat-messaging while becoming aware of different meaning-making strategies (van der Zwaard and Bannink 2014).

The final option is what I would call the *"multicultural"* possibility. It follows the same route as the international option, except that it focuses on interactions between non-native users of English in increasingly multicultural societies. While the international option has an inter-national orientation, the multicultural option has an intra-national orientation. The multicultural option is ideal for contexts where English is used extensively, even if unknowingly, by the learners themselves, most notably outside school. This is the case with the Greek context, as we have seen above, with learners using different types of English to communicate and express themselves on Facebook, while texting or while gaming. The MATE ("Multicultural Awareness Through English") model put forward by Fay, Lytra and Ntavaliagkou (2010) is an instructional model that would fall under the multicultural orientation. The model acknowledges the growing multicultural nature of Greek state school classrooms (which include learners from many different countries and backgrounds) and proposes practical ways in which courseware used in the Greek primary state school can be repositioned to facilitate the development of multicultural awareness.

Of the four options for ESOL teaching presented, the first two describe the traditional EFL orientation, while the latter two characterize a departure from typical EFL to a more cosmopolitan perception of the foreign language classroom (see Figure 1). While the foreign language and exam-oriented perspectives view students as "learners" of English, the international and multicultural orientations perceive them as "users" and make the best of integrating modern technology in raising their awareness of these uses and increasing their competence in using appropriate strategies for interacting with other non-native users, be they outside or within their EFL classroom. Sifakis and Fay (2011) asked Greek state school EFL teachers which of the four options above would best describe their current teaching situation. 47% identified their context as a "foreign language" context. Two-thirds of the teachers surveyed opted for the foreign language and the exam options combined, which came as no surprise, as it describes the Greek ESOL context as belonging to the Expanding Circle. The multicultural option was chosen by a fifth of the teachers and the international option by a sixth. This
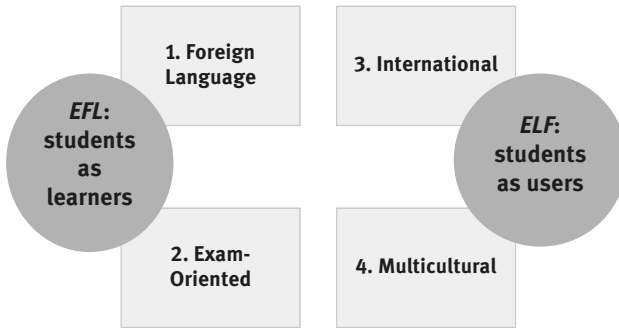
Figure 1: Four options for ESOL teaching in Expanding Circle contexts

means that, while the typical EFL mentality dominates in the Greek state sector, teachers need to be make more tangibly aware of the realities regarding the global functions of English pertaining to their own learners.

5 Implications for teaching and curriculum design

As shown, in the Greek context, curriculum design has been quick to incorporate developments in ESOL pedagogy. For example, the curriculum of 2003 (which is still enforced in the Greek state sector, despite the introduction of a new curriculum that was published in 2011) was grounded in the principles of literacy, multilingualism and multiculturalism of the Common European Framework, published only two years earlier (Council of Europe 2001). However, the implementation of the curricular principles has been a much slower process. This should come as no surprise, as it is well established that curricular innovation does not automatically or easily lead to pedagogical change (Markee 1997). In the case of Greek state schooling, obstacles to curricular innovation can be related to (a) an incongruity between the principles laid out in the curriculum and the teaching and learning contexts (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977), (b) an over-reliance of teachers, learners and the broader community on textbooks (Bolitho 2008), and (c) lack of efficient and extensive teacher training. The 2003 curriculum was perceived as a bold attempt at introducing concepts that society was not quite ready for (for example, the element of multilingualism was entirely downplayed, if not ignored), the textbooks developed were met with mixed feelings from teachers and learners (Tsagari and Sifakis 2014), and teacher preparation was inadequate at best.

These constraints should be carefully tended to when considering the implications of ELF on teaching and curriculum designing. At the curricular level, it is

important that 'quite new kinds of dispositions, attitudes and skills' (Kress 1996: 195) are incorporated, but in ways that are 'relevant and productive' (ibid.). Therefore, it is essential that the curriculum merges the more "traditional" perspectives of EFL with the more "radical" realities of modern-day functions of English. This implies that the native-speaker-norm-based perspective, which is identified as a basic mission of schooling in a country like Greece (see the foreign language and exam-oriented options laid out above) should be combined with an awareness of heteroglossia, hybridity, multilingualism and the plurality of semiotic forms that, as we have seen, permeate the lives of adolescents.

The same perspective should be followed at the teacher education level. It has been shown that while teachers are aware of the global character of English, they do not comprehend either the extent to which English has infiltrated their learners' lives nor the need to integrate this global perspective in their EFL teaching (for an account of Greek teachers' perspectives, see Sifakis and Sougari 2005; for a review on attitudes towards ELF in general, see Jenkins 2007). Another obstacle to teacher awareness is their own self-perceptions about their role as custodians of Standard English for their learners, their parents and the broader community (Sifakis 2009). For these reasons, teacher education programmes can integrate what can be called an "ELF-aware" approach (Sifakis 2014). ELF-aware teacher education focuses on making teachers critically aware of the uses of English both globally and locally, persuades them to become more fully conscious of the specifications of their own teaching context, and prompts them to develop ELF-related activities or entire lessons that espouse the international and/or multicultural possibilities laid out above and make sense for their learners (Bayyurt and Sifakis 2015). The concern of ELF-aware teacher education projects, together with other teacher training perspectives with a similar orientation (e.g., Hall et al. 2013), for teachers' convictions about the "deep fundamentals" of ESOL teaching and learning laid out above can have a transformative effect in their perceptions about using, teaching, learning English (Sifakis 2007; Sifakis and Bayyurt 2015).

6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that the extensive out-of-class uses of English in Expanding Circle ESOL contexts necessitate a radical reappraisal of the "deep fundamentals" of teaching and learning English. As we move to an increasingly post-EFL world, these out-of-school uses should be recognized as legitimate components of what would constitute informal learning (Benson and Reinders 2011) and could trigger what Lankshear and Knobel call "passion-based learning"

(2010: 20). Young people's extensive use of English outside school constitutes a "nexus of literacy practices" (Tan 2011, in Rothoni 2015) that should be "negotiated" into the school curriculum (Hamilton 2006). It is therefore imperative that these "hybrid practices" (Maybin 2007; Hornberger 2000) are integrated in curriculum designing and teacher education in ways that reflect the specifications of the local context and the demands of modern-day communication on a global scale.

I have argued that this process is likely to be difficult and meet with resistance from certain teachers, learners and other stakeholders. This is due to the nature of ESOL teaching in Greece, which, as is typical in Expanding Circle contexts, is predominantly characterized by what I have called a "foreign language" and an "exam-oriented" orientation. However, as young people increasingly use English in diverse contexts outside school, these functions of English can be acknowledged and integrated in formal school settings (including curriculum designing and teacher training), in what I have termed ELF-aware teaching and learning.

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European language policy and English as a lingua franca: a critique of Van Parijs's 'linguistic justice'

Abstract: The use of English as a lingua franca in Europe and elsewhere has been extensively debated with attention drawn to its advantages as well as to the risks and disbenefits. Less common – at least in the field of linguistics/applied linguistics – but growing in scale, is normative discussion of issues of linguistic justice as they arise in connection with the spread of English. It is this that is the focus of the present paper, at the core of which lies a critical review of the work of the political theorist/philosopher, Van Parijs, who argues on the one hand that the emergence of English as a common lingua franca in Europe is to be welcomed and accelerated and on the other that the widespread use of English in so many domains give rise to various kinds of linguistic injustice that require redress. One of these consists in the unearned free-riding of Anglophones, who enjoy a public good, English, towards whose production they contribute little. This paper does not dispute the impeccable logic of Van Parijs's argumentation but does question, from a sociolinguistic perspective and with particular reference to the EU's language policy, the empirical premises and assumptions regarding language, language use and language acquisition, some of the complexities of which Van Parijs arguably overlooks. The paper further argues that some of the measures proposed for the redress of (linguistic) injustice fail to convince and that therefore alternatives need to be considered with due regard paid to other kinds of prevalent injustice.

Keywords: Linguistic justice, English as a lingua franca, language policy, EU

1 Introduction

Recent years have seen an upsurge of interest in normative issues relevant to language policy and language rights (see e.g. Van Parijs 2007, 2011; Kymlicka and Patten 2003; de Schutter 2007; Wee 2011; May 2011, etc.). Central to this growing literature is the question of how language policy can best serve linguistic justice at three interrelated levels – the national, the supranational and the global.

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While the national and global levels are relevant and of profound interest, our focus in this chapter falls on the supranational level and, in particular, on the European Union (EU) and EU language policy as it relates to the lingua franca role of English. Thus, the chapter is organised as follows: in the first part we review current EU language policies, practices and ideologies; in the second there is a review of the work of Van Parijs (2011), a political theorist who has provided what is, as yet, the most cogent, comprehensive set of arguments on linguistic justice in a European context; and in the third, and most important, part a critical evaluative discussion of Van Parijs's arguments on English and linguistic justice.

2 Background: Language policies, practices and ideologies in the EU

As numerous declarations and policy documents make explicit, the EU is committed to multilingualism and linguistic diversity. Indeed, respect for Europe's diverse linguistic heritage is a founding principle of the Union, as the following declaration makes clear:

> The European Union is founded on 'unity in diversity': diversity of cultures, customs and beliefs – and of languages. (...). It is this diversity that makes the European Union what it is: not a 'melting pot' in which differences are rendered down, but a common home in which diversity is celebrated, and where our many mother tongues are a source of wealth and a bridge to greater solidarity and mutual understanding (European Commission 2005 A New Framework Strategy for Multilingualism).

Furthermore, EU legislation allows EU citizens to communicate with EU institutions in any one of the current 24 official languages, all of which are of nominally equal status.[1]

Other indicators of the EU's commitment to multilingualism include the 2001 declaration of the *European Year of Languages;* the call in the *2004−06 Action Plan* for the learning from an early age of two foreign languages in addition to the mother tongue, the so-called '*mother tongue plus two*' policy, and the appointment of an EU commissioner for Multilingualism, a post formerly held by Leonard

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1 "It is therefore a prerequisite for the Union's democratic legitimacy ......that citizens should be able to communicate with its Institutions and read EU law in their own national language, ... The very first Regulation adopted by the Council therefore defines the European Community as a multilingual entity, stipulates that legislation must be published in the official languages and requires its institutions to deal with citizens in the official languages of their choice" (European Commission 2005: section iv.1 12–13 A New Framework Strategy for Multilingualism).

Orban 2007–2010 but now subsumed into a wider portfolio of Education, Culture, Multilingualism, and Youth.[2]

Meanwhile, in support of the principle of equality for all of the 24 official languages, the EU makes a substantial investment in translation/interpreting services, overseen by the Directorate General for Translation (DGT). Gazzola and Grin (2013: 100) give an expenditure estimate of €1.1 billion euros annually across all EU institutions (e.g. EU Commission, European Parliament, Council of Europe), each of which has its own translating/interpreting service, while a recent DGT report (2016) states that for the Commission alone 1.9 million pages were translated in 2015 at a cost of €330 million euros. Unsurprisingly, given the large volumes of documentation and a total of 552 possible translation pairs, the EU resorts to a range of practical measures to ease the workload. These include the extensive use of 'relay translation' (a procedure by which documents in less widely used languages are first translated into English or French prior to onward translation), and the translation of EU internal, working documents into a restricted set of three working languages (English, French and German). However, as Ammon and Kruse (2013) point out, the EU breaks its own rules by failing in practice to translate pages from English as official regulations require "the empirical research [...] shows that the German parliament continues to receive relevant papers from the Commission in English in spite of having repeatedly protested this practice and returned English language materials" (Ammon and Kruse 2013: 21).

This last point takes us to criticisms of EU language policy, central to which is the well-substantiated argument that there is a mismatch between the EU's multilingual rhetoric or ideology and actual practice (see e.g. Wright 2009; Jenkins and Cogo 2010; Ammon and Kruse 2013; Koskinen 2013; Seidlhofer 2010). This disparity is evident within the EU institutions where English is increasingly the dominant working language and the source language of up to 75% of EU documents (Romaine 2013). It is also manifest in language education where English is by far the most commonly taught language. The 2012a Eurydice report confirms, for example, that 73% of pupils enrolled in primary school in 2010–11 and more than 90% in secondary schools were learning English (EU Commission (Eurydice) 2012a:11). The learning of English is mandatory in 14 countries and Eurydice (EU Commission 2012a: 46) reports "…..a growing tendency in Europe to compel students to learn English". By contrast, the percentage of pupils learning languages other than English, French, German, Spanish or Russian remains below 5%.

Turning to EU public opinion on languages, a detailed Eurobarometer survey of 2012 (European Commission 2012) presents a mixed picture. Most EU citizens

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2 The current (2016) commissioner is Tibor Navracsics.

express positive attitudes to multilingualism, with 88% of the sampled population accepting that knowledge of second language is useful, and 77% agreeing that the improvement of language skills is a policy priority. On the other hand, there are definite limits to individual plurilingualism across the EU. For example, a small majority (52%) prefer the dubbing of films/TV shows to subtitling; only 54% claim to be able to hold a conversation in a foreign language; 23% say they have never learnt a second language and 44% state that they have not learnt a second language recently nor do they intend to start, mainly due to a lack of motivation or time (European Commission 2012: *Europeans and their Languages)*. The 2012 survey also states explicitly that "there are no signs that multilingualism is on the increase". (European Commission 2012: 142). An important qualification, however, is that there is very substantial variation in self-reported levels of second language competence between individual EU countries and age groups, with the UK, Hungary and Portugal among those states with lower proportions claiming the ability to converse in a second language.

As regards which languages are best known and considered most useful, the data show, as expected, that English is far ahead of any other language. For instance, 38% of respondents say they are able to hold a conversation in English and 25% that they know enough to read a newspaper in English as against figures of 7% and 6% for French and German, respectively. On the question of which languages are most useful, 67% of respondents consider English to be one of the two most useful languages for them personally, and 79% name English as the most useful language for their children in the future. Comparisons with the 2005 Eurobarometer survey data (European Commission 2006) reveal, by contrast, a 13% slippage in those thinking French is important for their children (from 33% to 20%) and a 8% decline for German (28% to 20%). Reflecting recent geo-political developments, the percentage thinking Chinese important for their children to learn has risen from a miniscule 2% to a weightier 14%, putting this language almost on a par with Spanish at 16%. Meanwhile, of particular relevance to the role of English is the finding that 69% of respondents think that EU citizens should be able to speak a common language, and that a small minority of 53% agree that EU institutions should adopt a single language to communicate with citizens. That said, 81% also believe that all EU official languages should be treated equally, but with substantial variation between countries and age groups.

Taken together, these statistics lend weight to the arguments of commentators (e.g. Wright 2009; Seidlhofer 2010; Koskinen 2013, etc.) who point to a disjuncture between EU official discourses on multilingualism and the individual linguistic preferences of EU citizens, and to a growing convergence on English as the dominant European lingua franca. Yet, despite clear evidence of this disparity, EU policy-makers remain reluctant to abridge the principle of equality between

official EU official languages and the right of each EU citizen "...to communicate and make...(themselves)....understood in his or her mother tongue" (see Orban 2007: 2). In short, respect for linguistic diversity remains "...a fundamental value of the EU" (European Parliament 2015), and there is no indication that the EU is contemplating any special or official status for English as a dominant lingua franca.

One major reason for this is that the fundamental role played by standardised languages in European nation-building has left a legacy of entrenched loyalties to standard national languages (see Wright 2004, 2009). Another impediment to recognition of English as the EU's pre-eminent lingua franca is its historical association with colonial domination and current association with global capitalism (see Wright 2009), both of which give rise to anxieties that English is potentially a vector of further inequality and domination, advantaging some parts of the EU over others. Also, as an EU Commission (2007) document argues, how can English serve as an effective lingua franca when "....fewer than half the EU population has any usable knowledge of it (English)".

In place of English as a sole lingua franca, the EU has, as previously noted, long advocated individual plurilingualism, recommending that the ideal EU citizen should possess competence in 3 languages: the mother tongue (MT); 'a personal adoptive language' – specifically, the language of another EU state; and, third, 'a language of international communication', most likely English. The emphasis on learning a 'personal adoptive language' is intended in part to redress a growing tendency to prioritise learning an international language (i.e. English) over the learning of neighbouring EU languages.

> ......we are witnessing an erosion of the level of knowledge of the neighbour's language in favor of a language of international communication, which is deemed to be more useful. If we are to reverse this seemingly inexorable trend we have to make a clean break with the traditional logic behind language learning by making a clear distinction between the two choices to be made, one depending on the international status of a language, and the other, that of the 'personal adoptive language, based on completely different criteria which are very varied and subjective. By allowing people not to have to choose between utilitarian considerations and cultural affinity, we would restore a powerful motivation to learn every European language, which .....could just as well be that of the neighbour (EU Commission 2008b: 17).

It is not clear, however, how exactly the "break with the traditional logic behind language learning" is to be accomplished, and, unsurprisingly given the level of ambition of EU policy, progress toward the goal of competence in MT plus two second languages has been limited, as is evident in a 2012c EU Commission report stating that "the ESLC results show an overall low level of competences in both first and second foreign languages tested. The level of independent user (B1+B2)

is achieved by only 42% of tested students in the first foreign language and by only 25% in the second foreign language" (EU Commission 2012c: 4).

The same document confirms that English is the most widely adopted foreign language and the one perceived as most useful to learn. The question remains open, then, as to whether English should be adopted as the EU's official lingua franca, and on that note we turn to the work of Van Parijs and normative questions of linguistic justice.

3 Linguistic justice and the work of Van Parijs

Van Parijs is one of a number of commentators (see e.g. Wright 2009; Seidlhofer 2010; Cogo and Jenkins 2010) who have argued from a 'realist' stance that it is better to work with what is already happening *de facto* and adopt English as a European lingua franca rather than attempt to impose multilingualism top-down against current socio-economic currents. Others, however, such as Phillipson (2003) and Gazzola and Grin (2013) are opposed to any special status for English and some seem ambivalent (see e.g. Ammon 2006), seeing both benefits and disadvantages. In this chapter, however, we pay particular attention to the work of Van Parijs, a commentator who has perhaps most comprehensively considered the implications for linguistic justice.

Van Parijs's (2011) starting point in arguing for English as the sole European lingua franca is that it is spreading irresistibly in bottom-up fashion through two mechanisms – probability-driven learning (i.e. expected benefit plus likelihood of communicating in a given language) and max-min use, whose operation is best summarised in the maxim – 'in mixed groups choose the language that is best known by the audience member who know it least well' (Van Parijs 2011: 14). Besides, Van Parijs (2011) argues, there is no realistic alternative, whether this be technology, Esperanto or multiple lingua francas (e.g. English + French + German). The latter option, the most realistic of the three, would, he says, only add to the language learning burden and provoke dispute around which languages should be selected as joint lingua francas. The positive case for English as sole lingua franca is that it would reduce the costs of translation/interpreting and promote greater efficiency in communication relative to the existing communicative regime. More importantly, it might help remedy the lack of a common public sphere, a transnational demos, which currently bedevils relations within the EU and hampers deliberation, mobilization, and the establishment of transnational distributive mechanisms. Here, in support of a common lingua franca, Van Parijs (2011: 28) alludes to John Stuart Mills' remarks, originally intended to apply at the national level:

> Among a people without fellow-feeling, especially if they read and speak different languages, the united public opinion, necessary to the working of representative government, cannot exist. The influences which form opinions and decide political acts are different in the different sections of the country. An altogether different set of leaders have the confidence of one part of the country and of another. The same books, newspapers, pamphlets, speeches, do not reach them (Mill 1861: 291).

Though he welcomes the spread of English as a lingua franca, van Parijs is also attentive to the resulting challenges to linguistic justice. These include the large undue advantage accruing to 'native speakers' and, second, the risk of ideological domination or bias. Addressing the latter, van Parijs rejects the strong Whorfian hypothesis that the structure of a language determines the speaker's world view but accepts that there is a contingent asymmetry of cultural flows such that the ideas, tastes and media of the Anglophone world have an increasing influence on the non-Anglophone world, predisposing to an ideological bias. However, and perhaps with undue optimism, this risk is best combated not by restricting English, a futile endeavour in van Parijs's view, but by appropriating the lingua franca (van Parijs 2011: 36). And, while the spread of English as a lingua franca currently favours an elite of Europeans, this privilege will gradually diminish as knowledge of English diffuses to become something akin to a basic skill (see e.g. Graddol 2006, 2010).

Moving on to the undue advantage of 'native speakers',[3] van Parijs (2011) identifies challenges to three forms of justice: linguistic justice as fair cooperation, as equal opportunity, and as parity of esteem. The first involves Anglophone 'free riding': that is, while a shared lingua franca is a public good, it is one whose cost of production is very largely borne by second language users who expend time, effort and money learning the language, unlike 'native speakers', who enjoy the benefits of the lingua franca but do not contribute to the costs of its production since they learn the language as part of their upbringing.

The second putative injustice, relating to equality of opportunity, consists in the greater employment opportunities and economic advantages enjoyed by 'Anglophones' thanks to their native language becoming the lingua franca. For instance, lingua franca-related jobs may be preferentially allocated to 'native speakers' (e.g. as native speaker teachers, editors, proofreaders, etc., not to mention potentially faster promotion in multinational corporations). Anglophone economies also benefit from the enhanced sale of, and the royalties deriving from, cultural and language-related products. In addition, in lingua

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3 Throughout this chapter the term native speaker(s) appears in single quotes to signal that while it is a widely used term, it is also a deeply problematic one.

franca contexts, whether in business, the professions, diplomacy or academia, 'native speakers' allegedly have greater facility in speaking and writing more persuasively or effectively, which yields substantial benefits – both material and non-material (also see e.g. Fiedler 2010).

Finally, there is linguistic justice as 'parity of esteem', one of the more intractable sources of potential unfairness. Simply put, the primacy given to English as sole lingua franca diminishes the status of, and ultimately the respect given to, other national languages with which speakers closely identify. It also clashes with the principle, enshrined in EU legislation, that all official languages should be placed on equal symbolic footing and treated with equal dignity. As Ammon (2006, 2012) has pointed out, loss of prestige and international standing is, unsurprisingly, likely to be felt more keenly by members of larger rather than smaller language communities as their languages may previously have served as lingua francas or as institutional working languages.

Having identified challenges to linguistic justice, Van Parijs (2011) gives space to a detailed discussion of possible measures of redress, which we can only briefly summarize here. Thus, as redress for 'anglophone free riding', Van Parijs (2011: 78) advocates 'compensatory free riding'; that is, the poaching of English language content from the web and elsewhere without payment, attainable through the lax or absent enforcement of intellectual property rights. More substantial redress, however, takes the form of a carefully calibrated linguistic tax on Anglophone communities, whose purpose would be to offset some of the costs of English language learning borne by non-Anglophone communities. This could mean, for example, the UK paying as much as €500 per capita annually and France receiving a learning subsidy of €25 per capita annually (Van Parijs 2011: 75). Of course, as English spreads, the learning costs could be expected to fall and consequently the amount of tax due.

To redress injustice as inequality of opportunity, Van Parijs (2011: 102) concludes that financial transfers from the linguistically privileged (i.e. 'native speakers' of the dominant language) to the less linguistically privileged may be one way of meeting the requirements of distributive justice. The problem with this, however, is that while such transfers can be effected at the national level through the regular taxation/ welfare system, there are as yet no transnational institutions capable of implementing such transfers transnationally, a situation that will persist until the necessary European demos has been established. For this reason, and to democratize competence in the lingua franca, Van Parijs (2011: 107) urges the accelerated dissemination of English, to be accomplished through two main mechanisms: an increase in early immersion schooling and a ban on the dubbing of films and TV programmes, etc., the objective of both of which is to maximize exposure to English. Meanwhile, as consolation perhaps for those

currently disadvantaged, Van Parijs (2011: 114–15) makes the point that as competence in English spreads, so its market value will fall until eventually a point will be reached when knowledge of English is so widespread that bilinguals, with proficiency in English and a further language, will be better positioned in the labour market than monolingual Anglophones.

Finally, securing 'parity of esteem' requires much more, Van Parijs argues, than the rhetorical assertion of the equal status and dignity of EU official languages, but no less than the establishment of 'a territorially differentiated coercive regime'. Under such a regime each territorial unit, not necessarily a country, would select, and enforce, one official language as the medium of public education, political life, judicial procedures, and public administration without inhibiting the use of other languages in more private settings/domains. The aim of such a territorial regime would be to block the operation of min-max dynamics (a combination of probability-driven learning and max-min use: see above), which typically work to erode the weaker language, so as to allow a local language to flourish or become 'a queen' in its own territory (Van Parijs 2011: 147). Incomers would thus be motivated to learn the locally dominant language and 'the arrogance of lingua franca native speakers held in check' (Van Parijs 2011: 179).

Having completed this brief exposition of Van Parijs's key ideas, we can move below to a more critical assessment of them.

4 A critical assessment of Van Parijs's proposals

Though persuasive, Van Parijs's arguments are those of a political theorist and thus vulnerable to sociolinguistically-based criticisms. The premises of his arguments are also open to question on empirical and political grounds. First, however, it is worth considering what is meant by 'English' in this context, not to mention 'language' itself, since Van Parijs (2011) seems to adopt a somewhat static, discrete, system-oriented view of languages, and rarely, if at all, considers differentiation within English, though this is relevant to European language policy.

4.1 ELF and lingua franca communication

Such differentiation is central, for example, to the work of ELF scholars (English as a lingua franca) such as Cogo and Jenkins (2010) and Seidlhofer (2010),

who – in arguing for the adoption of English as a European lingua franca – make very clear that what they have in mind is not standard British English with all its historical, cultural and nation-bound associations. It is rather a form of English (ELF – English as a lingua franca) independent of standard English norms and traditional, formal notions of correctness. Principally employed by bilingual second language users for lingua franca communication, this is not a 'reduced variant' or 'model', as erroneously depicted by Fiedler (2010: 2), but a pragmatic, flexible, communicatively successful linguistic practice, and one which the authors above believe may prove more acceptable than the narrower, more nation-bound standard variety. Also, to the extent that so-called 'native speakers' need to adapt their communicative behaviour to international lingua franca communication, ELF also holds out some promise for more equal communicative intercourse, as, in fact, Van Parijs (2011: 34) himself tantalisingly, if condescendingly, implies:

> In this globalized forum, there is one respect in which not being a native speaker of English may ironically prove an advantage. The bulk of a worldwide audience consists of people who are not Anglophones. When addressing such an audience it can be a serious handicap to use clever puns, sophisticated syntax and wonderfully chosen idiomatic expressions. Non-native speakers [...] are therefore more likely to spontaneously adopt the appropriate style and tempo and be sensitive to the specific needs of their audience than native speakers [...].

Not all, of course, would agree with these propositions. Among their number are Gazzola and Grin (2013) who argue, persuasively, that the adoption of ELF does little to remedy inequalities in language learning effort since ELF is still a kind of English and not a more distant linguistic code such as Polish, say. Thus, even though 'native speakers' may need to adapt and accommodate to communication in lingua franca contexts, their efforts would not equate to those learning to communicate in a significantly different second language. There are further problems. ELF, as yet, does not enjoy widespread recognition among a sociolinguistically unsophisticated European public long accustomed to regarding languages as discrete entities closely tied to nation-states, and to assessing language proficiency against a standard language benchmark. In these circumstances, and given the deep-rooted tendency for language variation to serve as a precursor to hierarchisation, it seems quite likely that ELF would come to be considered a lesser kind of English than the standard variety, with the greater economic rewards falling to those more proficient in the standard variety, as indeed seems to be the case in the UK 'native speaker' population.

On this note we turn back to a critique of Van Parijs's two central assumptions regarding (i) the spread of English language competence among EU citizens, and (ii) the necessity of a common language for a transnational demos.

4.2 The English language competence of EU citizens

For English to function as an effective and inclusive European lingua franca, it seems desirable, perhaps necessary, that a majority of EU citizens should have a reasonable level of communicative ability in the language. But this, it seems, is not the case. Eurobarometer data from 2012b (EU Commission 2012b), imperfect though they may be, indicate that 38% of EU citizens claim sufficient competence to have a conversation in English and 25% sufficient competence to follow the news on radio/television. But, 46% of EU citizens say they have no ability to speak a second language. Gazzola and Grin (2013: 101–2), meanwhile, report figures suggesting that only 24% of EU citizens claim either 'very good' or 'good' English language skills. Moreover, these skills are very unevenly distributed across EU countries and demographic groups, with the elderly, rural citizens and the non-university educated particularly likely to have weak or no competence in English.

Going a step further, Ginsburgh and Weber (2011), economists rather than linguists, calculate a set of disenfranchisement indices, showing, among other things, what proportion of Europeans would be disenfranchised were English to become the sole official EU lingua franca. By 'disenfranchisement' they mean excluded from, or handicapped in, communication with official bodies/institutions. Table 1 below, adapted from Ginsburgh and Weber (2013: 153), displays what the rates of disenfranchisement for a selected range of countries would be if English or German were the sole official EU lingua franca.

As can be seen, the disenfranchisement rate for English is a high 62.6%, but higher still for German. It is true, of course, as Eurobarometer and other data

Table 1: Disenfranchisement rates % for selected countries in two languages (English and German)

Country	Languages	
	English	**German**
Denmark	34	73
Finland	69	95
France	80	95
Germany	62	1
Hungary	92	91
Netherlands	23	43
Spain	84	98
Sweden	33	88
United Kingdom	1	98
EU	62.6	75.1

show (see e.g. European Commission 2012b), that knowledge of English continues to spread and that younger Europeans have more developed English language skills. Nonetheless, as Lacey (2015) has argued, there are constraints on its spread and conversion into a 'basic skill'. First of all, factors of cost, lack of motivation, exposure and opportunity make it seem likely that significant numbers of the elderly, the economically disadvantaged and the 'precariat'[4] in many European countries will only develop very limited skills in English, if at all. Partial evidence for this can be found in the 2012 Eurobarometer data (EU Commission 2012b), where 51% of survey respondents use English only occasionally, typically on foreign holidays, and where 75% are classified as inactive language learners. As obstacles to second language learning, 34% of respondents mention that they lack the necessary motivation, 28% cite a lack of time, and 25% mention factors of cost. Second, labour market entry restrictions, and, in particular, the UK's withdrawal from the EU, may undercut what many cite as an important motive for second language learning English; namely, the possibility of work in another country. Finally, Van Parijs's (2011: 133) notion of 'territorially differentiated coercive linguistic regimes' would, if successfully implemented, actually act as one barrier to the untrammelled spread of English (see Lacey 2015).

The conclusion suggested by the empirical data presented above is that, while English is undoubtedly spreading, it remains doubtful if proficiency in the language is, as yet, sufficiently widespread across the European population for it to serve as an inclusive lingua franca suitable for adoption as the EU's sole official lingua franca. Neither, it seems, for reasons adumbrated above, does it seem likely that the necessary level of proficiency, outside of an elite, will be attained in the foreseeable future. Thus, to press ahead, as Van Parijs urges, with the adoption of English as the EU's sole lingua franca would, despite the many instrumental advantages, raise normative problems relating to equality of access and treatment, issues relevant to the next topic – a common language and a transnational demos.

4.3 A common language for a transnational demos

In common with other political theorists (e.g. Kraus 2008; Grimm 1995; Habermas 1995; Stojanovic 2009; Innerarity 2014; Lacey 2014), Van Parijs (2011) acknowledges the very considerable challenges that the EU's linguistic and cultural diversity pose for the establishment of a common public sphere or transnational

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4 The term '*precariat*', first introduced by Standing, refers to a class at the bottom of contemporary societies with very low household income and very little of any kind of capital (See Savage 2015).

demos; that is, a common communicative space for deliberation, decision-making and political mobilization. Indeed, many (e.g. Grimm 1995; Kraus 2008) contend that at present Europe lacks a transnational demos in that there are no European political parties to speak of, only looser political groupings, no European print or broadcast media, and no European public discourse. Instead, the majority of EU citizenry, outside of a small elite, access media along national lines and engage mostly in public, political discourse within their national borders "...the absence of a European communication, due chiefly to linguistic diversity, has the consequence that for the foreseeable future there will be neither a European public nor a European political discourse" (Grimm 1995: 296).

As a result, there is no sense of a collective solidarity enabling the pursuit of transnational distributive justice, as, indeed, recent events seem to bear out.

With this challenge in mind and taking inspiration from Mill (1861), Van Parijs (2011) goes on to argue that the more people of different national backgrounds communicate across borders using a single, shared lingua franca, the more likely it is that they will accept each other as equal interlocutors and reach some consensus in the quest for egalitarian justice. Also, a shared common language, arising not from a homogenous ethnos or culture but rather a widely understood civic lingua franca, is necessary for the creation of a common demos, which, in turn, '... is a precondition for the effective pursuit of justice' (ibid: 30).

But is this in fact the case? While some political theorists are supportive of Van Parijs's thesis on the necessity of shared common language for transnational demos, there are also dissenters (e.g. Stojanovic 2009; Lacey 2014; Innerarity 2014). The latter point out, variously, that: (i) there are many multilingual nation states that are functioning democracies despite the presence of multiple public spheres (e.g. Belgium); (ii) that political identities are not fixed but fluid, and may therefore change as a result of sustained interaction. For example, the EU can be considered a fairly new, 'emergent polity' with the potential to build solidarity gradually, and is not necessarily bound to follow the nation-state model of linguistic/cultural homogenisation (see e.g. Innerarity 2014). Finally, some theorists (e.g. Lacey 2014; Stojanovic 2009) point to Switzerland as an example of a state with a functioning multilingual demos, and as an example from which the EU might learn. Lacey (2014: 62) is careful to point out, however, that underlying the Swiss success in sustaining a multilingual demos is what he refers to as a 'unified and robust voting space':

> ......a linguistically unified public sphere, while ideally desirable, is not required for a well-functioning democratic community so long as there is a unified and robust voting space that can (a) serve to symbolically represent 'the people' as one regardless of linguistic divisions and (b) provide the same deliberative focus to the public spheres such that their respective discourses are both synchronized and responsive to one another (Lacey 2014: 62).

By a 'unified voting space', Lacey (ibid) means a set of procedures by which the discourses of differing linguistic communities are brought together and synchronized in debates leading up to elections from which the collective will of the Swiss people emerges. Particularly helpful in the Swiss case is that, unlike in Belgium, parties are organised along national rather than linguistic lines and that frequent referenda, instigated both top-down and bottom-up, help reinforce the integration of different public spheres.

While interesting, it seems doubtful, however, whether these proposals, built around the Swiss example, would transfer easily to the EU situation or survive the objections (a) that the EU's linguistic diversity (24 official languages) is on a wholly different scale to that of Switzerland, (b) that the EU is far more culturally and economically fractured, and (c) that Switzerland has a far longer unifying national tradition. Moreover, it is unclear whether popular referenda are at all helpful. Instead of unifying, they can be divisive, are liable to manipulation by populist politicians promoting self-serving simplistic solutions to complex problems and can lead to disastrous consequences, one reason perhaps why the German constitution disallows federal referenda except those relating to the territorial changes to the Federal state.

To go any further at this point into the theoretical intricacies of the creation of a transnational public sphere would take us well beyond the scope of this chapter. However, the discussion thus far leads to the tentative conclusion that, while a linguistically unified public sphere may be advantageous to Van Parijs's pursuit of egalitarian justice, it seems premature to accept that linguistic unification around English as sole official lingua franca is strictly necessary to the establishment of a transnational demos, especially given the normative costs of so doing. We turn now to an evaluation of Van Parijs's proposed measures for the redress of the linguistic injustices arising from the wider dissemination of English as sole lingua franca.

4.4 English as a lingua franca and proposals for the redress of linguistic injustice.

Recognising that the spread of English as sole lingua franca presents challenges to linguistic justice, Van Parijs (2011) proposes a set of measures to meet the requirements of distributive justice, justice as fair cooperation, and 'parity of esteem'. These include carefully calibrated financial transfers from what he refers to as 'Anglophones' or 'native speakers' and 'territorially differentiated coercive regimes' (see above). He also proposes a ban on dubbing, and immersion schooling as measures to accelerate the diffusion of English.

The problem, however, with these proposals is that they rest on rather weak empirical foundations, and involve rather abstract idealised conceptions of the 'native speaker', English and language itself. Starting first with language learning, a ban on the dubbing of films or TV programmes could very well assist in the improvement of receptive competence but, in comparison with formal schooling, is likely to play a minor role in developing the higher levels of productive skills necessary for communication in professional, business and diplomatic domains (see e.g. Phillipson 2012). As a by-product, too, the resulting greater exposure to Anglophone media content might add to the asymmetry of cultural flows and assist the spread of sometimes undesirable Anglo-American values (Lacey 2015). As for immersion schooling, there is evidence that it can produce positive results in the right circumstances but the evidence is not wholly conclusive regarding long-term improvement in productive skills.

Turning now to the issue of the Anglophones' unearned advantage, it is almost certainly true that English as a sole lingua franca would further benefit Anglophone economies (e.g. the USA, UK) but the advantage accruing to individuals is far from easy to estimate. A major reason is that the category 'native speaker' or 'Anglophone' is broad and unsatisfactorily loose. Many assigned to that category, and particularly those at the less privileged end of the social scale, do not habitually use Standard English, are already disadvantaged in multiple ways and do not participate much in international exchange, and so only marginally, if at all, benefit from the status of English as an important lingua franca. From this standpoint, then, one might dispute the fairness of Van Parijs's (201l: 75) estimate that a payment of €500 per capita annually is due from the UK population.

Meanwhile, Van Parijs (ibid) does not distinguish different varieties of English that bestow different levels of social or cultural capital. Standard English, for instance, the variety that has the highest social prestige, is not acquired by Englishmen (not to mention Scots or Irish) as part of their birthright but is a variety acquired through lengthy formal education at a somewhat greater cost than Van Parijs's calibrations allow. As Joseph (2016: 29) puts it "the rise of the standard European national languages [...] enabled the illusion that everyone is a native speaker of the language of whichever nation they belong to [...] no one is a native speaker of any standard language – it [the standard language] is a quasi-second language for all its users".

As it happens, and if ELF scholars (e.g. Cogo and Jenkins 2010; Seidlhofer 2010) are right in their analysis, it is fairly likely that European users of English will converge on a communicatively workable form of English that is quite different from standard English and one that so-called 'anglophones' would need to learn – at more than zero cost – in order to participate in international communication.

Again, this should affect any calculation of the putative advantage enjoyed by English native speakers. Moreover, as competence in English spreads, it is also likely, as Van Parijs (2011: 115) in fact acknowledges, that the labour market value of competence in the language will diminish until a point is reached when it becomes more advantageous to be bilingual in English and another language than monolingual in English, which may be the fate of many 'anglophones' as opportunities to gain exposure to, and thus learn, languages other than English steadily evaporate. Finally, Van Parijs's reliance on such notions as 'native speaker' or 'anglophone' sit uneasily with recent developments in applied linguistics (see e.g. Davies 2013) that challenge the idea that there is a clear-cut cleavage between so-called 'native' or 'non-native' speakers. For instance, usage-based theories of language acquisition stress the importance of frequency of exposure (or encounter) rather than innate endowment. Here, for example is Ellis (2002: 166): "the evidence reviewed here suggests that the knowledge underlying fluent use of language is not grammar in the sense of abstract rules or structure, but it is rather a huge collection of memories of previously experienced utterances".

One implication here is that second language users are not precluded from attaining high levels of proficiency in the versions of English they encounter, provided they do so with sufficient frequency. And, thus, any differences in proficiency between those for whom English is the language of primary socialisation and bilingual second language users is a matter of the contingencies of personal experience and not genetic inheritance.

Turning now to distributive justice, Van Parijs (2011: 93) claims, as we have seen, that 'native speakers' enjoy arbitrary advantages in the labour market (e.g. in language-related occupations) and that they communicate more easily and comfortably than 'non-anglophones' in academic, business, diplomatic and other domains. His proposed remedy is faster dissemination of English and financial transfers from the linguistically privileged to the less privileged.

Here, Van Parijs is on stronger empirical ground than elsewhere, for it is difficult to deny that the UK and USA derive substantial economic benefits from the status of English as a widespread lingua franca. Again, however, this economic advantage does not accrue to all individuals that might be placed in the 'anglophone' category. And, while it is probably true that 'anglophones' exert less effort in academic publishing or speaking at conferences, it is easy to overestimate the degree of advantage and thus miscalibrate the financial recompense. To take academic publication as an example, Hyland (2016), in a careful review, makes the following points: (i) 'native speakers' also face many challenges in developing the writing skills necessary for academic/scientific publication; (ii) there are many obstacles to successful academic publication, and language is usually not the foremost of these; (iii) despite the linguistic challenge, 'non-anglophones'

are successfully publishing more journal articles than ever before, outnumbering 'anglophones' across Hyland's sample of 6 disciplines (Hyland 2016: 64); (iv) studies of reviewers' comments on submissions, such as that by Coniam (2012), find that reviewers more frequently criticise methodology, content and strength of claims than language, and that in some fields editors are extending greater tolerance to non-standard forms. More fundamentally, in the domain of academic writing, an elite and highly specialised field of discourse, it is highly problematic to frame linguistic disadvantage wholly in terms of the fragile, unduly simple and unsatisfactory 'native v non-native' dichotomy.

We come finally to what is perhaps one of Van Parijs's (2011: 133) most controversial and much criticised proposals for 'territorially differentiated coercive regimes'. As outlined previously, this is intended to redress the unequal respect/dignity that the primacy of English as sole lingua franca implies for members of other linguistic communities, and operates through the establishment of an official language of public domains (e.g. education, media, public administration etc.) in each territorially defined unit. The idea is that such a regime will help override normal 'min-max dynamics' and encourage incomers to learn the locally dominant language.

There are, however, various problems with this proposal. Once again, objections can be raised on the grounds that the underlying empirical assumptions do not fit comfortably with contemporary sociolinguistic realities. We do not live in a world of clear boundaries marking off discrete monolingual linguistic territories but rather one more commonly characterised by dense intermingling of ethnolinguistic groups, unclear boundaries, minorities within minorities, personal bilingualism, and fluid, hybrid identities (see e.g. De Schutter 2008; Wright 2015). Such features greatly complicate the implementation of regimes based on the idea of one language established as 'queen' within its own distinct territorial unit (Van Parijs 2011: 47), as does the possibility that different members of the language community will have different and conflicted identity interests in the protected language. Moreover, as Wright (2015) points out, incomers may lack the motivation and opportunity to acquire the locally dominant language especially if they belong to that category of highly mobile, high status, transnational sojourners. Meanwhile, other lower status migrants, who may well reside in linguistically mixed neighbourhoods, are likely to encounter and learn non-standard varieties of the local language. And, as Weinstock (2015) has argued, in a moderately coercive regime, these migrants may only develop a limited proficiency in the local language, sufficient for essential interaction with state authorities but little more. Indeed, they may continue to use their patrimonial ethnic language or a variety of the global lingua franca more frequently and in more contexts than the local language. Thus, to ensure compliance with the local territorial language regime,

the authorities may need to increase the level of coercion applied, but eventually a point may be reached at which linguistic freedoms are so much curtailed that other desirable liberal norms are infringed (Weinstock 2015).

Weinstock (2015) also argues that a variety of circumstances can bring about the dominance of one language over others. In some cases, labelled 'colonial', coercion, arrogance, or the systematic disparaging of 'smaller' communities may be involved, but in others dominance may arise from what Weinstock (ibid) refers to as 'mere numbers cases'; that is, from impersonal sociolinguistic forces. In the latter case, the argument from 'parity of esteem' does not apply but in the former it does, since here speakers can legitimately claim they have been treated unjustly. The problem with Weinstock's argument, however, is that it is difficult to distinguish 'colonial' from 'mere numbers cases', and even more difficult to argue that the dominance of English in particular has not previously involved episodes of injustice.

But, even if this argument fails, a further objection can be raised against the 'territorial regime' proposal, which is that, in Europe at least, the national languages of most nation-states are already territorially protected. They are, for instance, typically the mandated languages of education, law, public administration, and in many countries regulations are in place requiring immigrants to demonstrate proficiency in the state language as a condition of citizenship. What is at stake rather are the injured feelings of members of 'large' language communities (e.g. in France, Germany) whose national languages have suffered diminished international standing, prestige and respect as a result of the rise of English as a dominant lingua franca. For this, the 'coercive territorial regime' proposal offers little recompense, though, of course, whether such feelings are justified in the first place is another matter.

5 Conclusion

As I reached the conclusion of this chapter, the English electorate (though not the Scots or Northern Irish) voted narrowly to withdraw from the European Union (EU), a decision that is clearly likely to have an impact on the EU's language policy and on the role of English. It also casts a new perspective on Van Parijs's call for the accelerated spread of English as the EU's sole lingua franca.

Independently of these developments, however, the preceding discussion leads us to the conclusion that Van Parijs's arguments, impressive and subtle though they may be, are flawed because they have limited empirical support and because they rest on problematic, sociolinguistically unsophisticated conceptions of English, language and the native speaker.

To take empirical matters first, it is clear that a substantial proportion of the EU population does not have any proficiency in English and would be effectively disenfranchised were English to become the sole official lingua franca of the EU. Nor is it likely, even in the long-term, that knowledge of English will disseminate to poorer, older, more rural sectors of the European population, particularly if labour market opportunities in anglophone countries are curtailed. Moreover, it is one thing to tolerate the bottom-up spread of English but quite another matter, normatively speaking, to deliberately accelerate its spread (see e.g. Lacey 2015).

Turning to the question of a transnational demos, it does seem likely that a single, common language would indeed facilitate its creation, but then again the political theory literature is not unanimous that this is a necessary condition. And, were such a transnational demos to be established, it is not at all certain that this would favour the development of an egalitarian global order. Finally, Van Parijs's proposed remedies for the injustices likely to arise from the hegemonic status of English are flawed in viewing the resulting inequalities and inequities through the single lens of a problematic 'native' vs. 'non-native' (or 'anglophone' vs. 'non-anglophone' opposition. There are, in fact, many types of native speaker and many varieties of English with different levels of prestige, and without due consideration of these complexities, and those of language acquisition, the remedies proposed fail to convince. Similarly, 'territorially coercive linguistic regimes' sit uneasily with contemporary sociolinguistic realities and would probably fail to satisfy speakers of those languages whose potential lingua franca status has been obliterated by the spread of English.

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Part II: **Attitudes toward English as a lingua franca in education**

Branka Drljača Margić and Irena Vodopija-Krstanović

English language education in Croatia: Elitist purism or paradigmatic shift?

Abstract: The aim of this paper is to contextualise the ELF debate and investigate Croatian teachers' perspectives on the potential integration of ELF into language education. Using a mixed-method approach, the data were collected by means of a questionnaire administered to 114 teachers, and follow-up interviews with ten teachers.

The findings reveal that although the majority think that it might be useful to raise students' awareness of different users and uses of English, they also maintain that applying ELF principles in the classroom would confuse learners and reduce the quality of language education; hence, not many are ready to diverge from mainstream practice and their own language learning experience. Although communicative competence is identified as central to language education, the perspectives on the notion differ. According to the majority, it is contingent on native-like proficiency, which is believed to foster international intelligibility, while the others believe that the development of communicative competence could be facilitated by distancing language education from the NS ideal. However, their willingness to adapt classroom practice to modern realities is largely hindered by uncertainty about how to operationalise ELF. Additionally, their decisions are largely guided by the curriculum, the CEFR, and the National Secondary School Leaving Examination.

Keywords: ELF, language education, English teachers, NS ideal, communicative competence

1 Introduction

English has assumed the role of a global language (Crystal 2003), which is no longer deemed to be the property of English native speakers (NSs) (Widdowson 1994). In other words, "native speakers may feel the language 'belongs' to them, but it will be those who speak English as a second or foreign language who will determine its world future" (Graddol 1997: 10). Consequently, the language requirements and needs, which were once oriented towards the NS ideal,

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are no longer relevant in the postmodern multilingual realities as the "non-native users provide the strongest momentum for the development of the language in its global uses" (Brutt-Griffler 1998: 387).

The English language used as a lingua franca differs from that used by its NSs. This is supported by empirical descriptions, which have highlighted its distinctive phonological (e.g. Jenkins 2000), lexicogrammatical (e.g. Ranta 2006) and pragmatic features (e.g. Mauranen 2003). Furthermore, perspectives on the language in the English as a lingua franca (ELF) paradigms diverge from NS English as "ELF is [...] defined *functionally* by its use in intercultural communication rather than *formally* by its reference to native-speaker norms" (Hülmbauer, Bohringer, and Seidlhofer 2008: 27). ELF depicts the function English performs in international multilingual contexts (Matsuda and Friedrich 2012), where (intercultural) communication takes place "through" and "across" cultures, and thus cannot be reduced to essentialist notions of national language–culture connections of Anglophone countries (Baker 2015: 14). In other words, ELF communication is hybrid, flexible, dynamic and emergent (Baker 2015).

If studies on ELF have identified salient language features, and speakers of ELF are "primarily users of the language, where the main consideration is not formal correctness but functional effectiveness" (Hülmbauer, Bohringer, and Seidlhofer 2008: 28), the question which arises is whether education is following suit. Specifically, is the call for a more socioculturally embedded English language education reflected in practice?

2 ELF and pedagogical perspectives

In line with the discussions so far, the NS should no longer assume a prominent role or serve as the benchmark in English language education (Holliday 2005; Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer 2003; Sifakis 2014b), as this model is not only outdated but also unattainable. Therefore, "the teaching and learning of an international language must be based on an entirely different set of assumptions than the teaching and learning of any second or foreign language" (McKay 2002: 1). Prior to further examination of the pedagogical domain, it might be useful to clarify that, in this paper, the concept of ELF includes in its scope English as an international language (EIL). While substantial research in language pedagogy has been conducted with reference to EIL, for the sake of consistency, and to avoid confusion, we adhere to the preferred terminology of ELF researchers, namely ELF (cf. Jenkins 2006).

Although ELF has been hailed as a more realistic framework (Modiano 2009) and a new paradigm for research and practice (Sharifian 2009), its direct

implications in the classroom are questionable, and it appears that ELF is not yet functional in education in Europe (Modiano 2009). One plausible explanation offered is that educators are largely unaware of the critical discussion regarding the language (Maley 2010). Furthermore, "language is so closely and automatically tied up with its native speakers that it is very difficult to open up conceptual space for ELF" (Seidlhofer 2004: 212). Also, the newly emerged features of ELF which intrigue linguists have actually become a source of concern and confusion to practitioners (Matsuda 2012) because ELF does not comprise a unified code, but is differently actualised in specific contexts (Leung and Street 2012). Evidently, linguists and practitioners conceptualise the English language differently: ELF scholars consider "real-life English language" from the communicative perspective, while educators conceptualise English in terms of "linguistic standardisation" and norms (Sifakis 2004: 242).

Nevertheless, the debates surrounding English have sparked criticism towards language education professionals whose current practices are not in line with the research on ELF (Matsuda 2012), and it has been recommended that changes should be made in language education to follow suit. However, the key challenges surrounding the integration of this paradigmatic shift into the language classroom stem from the fact that teachers have not been offered concrete suggestions how to implement the changes (Dewey 2014; Matsuda 2012). Several reasons have been advanced for this, one of them being that teaching is highly context-dependent, which excludes the proposition of any concrete steps that should be taken to guide teacher actions in integrating ELF pedagogy (Matsuda 2012). ELF researchers tend to pursue this non-directive approach and believe that they are not entitled to give guidelines for classroom practice, but instead that language teachers should decide for themselves what is relevant and applicable to their particular context (Jenkins 2012). However, it must be pointed out here that offering concrete suggestions and principles regarding ELF pedagogy does not necessarily imply their imposition or uncritical implementation in English language teaching (ELT). When discussing the pedagogical implications of ELF, "knowing that" and "knowing how" should not be delimited where the first falls into the domain of the researcher, while the latter is relegated to the practitioner. Teachers are actually expected to become familiar with growing ELF research, and, by implication, to be able to integrate it into practice. Surely, they would need some assistance in operationalising the ELF construct and making informed decisions. All things considered, "a great deal of work remains to be done before ELF can become a well-founded reality in language pedagogy" (Seidlhofer 2004: 228). For now, ELF as "pedagogical area [has become] increasingly trendy and ever-fascinating, but still remains largely under-explored" (Sifakis 2004: 238), and rather remote from the classroom.

Let us now examine some key aspects of the ELF paradigm which challenge mainstream language education. First, in education, English is primarily perceived as "norm-bound" focusing on "matters of regularity, codification and standardness," while ELF scholarship "prioritises the process of cross-cultural comprehensibility between learners as a communicative goal in itself rather than on notions of accuracy and standards" (Sifakis 2004: 239). In ELF interactions, the NS is not the ultimate benchmark and the norms "are not exonormatively imposed, but they are negotiated by its users ('mutual engagement') for specific purposes ('joint enterprise') by making use of the members' lingua-cultural resources ('shared repertoire')" (Cogo 2010: 296). Consequently, ELF "is intrinsically intercultural" (Pullin 2015: 32), and differences in ELF relative to NS norms should be reconceptualised and not considered deficiencies but "emerging or potential features of ELF" (Jenkins, Cogo, and Dewey 2011: 284). Given that NS pronunciation is deemed unattainable, ELF pronunciation seeks to redefine pronunciation errors, and, accordingly, lingua franca core features contribute to democracy in cross-cultural communication (Jenkins 2000, 2007). Similarly, lexicogrammatical features question notions of grammatical accuracy, and variations show patterns in ELF use rather than errors (cf. Jenkins, Cogo, and Dewey 2011), the main being dropping of the third person -s, interchangeable use of *who* and *which*, different use of articles, and the insertion of redundant prepositions (cf. Cogo and Dewey 2011; Seidlhofer 2004). An equally important aspect of ELF is the creative use of idiomatic language, which is distinct from the one used in NS English and involves negotiation for meaning and the coining of new expressions (cf. Zhu 2015).

Today, ELF research is changing attention from identifying patterns of language to focusing on the underlying pragmatic use in specific settings (e.g. Hüttner 2009). Accordingly, there is a need to reconceptualise language by moving away from rules and patterns to the contextualised construction of meaning (Alsagoff 2012). Specifically, oral skills practice should expand its focus to include awareness of potential misunderstandings in the international context and develop strategies to handle problems in real exchanges as a way of developing intercultural competency (House 2012). With the changed conceptualisations of what English is and what it entails for language education comes the distinct need to re-examine notions of language proficiency, and, by implication, revisit English language curricula (Brown 2012). Consequently, the goal of literacy instruction focusing on writing conventions from Inner Circle countries (e.g. essays) should be reassessed in the light of the multifarious global and local contexts of English use (Casanave 2012). The aforementioned language features and paradigmatic changes regarding the English language have triggered the need to design valid language assessment, not entirely benchmarked on the NS (cf. Hu 2012), which would entail testing a limited number of features that are "shared in all varieties

of Standard English [...] rather than on norms that are known to differ systematically across varieties, such as those for count/uncount nouns and for prepositions and particles", as well as a selection of items from ELF use (Lowenberg 2012: 97).

Studies in (critical) applied linguistics (cf. Holliday 2005; Pennycook 1994) and ELF have drawn increased attention to the underlying ideology and role of the NS in English language education (Jenkins 2007; Llurda 2009; Seidlhofer 1999; Sharifian 2009). For example, research on the position of non-native English-speaking teachers has highlighted their potential strengths, such as knowledge about language and the local context (cf. Llurda 2006; Medgyes 1992; Vodopija-Krstanović 2011). They are deemed to be a good learner model as "the native speakers know the destination, but not the terrain that has to be crossed to get there: they themselves have not travelled the same route" (Seidlhofer 1999: 238). Furthermore, it has been realised that teaching methods and materials designed in Inner Circle countries are not necessarily appropriate in all contexts (Holliday 2005). Another important aspect is the contentious role of culture in the English language classroom. Specifically, if ELF is a neutral code for communication (Louhiala-Salminen, Charles, and Kankaanranta 2005), the distinction between the English language and English culture should have direct implications on culture learning and cultural knowledge (Baker 2015). Is it then possibly out of place for teachers to teach and learners to learn the language benchmarked on the NS and "to pretend to belong to a particular 'national' English speaking culture when they obviously do not" (Pölzl 2003: 4)? With the worldwide use of English by speakers of different linguacultural backgrounds in global and local interaction, new modes of communication need to be taken into consideration to acknowledge voices in English from diverse parts of the world (Leung and Street 2012; Ware, Liaw, and Warschauer 2012).

Clearly, ELF calls for a change in conceptualisations of the content, process and goals of language education. However, more work needs to be done at the theoretical level before ELF can be fully actualised in practice (Jenkins 2006), i.e. what these variations mean for language education merits more research and discussion (McKay 2012). In line with these views, we have set out to examine the implications of ELF in the Croatian context. Next, we briefly turn to language education in Croatia, and then contextualise the ELF debate by looking at the findings.

3 Insights into English language education in the Croatian context

Regarding language education in the Croatian public schools, students begin studying a foreign language, predominantly English, in grade one of primary

school. In secondary schools, foreign languages are also learned and requirements vary depending on the type of school (general or vocational) and study track. All students study at least one foreign language, for the most part English, and are expected to be at A2 level after the compulsory eight-year education, and B2 level after completion of the four-year secondary education.

The key document which guides learning and teaching in Croatia is the National Curriculum Framework for Preschool Education and General Compulsory and Secondary Education (Nacionalni okvirni kurikulum za predškolski odgoj i obrazovanje te opće obvezno i srednjoškolsko obrazovanje – NOK 2010). "The National Curriculum Framework is the foundation for the definition of expected student achievements in all subjects" (NOK 2010: 5), which "defines core educational values, educational goals, principles and goals of educational areas, principles of evaluation of student achievements, and principles of evaluation and self-evaluation of the implementation of the national curriculum" (NOK 2010: 9). Likewise, it serves as a roadmap for foreign language education by defining a framework for designing syllabi focusing on the four language skills, namely listening, reading, writing and speaking, as well as culture, across all educational levels and types of schools.

In gymnasiums[1], English language course design draws heavily on the NS ideal, which is underpinned by two influential documents: the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEFR) and the Curricular Approach to Changes in Course Design in Grammar Schools issued by the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports in 2003 with the aim of reducing students' workload (Ministarstvo znanosti, obrazovanja i sporta – MZOS 2014). It is worth pointing out that this document explicitly defines the content and goals of English language learning, which is exclusively limited to British and American English and Inner Circle cultures. In a similar manner, the CEFR supports a NS orientation and the "near-native ideals associated with the highest reference level C2 called *Mastery*" (Pitzl 2015: 98).

The NS is also prevalent in the ELT coursebooks used in public schools, all of which have to be approved by the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports (MZOS 2014). In primary schools, English language coursebooks are written either by Croatian authors or native English speakers and are published by local and UK-based publishers, respectively. A characteristic of the locally published English language coursebooks is that they focus overwhelmingly on Inner Circle countries and cultures, thus perpetuating the NS ideal. The large majority of

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1 A type of secondary school which offers an advanced level of education and provides better opportunities for entering university.

secondary schools use international coursebooks written by NSs published by UK-based publishers (among the most popular being *Headway* by John and Liz Soars).

An equally important factor in language education in Croatia is the National Secondary School Leaving Examination. English (or a foreign language) is a mandatory subject on the Examination, which means that in 2014, 31,590 students took a foreign language, and the majority (29,394) opted for English. The Examination tasks, language skills and learning outcomes are specified in the English Language Examination Catalogue. Three skills are tested on the Examination: reading, writing and listening, at B2 level. Examples of listening tasks include understanding of a "text spoken in the standard" or interaction between "native speakers of the language" (Ispitni katalog za državnu maturu 2014: 12). In the writing task, students are required to write a 250-word for-and-against essay, which is assessed according to the following criteria: task completion, grammar, vocabulary, coherence and cohesion. The structure, rhetorical choices and paragraph patterning have to reflect characteristics inherent to NS English (cf. Connor 1996), and grammatical accuracy based on Standard English is rewarded.

4 Methodology

4.1 Aims and research questions

The aim of the study is to gain insights into Croatian English teachers' attitudes towards NS English and ELF, and to explore the role and (future) implications of ELF for language education in Croatia.

The study was guided by the following questions:

RQ 1:   How do teachers perceive the role of ELF in language education?
RQ 2:   What are the implications of ELF for language education?
RQ 3:   To what extent is ELF integrated into language education?
RQ 4:   What is the role of the NS in language education?

4.2 Participants

The sample consisted of 114 English teachers who completed an online questionnaire, and ten English teachers who participated in interviews. Of the teachers who took the online survey, the majority (71.05%) teach in public primary schools, 29.82% in public secondary schools, 8.77% in private foreign language

schools, and 0.88% in private primary schools. Their mean teaching experience is 13.5 years. As for the teachers who participated in the interviews, half work in public secondary schools and half in public primary schools. They have an average of 10.5 years of teaching experience.

4.3 Instruments

The mixed-method approach was used (Creswell 2003), and the quantitative data were collected by means of an online questionnaire, which was distributed via the Croatian Association of Teachers of English. The questionnaire comprised 13 questions and was divided into three parts. The first four questions enquired into the participants' years of teaching experience, the type of school where they were employed, and teacher training related to ELF. In part two, the participants were asked to rate on a five-point Likert scale the extent to which they agreed with 26 statements related to: a) their conceptualisation and understanding of ELF, b) the implications of ELF for language education, c) the importance of the NS ideal in language education, d) the aims of language education (development of communicative competence vs. accuracy), and e) the role of culture in the classroom. The third part focused on the implications of ELF for teaching the four skills, grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation. The participants were also asked whether they found it possible to integrate ELF into the classroom, and to further elaborate on the implications thereof. The questionnaire was written and completed in English. The respondents' answers are reproduced in their original form, and each response is assigned a number.

Three weeks after the questionnaire had been administered and analysed, we conducted interviews with ten teachers in their respective schools. In the interviews, we verified and further discussed some of the categories and themes which had emerged in the questionnaire. Following Kvale (1996), we used the semi-structured interview which was loosely based on an interview guide. The interview questions focused on the following topics: a) the varieties students are and should be exposed to, b) the teachers' attitudes towards language errors, c) the intersection of ELF and English language education, d) insights into and perspectives on (the impact of the NS ideal on) English language education, e) the teachers' familiarity with current debates on English language education, and f) benefits, challenges and possibilities of the introduction of ELF into the classroom. The participants were also invited to freely elaborate on any aspect related to teaching ELF which they deemed relevant.

All the interviews were taped and lasted approximately 60 minutes. The first step in the data analysis involved transcribing the recorded interviews. We

approached the data individually in a holistic way, and after an initial reading, we highlighted the key points and categorised the common themes that emerged. Next, we compared our readings of the data and labelled aspects that illuminated the research questions to advance our understanding of the topics dealt with in the quantitative study.

5 Results

The majority of the participants (60.17%) hold that the ultimate goal of language learners should be to achieve native-like competence in the English language. Accordingly, 71.56% hold that it is important for non-native English-speaking teachers to have a native-like pronunciation, and 91.89% to speak accurately in terms of grammar. Although less than half of the respondents (41.82%) maintain that language teaching materials should focus mainly on native English-speaking countries, as many as 90.09% deem it important to integrate the target culture into the English as a foreign language (EFL) classroom. The introduction of the target culture, however, does not exclude the integration of the source culture and the cultures of other non-native English-speaking countries. The former is supported by 85.59% of the participants, while the latter is maintained by 81.08% of the sample population. The respondents are split when it comes to the introduction of students to various varieties of English, such as Indian or Kenyan English.

When it comes to the functionality of English in terms of getting the message across, irrespective of accuracy, only a small percentage (15.46%) agree with the statement that it is only necessary for students to achieve communicative competence in English, regardless of accuracy. The importance of introducing students and teachers to the notion of ELF is supported by 73.87% and 85.18% of the participants, respectively. Around half (51.79%) perceive ELF to be a separate variety of English in its own right, and 38.74% hold that ELF can serve as a model of language use for teaching English. The majority (56.88%), however, doubt the possibility of ELF codification/description, due to the influence of the speakers' first languages. As for the impact of ELF on English education in Croatia, 62.83% agree that ELF has altered the underlying principles of teaching English, and 47.79% underscore that the development of ELF has changed their assumptions about learning English.

Around a fifth of the respondents (21.3%) have attended a presentation or seminar on ELF, where they learned that ELF was used around the world as a common means of communication which might be different from NS varieties.

ELF was presented as "English used for the purpose of intercultural communication [...] functionally and not formally [...] without paying attention to the language rules" (12). By this token, "things that some teachers fuss about the most (like 3rd person singular -*s*) may have absolutely no impact on the quality of the message" (22).

The majority of the respondents (72.55%) believe that ELF affects the teaching of vocabulary. For those who equate ELF with American or British English, vocabulary is increasingly important as "with little grammar and many words you can speak as a native speaker" (2). They also hold that it is important to introduce students to different styles and registers. Those who see ELF as a separate variety of English fear that the "language will lose its richness [...] lack idiomatic expressions, and become less accurate and less varied" (56), although a number of the respondents emphasise that students should primarily be able to communicate the message, rather than required to learn NS idioms and phrases.

The impact of ELF on the teaching of pronunciation is recognised by 64.71% of the respondents. Some adopt a negative attitude towards the fact that pronunciation is influenced and even distorted by the speakers' first languages, and emphasise that it should be paid due attention in language education.

> Pronunciation is KEY to understanding! (5).

> It is important to speak clearly, have the right intonation and stress the words correctly. Pronunciation should be paid attention to from the very start. It is difficult to correct the fossilized errors afterwards. Mother tongue and the culture we come from greatly affect our foreign language pronunciation [...] non-native English speakers tend to have bad pronunciation, distort words, speak unclearly (79).

Others do not hold that pronunciation merits great attention since it is not feasible for all speakers to achieve native-like pronunciation, and what counts is the ability to convey the message. In their opinion, teachers should constantly raise students' awareness of different pronunciation models.

> English cannot be pronounced properly by people from different parts of the world because they are not able to pronounce some English sounds and proper stresses. There is no use to drill pronunciation (44).

> English learners should be aware of pronunciation types around the world, recognize them and be given the choice of using one of them (29).

> Teachers should teach students to pronounce the words correctly, but make them aware that ELF means to appropriate the language according to communicative needs, which often results in avoiding traditional language norms (73).

Most participants (70%) hold that ELF has an impact on the teaching of the four skills, primarily speaking, because the message can be transmitted even

if it is not grammatically correct, and listening, as students will be exposed to different accents. Some are concerned that ELF will reduce the quality of language teaching and confuse students, who need explicit rules, guidance and benchmarks. Those who do not make a distinction between ELF and American or British English comment that English has become the most important language, and teachers should help develop students' language proficiency in all the four skills.

The majority of the respondents (68%) also hold that ELF affects the teaching of grammar. Some believe that students' errors should be tolerated to a larger extent as the main goal is delivering the message, regardless of the number of mistakes. For many, however, this position has negative implications on language education as it gives the impression that grammatical accuracy is not relevant, while, in fact, grammar is important for "being clear and understood" (42). Hence, increased attention would need to be paid to L1 interference and to contrastive analysis between grammatical systems and rules of native English varieties and descriptions of ELF. In the era of the global spread of English, even more attention should be paid to the use of correct grammatical structures, and it is the school's responsibility to provide "the same starting point or firm ground to start from [...] Simplifications should be accepted as reality, but they should not be taught as such" (56).

The question of the future implications of ELF for teaching English was addressed by half of the respondents. The majority hold that ELF will bring changes to English language education, while 27.28% either cannot say or do not think that there will be any greater implications. Here is a selection of the participants' responses:

> Students will try to achieve communicative competence in speaking English, i.e. improve the four skills and shift the focus from grammar and American and British culture to expressing their thoughts freely without feeling the need to follow every grammatical rule written in a coursebook (16).

> Teachers probably won't be concerned with grammar and the range of vocabulary or pronunciation as much as they have been so far. Classroom becomes a place where students are being prepared for what is really happening outside its walls (55).

> Reconsidering what mistakes are, possible vocabulary innovations and oversimplification of grammar rules (91).

> It will bring technologically equipped classrooms and change teaching materials, techniques, the grading criteria... I think (79).

A minority (13.46%) hold that the integration of ELF would simplify and pollute the language, and confuse both teachers and students.

> I think we should stick to 'standard' language or there will be too much confusion (36).

> Everything will be possible, mistakes will be ignored, grammar will be oversimplified and it will turn into a complete chaos and anarchy (67).

> As it is an easier form of language, some teachers might use it more often. In this way real English will disappear (70).

Again, some simply believe that the implications for future practice, which arise from the omnipresence of English in its native form, are restricted to raising students' awareness of the importance of knowing the language.

Regarding the possibility of integrating ELF into the classroom, 74.47% perceive it to be feasible, e.g. by exposing students to different uses and users of English through samples of real-life speech, such as YouTube clips. They (would) also "make the use of Skype with non-native speakers all over the world" (56), "present different cultures, assign seminar papers and presentations" (89), and "try not to fuss about grammar" (112). ELF introduction is primarily deemed possible in secondary education because, as a respondent points out, "young learners need to have clear structure and rules to rely on […] and when they are older and know to communicate properly, they can research and learn about other varieties" (99). In other words, the introduction of ELF should be delayed paying attention to students' age, proficiency level and needs. The respondents, however, question how wise it is to introduce ELF in language education as learning outcomes in public schools are driven by the NS benchmark, and restrictions are imposed by the National Secondary School Leaving Examination and university entrance exams. In addition, there is a general lack of knowledge and guidance regarding how to incorporate ELF in ELT. Those who oppose the integration of ELF into the classroom emphasise that it would only confuse students, as they should only be taught correct Standard English. In fact, "they'll have plenty of time in their lives to change and develop their knowledge the way they desire" (15).

6 Discussion

The data collected via the interviews and the initial statements of the questionnaire reveal that the NS ideal still largely underpins language education, as the majority of the participants believe that teachers should have a native-like accent and that the ultimate goal of language learners should be the achievement of native-like competence. Their flexibility regarding English language diversity is predominantly confined to raising students' awareness of different English language varieties and various facets of the English language, as well as of the negotiation and variability that characterise ELF. For some of the respondents, the flexibility lies in the mixed use of British and American English.

Though the majority of the respondents think that it might be useful and interesting to broaden students' minds in terms of different users and uses of English, they maintain that applying ELF principles in the classroom would confuse learners and reduce the quality of language education. This feeling probably stems from the fluidity of the notion of ELF and debates surrounding its potential codification (cf. Matsuda 2012). Despite the strengths of ELF, which lie in its functional and intercultural perspective (Sifakis 2004), our participants were trained exclusively in the NS paradigm based on the British and/or American English models, and these values and beliefs are perpetuated in the classroom. Furthermore, given that English language education policy documents in Croatia make reference to the NS and highlight British and American English language and culture, it is debatable how many teachers are actually ready to diverge from dominant practice and their own language learning experience. This is not surprising as traditionally the teacher is deemed to be "an ambassador of the inner-circle culture [and a] model of the native speaker variety of English" (Renandya 2012: 65). The teacher mirrors mainstream educational trends set by English language teacher education programmes in Croatia (and beyond), which reiterate the importance of Inner Circle countries and offer culture-related courses dealing mainly with the United States and the United Kingdom. NS competence as the only viable goal for the language learner is also widely supported and perpetuated by theoretical research in SLA and applied linguistics (Mahboob 2005). In addition, a large number of teachers do not hold that ELF "exists in its *own right* and [...] in its *own terms*" (Jenkins 2007: 2), but rather is British and/or American English widely employed in international communication and used in different domains for a wide range of different purposes. Consequently, their understanding of the influence that ELF has on the underlying principles of English language education is largely reduced to the ubiquitous presence of English being a motivating factor for students to devote more time to learning the language, albeit in its native form.

Although the participants largely identify communicative competence as central to language education, their perspectives on the concept differ substantially. Their awareness of the importance of its development is probably not related to the notion of ELF, but rather is the by-product of mainstream language pedagogy known as communicative language teaching. Accordingly, to the majority, communicative competence is contingent on native-like proficiency, which is believed to foster international intelligibility. A minority hold that the development of communicative competence could be facilitated and accelerated by distancing language education from the NS ideal. They (tend to) prioritise getting the message across over being accurate and sounding like a NS. However, it is questionable to what extent they actually adhere to this functional orientation in practice (cf. Sifakis 2004), in particular as accuracy is widely supported by

formal assessment benchmarked on the NS. Specifically, the washback impact of the high-stakes National Secondary School Leaving Examination negatively affects any attempts at downplaying accuracy (cf. Sifakis 2014a).

While the communicative orientation grounded in ELF is perceived to reduce language anxiety, boost student spontaneity, and increase promptness to engage in interaction, the respondents' willingness to adapt classroom practice to modern realities is largely hindered by uncertainty about how to operationalise ELF. They remark being constrained by the lack of explicit teaching guidelines, ELF-oriented coursebooks, teaching resources, specific grading criteria, professional development time, and ELF-oriented teacher training workshops. Additionally, teachers' decisions are largely guided by the curriculum, the CEFR, and the National Secondary School Leaving Examination (cf. Dewey 2014). Regarding ELF teaching guidelines, mention has been made that scholars are reluctant to offer any suggestions (Matsuda 2012), and language teachers expect recommendations in this respect in much the same ways they are offered advice on ELT in coursebooks and teacher training courses (e.g. Ur 2012). As for ELT coursebooks, ELF is mentioned only superficially, with no direct implications for language teaching methodology (Pitzl 2015; Vettorel and Lopriore 2013). Similarly, teacher training programmes organised by the Croatian Education and Teacher Training Agency as well as major ELT publishers do not address issues of ELF in language education, but rather focus on activities that would help teachers enhance language teaching by making it more interactive, interesting and NS-oriented. Therefore, whether this alternative (i.e. ELF) is practical and realistic "remains debatable given massive variation across groups of English speakers and the thorny issue of how and how far to reflect this variation in teaching materials" (Bruthiaux 2010: 366).

The results show that many do not like the idea of introducing innovations that derive from the authentic, intercultural use of English. Among the reasons offered are that students have a lot of opportunities to acquire ELF and get acquainted with the features that do not conform to NS norms, while the classroom should be reserved for native-like English proficiency. In other words, the teachers believe that students will learn and use features that diverge from those acquired in school by default, hence, there does not seem to be a need for school-based language education to focus on them explicitly. It is feared that modifying English language education in the direction of ELF would be counter-intuitive and possibly entail students losing out on the opportunity to learn 'proper,' standard British and/or American English, which they might need in their future lives, for example, for entering universities (in native English-speaking countries). If the ELF paradigm were to be introduced in schools, students might start perceiving native standards as a priori unattainable (cf. Groom 2012).

Later enquiries in the questionnaire, investigating the actual impact of ELF on the teaching of the four skills, grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation, reveal more divided attitudes and rather diverse understandings of what ELF represents and how it is or how it can be integrated into language education. The role of the teacher appears to be twofold: they need to transmit native English language norms to their students and teach them 'correct' and 'proper' English. On the other hand, they should strive to inform their students about modern trends, tendencies and developments, and thus prepare them for life outside the rather artificial setting of the classroom. The participants are aware that in order to instruct students, teachers themselves should be educated, and more than a few express the need for professional development and teacher training in this field. In addition, as shown by Drljača Margić and Kovačević (2013), teachers largely feel expected to be familiar with and tackle English language diversity. It should be borne in mind, however, that the latter aim is not necessarily contingent on developments in ELF, and does not imply ELF becoming a teaching model; it rather means raising students' awareness, fostering positive attitudes, and enhancing their familiarity with what ELF comprises and how it is realised in communication, ranging from everyday conversation to making business deals. As English language education has a key role in developing students' perceptions and appreciation of English language diversity, it has been suggested that ELF can play a complementary role in the language classroom by sensitising students to the variations in uses of English today, rather than replace native varieties of English (Sung 2013). In a similar vein, Sifakis (2014a: 134) points out that teaching pronunciation is "more a process of awareness-raising and less of actual teaching of pre-specified speech sound patterns". This is in line with the findings of Drljača Margić and Širola (2009) according to which future English teachers are open to different non-native varieties of English and inclined to introduce their students to their features, but only a minority would tolerate the use of these features in schools. Similarly, Vodopija-Krstanović and Brala Vukanović (2012) found that at the theoretical, declarative level student-teachers expressed openness for familiarisation with different varieties of English; however, when it came to actual learning in the formal setting of the classroom, they showed absolute preference for British and American English.

Only the minority of the respondents think that students should not only be informed about but also strive to acquire a variety of English which differs from the ones they have usually been exposed to in the classroom. This would imply shifting the focus from the NS ideal by allowing greater flexibility in the application of grammatical rules, tolerating pronunciation that is not native-like, developing students' communicative competence regardless of accuracy, and reconsidering language learning outcomes and assessment (cf. Sifakis 2014a). The respondents believe

that a more flexible approach would boost student confidence, i.e. encourage and motivate them to speak English without fear of making mistakes, and ultimately increase their talking time. It would also change students' perception of English as a school subject where they are marked down for deviations from NS norms, and raise their awareness of the socially situated and pragmatic aspect of communication. Many associate this paradigmatic shift with the adoption of a student-centred approach and accommodation to students' needs and preferences. It would be necessary, however, to investigate whether this is what students actually need and want in class. The results of a study conducted by Drljača Margić and Kovačević (2013) show that 70% of high school students would like English language education to remain based on standard American and/or British English norms. Similar results were obtained by Groom (2012), where the participants consider the use of ELF acceptable in most authentic real-life situations, yet overwhelmingly reject the idea of it being a teaching model. It seems that here we are dealing with two different realities: one comprising the use of ELF on a daily basis in intercultural contact, and the other reflecting students' aspirations and expectations, which are still predominantly directed towards the achievement of native-like proficiency. It remains to be seen to which reality non-native English teachers will accommodate in the future and whether the second reality will approximate the first.

7 Concluding remarks – Implications for English language education

Current English language education in Croatia, which is rooted in NS ideology and American and British English norms, needs to be reconceptualised in line with today's sociolinguistic profile of English. Notwithstanding their aspirations and expectations to achieve native-like proficiency, students of English will need to be acquainted with its pluralism and variation. A paradigmatic shift in the classroom would not, as some teachers believe, incorporate the teaching of a hypothetical global 'ELF variety,' but rather a change of perspective in ELT, which would also entail a reconceptualisation of what is acceptable in terms of variability and divergence from the NS ideal. This, however, should be considered with respect to the formal educational requirements and institutional gatekeepers in a given context. In other words, for real changes to take place in the classroom, the same philosophy should be adopted in curricula, language tests, ELT methodology coursebooks, teaching materials, TESOL education programmes, teacher development programmes and policy documents. For a paradigmatic change to occur, the benefits of such an innovation should be acknowledged by all the

stakeholders, and ELF researchers should strive to better integrate the realm of linguistics into educational reality.

Under those circumstances, teachers in the English language classroom could reconsider what constitutes language errors, as grammatical accuracy should be conceived in light of a functional approach to language learning, and recognised for its contribution to communicative competence (cf. Sifakis 2004). Then, students would not necessarily be expected to internalise NS norms. Accordingly, the development of pragmatic competence could focus on the ability to negotiate meaning among different speakers in varied circumstances. Assessment could include features that are shared by all varieties of English (cf. Lowenberg 2012), and writing would not be entrenched in the conventions of Inner Circle countries, as exemplified by the traditional academic essay (cf. Casanave 2010). When teaching vocabulary, focus could be given on lexis which is frequent and relevant, and is not culture-bound. As an illustration, learning idiomatic expressions might not be that pertinent to non-native speakers of English. By the same token, the teaching of culture should move away from exclusive focus on (teaching facts about) Inner Circle countries (Holliday 2005; McKay 2002). Given the international dimension of English, the cultural component of language teaching should also focus on the development of generic skills and strategies for intercultural communication (Holliday, Hyde, and Kullman 2004). Diversity of Englishes could be introduced through listening texts which would familiarise students with the multifacetedness of English worldwide, and would also increase their ability to understand different accents (Jenkins 2007). In the same vein, such activities would raise awareness that students do not need to imitate NS pronunciation, and are rightfully entitled to maintain their own regional accent. ELF-related activities would allow students to use their English creatively for lingua franca communication, which would not entail teaching ELF per se, but rather preparing students for real-life situations (cf. Kohn 2015). Drljača Margić and Kovačević (2013), for example, advocate the use of projects on ELF and World Englishes, which would contribute towards increasing students' intercultural awareness of the different uses and users of the language (cf. Pullin 2015). Coursebook writers and material developers should broaden their scope to provide a hybrid orientation in terms of representation of divergence and diversity in society. Similarly, curriculum design should be more flexible to include at least some aspects of ELF. Responsibility also lies with applied linguists and ELT methodology writers, who should make an effort to give specific guidelines and offer samples of tasks as to how to integrate ELF into language teaching. The excuse that this would be telling teachers what to do is rather weak as ELT methodology books serve as reference guides for language teachers, who, by default, adapt these principles and tasks in a contextually appropriate manner.

Teachers, accordingly, would have to learn from the insights provided by research and familiarise themselves with the current debates surrounding English language education, constantly develop professionally and seek to be updated on new trends (cf. Seidlhofer 2011; Sifakis 2014b). In other words, teachers would have to be educated and motivated to critically reflect on their teaching practice and their own educational background, and question their adherence to the NS ideal (cf. Sifakis 2014b). Moreover, they would need to examine the ELF paradigm using experience-based reflection while taking into consideration its applicability, practicality and learner needs (cf. Pullin 2015). As Renandya (2012) suggests, the teacher is a key factor in the introduction of ELF, and needs to be willing to acquire new knowledge and skills, and assume new roles. This move towards a socially sensitive language pedagogy (McKay and Bokhorst-Heng 2008) supposes a critical analysis and revaluation of the current course contents, methods and materials (cf. Dewey 2014; Vettorel and Lopriore 2013), and raises awareness and broadens perceptions of what English really implies and how it is 'performed' on the global scene. Specifically, teachers need to consider what teaching ELF entails and how it diverges from teaching EFL (Seidlhofer 2003).

In closing, we would like to reiterate that all the stakeholders in English language education should be aware of current trends and research on ELF as they need to be able to make informed decisions regarding the teaching and learning of English in contemporary post-modern realities. In our particular context, the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports and the Croatian Education and Teacher Training Agency should reconceptualise the sociolinguistic foundation of English language education and critically examine current practice which holds up American and British variety and the elusive NS as the benchmark and ideal model (Modiano 2001). To put it briefly, all the stakeholders would need to take a position as to how the ELF paradigm can be incorporated in language education in the Croatian context.

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Emilia Slavova

Attitudes to English as a lingua franca and language teaching in a Bulgarian academic context

Abstract: In an age of globalization, linguistic and cultural diversity and changing paradigms in the study of language, issues of identity and the notion of English as a lingua franca (ELF) need to become incorporated into the teaching of English at the university level. The article discusses the way English has changed in recent decades and has turned into a global means of communication predominantly used between non-native speakers; the shift in linguistic paradigms from the study of a monolingual, monolithic, static model of language to the study of a fluid, heterogeneous, hybrid entity; and the effect these two changes have on the teaching of English. These theoretical aspects are set as a background to an empirical study of the applicability of the concept of ELF in a Bulgarian academic context, and Bulgarian students' attitudes to their own and others' native and non-native English accents. The analysed data consists of a questionnaire and a reflective academic essay in which the students discuss their attitudes to English. The view of ELF taken in this article sees it not as a new variety in need of description and standardization, but as a concept inviting a shift in attitudes, greater tolerance to differences and a heightened awareness of linguistic and cultural diversity.

Keywords: attitudes to English as a lingua franca; Bulgarian academic context; identity; native and non-native accents; hybridity; language teaching.

1 Introduction

"There is nothing constant but change," the ancient Greek philosopher Herodotus tells us, and this rings particularly true about the way the English language has changed recently, as well as the way research paradigms and teaching methodologies have developed. Issues of identity and attitudes to English as a lingua franca have become immensely important to the teaching of English in the context of globalization, internationalization, mobility and cultural diversity. Traditional

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approaches need to be reexamined and university programs updated, especially in English departments in non-English speaking countries, where the study of English is part of courses in linguistics, literature and culture. Preparing future professionals in teaching, interpreting, translation and other communication-related fields requires critical awareness of language and cultural diversity, as well as questioning dominant discourses about the centrality of Anglo-American language and culture and rethinking the role of the native speaker as a model of instruction.

This article begins with a theoretical discussion of change at three interrelated levels: the change in the status of English from a national to an international language, predominantly used between non-native speakers; the shift in linguistic paradigms from the study of a uniform, monolithic, static model of language, of language-as-system, to the study of a fluid, heterogeneous, hybrid entity, seeing language predominantly as social practice; and the way the above two affect and change the teaching of English. Next, the article presents the results from a small-scale empirical survey based on a questionnaire and a reflective essay exploring the attitudes of Bulgarian university students to their own and others' native and non-native varieties of English. Finally, the results of the survey are discussed in an attempt to establish the usefulness of the concept of English as a lingua franca for university students and to make suggestions for the teaching of English at university level.

2 Change in the status of English

From a local language of low social prestige in 16th century Britain, English gradually grew in importance and rose to the status of a global, international language, having found itself, in David Crystal's words, in the right place, at the right time (Crystal 1997). But in spite of the obvious presence of English around the globe for several centuries, it is only recently that the 'One state – one people – one language' myth, an essential part of the 19th-century nation-state discourse (Saraceni 2015), has been seriously challenged. The first use of "English" in the plural came from the USA in a newspaper article by H. L. Mencken entitled "The Two Englishes" (1910). Mencken later published a book under the title *The American Language* (1921), in which, Saraceni claims, one can find reflected the two opposing views, typical in discussions of varieties to the present day: the prescriptivist accusations of corruption and degradation of the English language, on the one hand; and the defence of American English as a natural evolution of the language, on the other (Saraceni 2015: 60–61).

The pluralisation of English made its way back in linguistic discourse in the 1970s, when Braj Kachru started his groundbreaking work on World Englishes with an article in *TESOL Quarterly* (Kachru 1976), amidst a heated debate (see Saraceni 2015: 72–73 for an enlightening discussion). In spite of the initial resistance, World Englishes was quickly established as an academic field in sociolinguistics, producing a huge body of research on Outer Circle varieties of English and defending their right to be treated as legitimate varieties on a par with the core or Inner Circle varieties (see Kachru 1985 for his very influential Three Circles model of English). There is growing recognition of the validity of each variety and of the pluricentricity of English.

But the pluralisation of English did not stop there. The 1990s were pivotal in the conceptualization of globalization as a political, economic, social and cultural phenomenon. This coincided with an awareness of English as the language of globalization, a fact which gained recognition under various terms such as Global English (Crystal 1997), Global (Toolan 1997), International English (Widdowson 1997; Modiano 1999), or English as a lingua franca (Jenkins 2000; Seidlhofer 2001). (For a detailed discussion of the different terms see Erling 2005). The lingua franca approach in particular expanded researchers' interest beyond the Inner and Outer Circle and looked at English in the Expanding Circle. The theoretical research was supported by empirical work, and several large-scale linguistic corpora of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) were compiled, similar to the ones already existing of English as a native language. They helped to show some salient linguistic features of ELF and to establish a *difference* rather than a *deficit* perspective on certain deviations from native speaker norms, previously seen as errors. The whole notion of the *native speaker* as the sole authority on language correctness was challenged, as the ELF paradigm posed the claim that non-native users of English, outnumbering natives by several times, were the real "agents of language change" (Brutt-Griffler 1998, in Seidlhofer 2004: 212).

The idealised native speaker model of English has undergone considerable modification in recent decades. If in the past English used to be associated mostly with British English, and more specifically with Standard English and Received Pronunciation (RP), presently diversity and variability have become the norm rather than the exception. Features of previously stigmatized social varieties such as Cockney have crept into the standard language and have developed into a high-prestige urban accent known an Estuary English (Rosewarne 1984). More recently, new non-standard urban varieties such as Multicultural London English have appeared in one of the world's greatest cosmopolitan capitals and beyond (Kerswill 2011). So the monolithic, idealised "native speaker" model of English has been challenged even in its native land. London English has become a symbol of multiculturalism, cultural hybridity, and linguistic innovation and change (Slavova 2015).

3 Change in linguistic paradigms

The change in the status of the English language discussed above is complemented by a paradigm shift in the way language is theorized by linguists and sociolinguists in recent years. As Coupland contends, language-ideological change, part of the larger processes of social change, is making notions such as "standard language" to appear outdated and "modernist from a late modern perspective" (Coupland 2010: 65–66), while non-standard forms, online communication, urban dialects, code mixing and linguistic hybridity become the focus of linguistic interest. And if earlier sociolinguistic studies were focused on linguistic variation based on stable categories such as social class, geographic region or gender, current approaches focus more on a "sociolinguistics of globalization," which forces linguists "to unthink its classic distinctions and biases and to rethink itself as a sociolinguistics of mobile resources, framed in terms of trans-contextual networks, flows and movements" (Blommaert 2010: 1).

Drawing on ample recent research, Blommaert and Rampton argue that "named languages" (such as "English", "German", "Bengali") are ideological constructions related to the emergence of the nation-state, and that in "differentiating, codifying and linking "a language" with "a people," linguistic scholarship itself played a major role in the development of the European nation-state as well as in the expansion and organization of empires" (Blommaert and Rampton 2011: 5). And while the traditional idea of "language" still has immense ideological power, they observe that there has been a major shift in fundamental ideas about language, language groups and speakers, and communication. So in place of the views of language as a stable, bounded, homogeneous entity, the focus of linguistic research is shifting towards mobility, mixing, translingual and transcultural flows.

These views are further confirmed in the work of other scholars who challenge the monolingual assumptions typical of the study of language in the past. Instead, language is presented as "an open system that is fluid, evolving, and hybrid, in contact with diverse languages, ecology, and the material world" (Canagarajah and Wurr 2011: 11). Similarly, Saraceni describes the current situation as one of unprecedented linguistic, cultural, ethnic and religious diversity brought about by globalization and causing languages to "merge, blend, mesh, coalesce into a symbiosis where traditional label struggle to find a place" (Saraceni 2015: xi).

The seemingly natural connection between language and national identity is likewise contested. Globalization, migration, new media and popular culture contribute to the creation of new identities, detached from national identifications (Pennycook 2010). Postmodern theories of identity and language learning see communities as heterogeneous and often in conflict, and identity is presented as

a complex, dynamic and multifaceted notion (Norton 2010). Similarly, the notion of the "native speaker" is challenged as inadequate in describing the complex realities of the present day and new approaches are sought. As Rampton (1990) observes, there is widespread dissatisfaction with the terms "native speaker" and "mother tongue." Questioning the rigid native/non-native distinction, the assumption that languages are inherited by birth, that one can inherit only one native language and that this fact ensures automatic comprehensive grasp over that language, Rampton suggests using the much more adequate term *expert user*. Summarising much of the controversy around the terms "native" and "non-native speakers," Saraceni reaffirms the claims that the supposed linguistic superiority of the "native speaker" is a myth, adding that myths could still hold great power and give rise to real discrimination, especially in the field of English language teaching (see Saraceni 2015: 176–179 for a detailed discussion of the reasons).

4 Change in the teaching of English

The changing status of English and the shift in linguistic paradigms in the study of language should, one assumes, naturally lead to new approaches to the teaching of English. While the objective of language learning in the past may have been joining a particular target community of native speakers, nowadays it is becoming much more important to be able to move between communities "with fluidity and ease" (Canagarajah and Wurr 2011: 10–11). Furthermore, teaching needs to focus less on the formal features of language and much more on communication, expression, and the redefinition of the ownership of English (Norton 2010: 363).

We are witnessing an unprecedented linguistic situation, Barbara Seidl-hofer argues, in which for the first time in history, a language has reached truly global dimensions and is shaped at least as much by its non-native as its native speakers. This calls for a radical reconceptualization of English, questioning the deference to hegemonic native-speaker models, emphasising the legitimacy of variation, highlighting the need to explore the changing attitudes to the global spread of English and recognizing the need for the codification of ELF (Seidlhofer 2004: 214).

In a discussion of the teaching of pronunciation of English as a lingua franca, Jenkins (2005a) insists on the need to persuade teachers to adopt the ELF perspective in the first place. While not wishing to displace the Received Pronunciation (RP) or General American (GA) model from the teaching of English, she suggests taking steps towards awareness-raising, inviting students to reflect on their attitudes to non-native varieties of English, and making an informed choice

about the variety they want to subscribe to. Noting that an RP accent would undoubtedly provide them with a social advantage in many contexts, she argues that students need to be made aware of the fact that RP speakers comprise a very small part of language users in Britain itself, and that the majority of native speakers they are going to encounter are likely to have a non-RP accent. Hence, she asserts the need for learners to add a range of native and non-native speaker accents to their receptive repertoires; to work on the production of the core features of ELF in order to promote accent intelligibility; and to develop accommodation skills which would allow them to adjust their pronunciation in accordance with the intelligibility needs of their interlocutors.

In various publications presenting her extensive research on attitudes to ELF, Jenkins (2005b; 2007; 2009a; 2009b) observes that while it would make perfect sense for English language teaching to move away from the native speaker ideal, there is generally strong resistance to this idea. Language teaching materials still promote the RP accent as superior, and language courses insist on the importance of the native speaker model. Unsurprisingly, the respondents in her surveys overwhelmingly qualify RP as the "best" accent, followed by General American and only occasionally other varieties. In a monograph devoted to the politics of ELF in the international university, Jenkins (2014) develops her ideas further by discussing the negative impact of forcing native English norms on non-native English students. In contrasting the main goal of the paradigm of English as a foreign language (EFL) to the ELF paradigm, she observes that while the former aims at communication with native English speakers, the latter aims, more generally, at successful intercultural communication with people from various backgrounds. Since nobody is a native speaker of ELF, Jenkins argues, the whole notion of nativeness loses its relevance and its strong positive connotations.

Against this background, I would like to present my own study of the attitudes of Bulgarian university students of English to various English accents and the concept of ELF. But before I do that, let me first briefly describe the Bulgarian academic context in which the surveys have taken place.

5 The Bulgarian academic context

English in Bulgaria is not associated with any colonial history and generally enjoys a positive reception. After the fall of the Iron Curtain, it has often been seen as the language of democracy and freedom, of civil rights and economic development (Georgieva 2011). It has replaced Russian, the former lingua franca of the Easter bloc, as the main foreign language taught at schools, starting from the first

grade. The influences in language teaching are mostly British and American, due to the work of the British Council and the Peace Corps, a situation O'Reilly (1998: 71) describes as a "linguistic sibling rivalry". This observation is still valid today; due to the orientation of the educational system, as well as to the influence of mass media, British and American influences still dominate.

At university level, the interest in English remains stable, with a regular intake of around 100 students each year entering the BA programme in English Philology at the Department of English and American Studies at Sofia University (the oldest and largest university in the country). The level of proficiency of the students, tested via a rigorous entrance exam, is fairly high, roughly equivalent to B2 of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. This level is expected to reach C1 in the first year of study and C2 in the second year via extensive language training. The course aims to prepare students mostly for teaching and translation/interpreting jobs. The emphasis in teaching is on standard, mostly written/academic English, modelled on the native-speaker ideal. In addition to the extensive teaching of grammar and vocabulary, there are special courses assigned to the teaching of phonetics in the core programme. Communication courses are offered as electives.

Apart from the language training, the teaching of theoretical disciplines is almost equally divided between linguistics, on the one hand, and literature and culture, on the other. In accordance with the name of the department, the literature and culture courses are divided between British and American literature and culture, but the language and especially the phonetics training is British-oriented, with a strong emphasis on Standard English and mastering Received Pronunciation (RP). In addition, in the third and fourth year of study, there are elective courses in English as a global language, national varieties of English, as well as Irish, Australian, and Canadian culture. But the main focus remains British, and to a lesser degree American. English is taught as a national language related to British and American culture, while the concept of ELF is not explicitly included in the curriculum. This, of course, reflects on how English is later taught by the graduates of the department who embark on a teaching career.

It is my belief that the current situation requires future language professionals to be prepared for the challenges of a global market and for encountering significantly more non-native than native speakers of English; they need to have not only linguistic, but also highly developed communication and intercultural skills and open-mindedness for linguistic and cultural variation. And they need to be able to pass these attitudes on to their future students. This led me to conduct my attitudes study, trying both to find out what my students' current views are and to raise their awareness about certain aspects of the English language.

6 Collecting the data

For the purposes described above, I conducted a small-scale survey, comprising a questionnaire and a reflective essay. Both were administered to first-year students at the Department of English and American Studies at the University of Sofia at the end of an elective course (English for Professional Communication) and at the beginning of another one (English for Social Interaction). The students' level of English is roughly B2 moving towards C1, most of them have undergone formal language training in order to pass a rigorous exam based on sound knowledge of Standard English, and they are not very likely to have been explicitly taught yet about other varieties of English, and about ELF in particular.

My aim was to investigate how my students evaluated native and non-native English accents and how they felt about their own accents. A secondary aim was to give the students an opportunity to reflect on their attitudes to various accents (including their own) and to raise their awareness about the existing diversity of English speakers. This was also the motivation for selecting some of the TED conference presentations on which the questionnaire was based.[1] The presenters are prominent figures in their field, not necessarily native speakers of English, but expert users of the language who have received specific TED training in public speaking. Thanks to the freely distributed videos via the TED website, the presentations reach a truly global audience and attract millions of viewers around the world. In that sense, the language used can be classified as lingua franca, a language for global communication. The ten TED presenters were selected mostly on the basis of the topics of their presentations and their presentation skills. Care was also taken to present different varieties of English (British, American, Turkish, Chilean, Indian) and to maintain a balance between male and female speakers. A full list of the presenters and their topics is given in the Appendix.

Although the main focus of the university course is on developing oral presentation skills rather than on pronunciation, a casual remark about the Indian presenter ("He must learn to speak better English") made me realize that the students probably lacked sufficient exposure to a variety of accents. This led me to the decision to explore these attitudes further and to develop the Accents Questionnaire. It consisted of ten questions (quoted in the discussion in the next section). The students were explicitly told that there were no right and wrong answers, just

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1 The TED abbreviation stands for Technology, Entertainment and Design and refers to a very popular conference format with 18 minute presentations, very appropriate for educational purposes. The conference is held twice a year in the USA, but it has spawned several other formats (TED Global, TED Women, TED Youth), as well as numerous independently organized TEDx conferences around the world.

subjective attitudes. In the first two questions, they were asked to evaluate the English of the TED presenters they had listened to, pointing out the "best" and the "worst" accent. Admittedly, the notions "good" and "bad" accent have little objective meaning, but I think they are useful in expressing subjective attitudes, and most of the students had no difficulty answering the questions without problematizing the meanings of the words. The next two questions focused on the students' aspirations towards sounding like any of the TED speakers, and then on sounding like a native speaker of English (something that they would have been explicitly trained towards, I assumed). Next, the students were asked to discuss their feelings about having a NNS accent, as well as their attitudes towards others' NNS accents. These questions were motivated by my observation that, because of being taught towards a native-speaker model, some students may be self-conscious about not sounding sufficiently "native," imposing a deficit perspective on their own accents. The same may be true when they evaluate others' non-native accents. With the next questions, I tried to establish what exposure to NSs and NNSs the students had had previously (trying to confirm my hypothesis that contacts with both groups would be quite rare), as well as what had been the main influences on shaping their accent and their linguistic attitudes (teachers, media, friends and so on). The final question allowed them to make any other additional comments if they wished. The answers were later analyzed both quantitatively (according to the ratings given) and qualitatively (according to the additional comments provided by most students).

The Reflective Essay was given as homework assignment on the topic "My attitude to speaking English," and the following guiding questions were provided: *How important is it for you to speak good English? How important is it for you to speak with a near-native accent? Which native-speaker variety would you like to acquire?* The guiding questions were somewhat similar to the questions in the Accents Questionnaire, and while no quantitative data can be derived from the essays, there is a lot of material for qualitative analysis. In analysing the texts, I introduced simple coding (awareness of the role of English as a global language; orientation towards NS or NNS models of English; preference for British, American or other varieties; and other unsolicited data that became salient, such as emotional attachment to English). This allowed me to make simple quantitative observations, especially where a lot of students gave similar responses. Again, the Reflective Essay was not devised specifically for the purposes of research, but was part of the course material, giving the students an opportunity to reflect on their attitudes to the English language and giving me an opportunity to get to know them better at the beginning of a new course. Nonetheless, I believe that the results illuminate important points and offer good grounds for further, more sophisticated research.

The Accents Questionnaire was filled in by a total of 51 students, and the Reflective Essay by another 62 students. The questionnaire was done anonymously in class, while the essay was submitted as homework assignment with the students' names. The next two sections discuss the findings. The examples given below have not been edited for language, as I have tried to retain the authenticity of the students' language.

7 The Accents Questionnaire: Attitudes to native and non-native English accents

The responses to the Questionnaire reveal the Bulgarian students' perceptions of the accents of the ten TED speakers, their own aspirations towards emulating a NS accent, their tolerance to their own and others' NNS accents, and their previous experience of communicating with NSs and NNSs in English.

Question 1 asks the students to choose who, in their subjective opinion, has "the best" English accent among the 10 TED speakers. The two speakers who attract most approval are both British: Jamie Oliver and Sir Ken Robinson (respectively, 23 and 22 likes). Two of the American speakers get 9 likes each (Steve Jobs and Mellody Hobson); and the other two American speakers get 5 and 4 likes respectively (Amy Cuddy and Elizabeth Gilbert). Elif Shafak and Isabel Allende get 2 likes each; and Pranav Mistri and Matthiew Ricard get none. Some students have given more than one answer, so the sum of all answers exceeds the number of students.

The answers show, unsurprisingly, a clear preference for native speaker accents; and then, a clear preference for British over American accents (45 in total
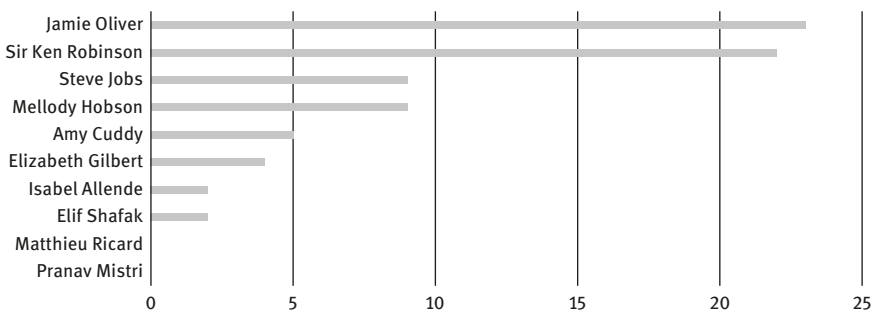

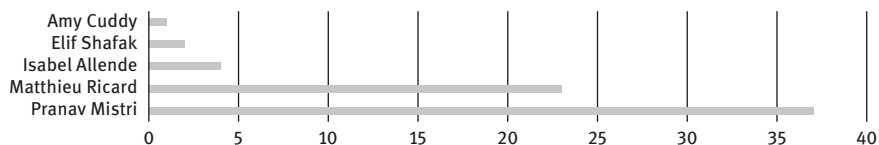**Figure 1:** Question 1: Which of the speakers has the best English accent?

Figure 2: Question 2: Which speaker has the worst accent?

versus 27), although the American speakers are four, against two British. Inter-estingly, some non-native speaker accents are also perceived positively (Shafak, Allende). I believe this is due to the fact that they are very clearly articulated and understandable to the Bulgarian students, unlike the accents of the Indian and the French speaker.

Question 2 asks respondents to choose "the worst" accents. Without doubt, according to the Bulgarian respondents, these belong to the Indian speaker Pranav Mistri (37 votes) and the French Buddhist monk Matthieu Ricard (23 votes). Most students report that those speakers' presentations were hard to understand due to their heavy accents. Isabel Allende and Elif Shafak receive 4 and 2 votes respectively; and even Amy Cuddy, who is American, gets 1 vote.

The answers show that non-native accents are generally well accepted, but considered problematic if they impede understanding. Both Mistri and Ricard have a very good command of English, speak fluently and the topics they present are engaging. Their pronunciation is clear enough for the trained year, but appar-ently not clear for students who have been exposed mainly to British and Amer-ican speech. I find it hard to explain the negative vote for the American speaker. If it was not accidental (e.g. someone making a joke or a mistake), then it may be due to the criticism Cuddy received about lacking confidence in her speech, which reflected on how her accent was perceived.

Question 3 asks the students to share whether they would like to sound like any of the TED speakers, with a follow-up question asking them to specify who they would like to sound like. Some 11 respondents share that they do not want to imitate the accents of the TED speakers, while 30 express a preference for one of the British accents (19 for Jamie Oliver's and 11 for Sir Ken Robinson's accent); and 14 would like to sound like one of the American speakers (6 like Elizabeth Gilbert, 3 like Mellody Hobson; 3 like Steve Jobs; 2 like Amy Cuddy). One student would like to adopt Elif Shafak's accent (again, some students have given more than one answer).

The preference for British over American accents is even more clearly pro-nounced here (a total of 30 against 14 votes). Interestingly, while the previous question elicited nearly equal liking for Jamie Oliver's and Ken Robinson's
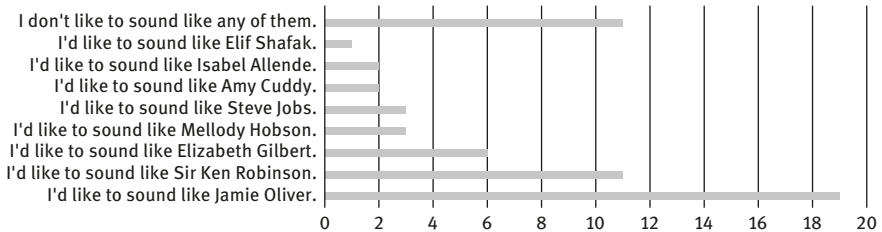
Figure 3: Question 3: Would you like to sound like those speakers?

accent, this question reveals much stronger preference for imitating Oliver's accent (which shows strong features of Estuary English). Some students make further comments that it sounds friendly, cool, and typical of the younger generation. Another interesting observation is that a small number of students (3 in total) would like to imitate a non-native speaker accent, which may be felt as closer to their own pronunciation than a native speaker's accent. It is also worth noting that a substantial part of the students (over 20 percent) declare that they would not like to sound like any of the speakers.

Question 4 asks the students whether they would like to sound like native speakers of English, inviting them to specify a variety. In spite of the somewhat speculative nature of the two questions, many students decline the idea of sounding like native speakers. The answers more or less confirm the previous findings and again reveal that the majority of the students show preference for British English (26 votes) over American English (10 votes). There are a lot of mismatches between questions 3 and 4, e.g. someone prefers a British accent but points to an American speaker, and vice versa. There are also preferences for Scottish English (2); Australian English (2) and Irish English (1). Surprisingly, six of the students, or nearly 12% of the respondents, do not wish to acquire a native accent at all. In the blank field below their answer, they give the following explanations for their preference:

(1)   No. I want to learn to sound good in my own way.

(2)   I would like to sound more British, but not lose my identity (in language pronunciation).

This confirms the refusal of the students in Question 2 to sound like any of the TED speakers and shows that some students are concerned about preserving their identity through their NNS accent more than they are motivated to acquire a NS accent, in spite of the educational environment in which they are being trained.
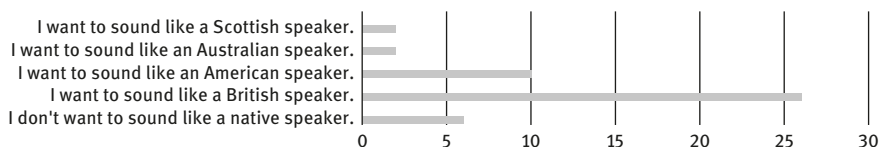
Figure 4: Question 4: Would you like to sound like a native speaker? Of which variety?
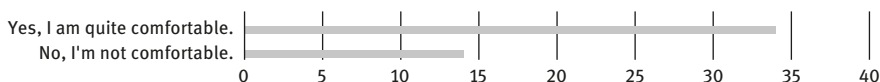

Figure 5: Question 5: How comfortable are you having a foreign accent?

In **Question 5**, the students are asked to share how comfortable they feel with having a foreign accent. The majority of the students, a total of 34, reply in the affirmative, several of them specifying that they are comfortable with having a foreign accent, as long as they will be understood. Some 14 share that they are not comfortable with it. Three have not provided an answer. One student expresses a view that non-native speakers should be free to have different accents, while others point out the impossibility of sounding like a native speaker and the fact that they have learned to be comfortable with that:

(3) *I'm not the only one who has a foreign accent, and yes, I am quite comfortable with it. English is an international language and everyone can use it the way they want to.*

(4) *I have learned to become more confident with the way I speak.*

(5) *I don't have much choice about it! But honestly I think it's OK to have a foreign accent as long as it's understandable and you can pronounce every word in the right manner. Not all of us have to have a British or American accent.*

These answers confirm the findings in the previous questions and the fact that many students are quite comfortable with their NNS accents, as long they can be understood.

Question 6 asks the respondents how comfortable they are with other people's non-native accents, as well as which foreign accents they like the most. The
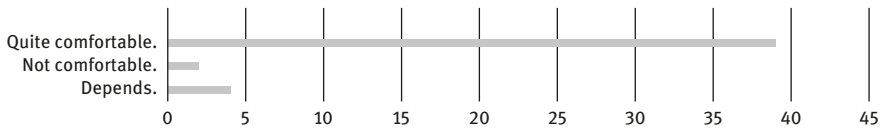
Figure 6: Question 6: How comfortable are you with other peoples' non-native accents?

results show that most students (39 in total) feel quite comfortable with other people's non-native accents. Only 2 of them do not; 4 reply with "Depends"; and the rest do not provide an answer. The most preferred foreign accents the students list (they were not given a pool to choose from) are French, Russian, Indian and Spanish (4 votes for each); Turkish (3); Italian, Asian, Japanese (2); and Dutch, Arab and Irish (1). It is hard to draw any conclusions from this information, apart from observing that these are the accents they have probably encountered previously and could remember. Surprisingly, Irish is quoted as a foreign accent. Only one student expresses clear dislike for non-native accents:

(6) I do not enjoy listening to broken English.

On the whole, however, such linguistic prejudice is rare. The majority of the students are not negatively biased against NNS accents, whether their own or other speakers'.

   Question 7 explores the students' exposure to native varieties of English through personal face-to-face encounters. The results show that only some of the respondents (10 in total) have had contacts with native speakers on a regular basis, either through a summer job, or because they had a high-school teacher who was a native speaker. One has an American father, another an American uncle; and some have American friends with whom they speak regularly face-to-face or online. Six have spent between two weeks and a year abroad in an English speaking country and have had regular contacts with English speakers there. Most of the respondents (21) have had only occasional contacts with native English speakers; one of them has "talked to a native speaker once". Six have never met a native speaker in person so far. The answers to this question show that for many Bulgarian students encounters with native English speakers are rare or non-existent, a rather surprising finding in the context of globalization, but in line with my initial hypothesis.

   Question 8 asks the students about personal encounters with non-native speakers of English. Technically speaking, all of them have such encounters on a daily basis, as their university lectures and seminars are mostly in English, taught by Bulgarian lecturers; but the question implies contacts with non-Bulgarian
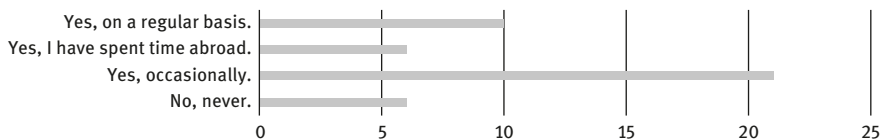
Figure 7: Question 7: Have you had personal encounters with native speakers of English?

non-native speakers. Some 20 respondents report having only occasionally encountered non-native English speakers. Experiences include exchange programs, online games, and travelling around Europe. Once again, this confirms the finding that authentic communication in English (either with natives or non-natives) is quite limited for many of the students.

Question 9 asks the students about the major influences on their English. These, apart from teachers, are TV programs and especially Cartoon Network (some students report having watched it extensively as children); movies; pop and hip-hop music; travelling abroad (especially to Britain); computer games (especially multiplayer online games involving direct interaction); and British and American friends in some cases.

Asked about anything they would like to add (**Question 10**), one student shares that occasionally, they may employ a Cockney accent for the sake of humour, demonstrating mastery of code switching that not many of the other students would be capable of. One student expresses a recommendation that "one should not be embarrassed of not sounding like a native"; and another one suggests that their education should involve training to recognize different accents, as this is something important. These comments give further insights into the students' needs.

In summary, what this questionnaire reveals is, first of all, a clear preference for the native over the non-native accents of the presenters (as could be expected); then a clear preference for the British speakers' accents over the American ones; and finally, general acceptance of non-native accents, as long as they are not too strong and difficult to understand. It is apparent that the students' limited exposure to accents outside the Anglo-American ones can be a challenge for many of them at the level of comprehension. Most of the respondents are comfortable with having a non-native speaker accent, although they would wish to approximate a native one. Several emphasize the need to retain some of their own identity through their accent. Some students express their interest in learning more about different English accents. Others would like to acquire less typical native accents such as Australian, Irish, and Scottish. While, on the one hand, they feel comfortable with having a non-native accent, on the other, they need additional training in getting familiar with different English accents, at least receptively.

8 What is your attitude to speaking English?

The analysis of the students' essays partly confirms the findings in the Accents Questionnaire, but adds more detail to the overall picture. Because of the nature of the survey, the data is mostly qualitative and offers more ground for interpretation. I have summarised my findings under three headings: English as a lingua franca, orientations towards NS or NNS models of English, and preferred English accents.

8.1 English as a lingua franca

The first guiding question asks the students to define the importance of speaking good English for them. The answers in the essays fall roughly into two (sometimes overlapping) categories: the first one discusses the status of English as a language for international communication; the other one refers to the personal connection the student feels to the English language. Several essays also discuss the meaning of "good English".

A substantial number of students (28 out of the total of 62) expound on the role of English as an international language, its importance for global business, travelling, and information sharing; in fact, not many of them mention the need to talk to native speakers:

(7)   *Being a fluent English speaker gives me the unique opportunity to
      communicate with people from all over the world as well as to become
      familiar with different cultures.*

Of these 28 students, only five use the term *English as a lingua franca*, although many of the definitions they give respond to the definition of ELF. In other words, many students see English not as a national but as an international language, a global means of communication; few have access to the notion of ELF.

Others reveal their personal relationship with the English language: a total of 13 students use strong emotional language to describe their love for English, its importance for personal growth, career plans, communication with friends, and so on:

(8)   When it comes to me, English (and languages in general) is my passion.

*(9)   This is what I love about this language – its various accents, rich lexicology
      and [the fact that] it is very pleasant to listen to.*

(10)   *I detested English and everything connected to it when I was in 7th grade. Then*
       an amazing high school perfectly mixed with enthusiastic teachers, beautiful
       poetry and stunning books made me completely fall in love with the language.

Many students report having started to learn English in kindergarten or primary school. One student shares her experience of learning to count in English before counting in Bulgarian, thanks to regularly watching Cindy Crawford's fitness videos with her mother. Several students recount early childhood experiences of watching cartoons in English on Bulgarian television without initially understanding them, and then gradually beginning to make sense of the language. Of the five students who explicitly mention cartoons as a main source of initial contact with English, four also use strong emotional language about English, which points to an unexpected but understandable relationship between early immersion into English through popular culture and developing a strong attachment to the language:

(11)   *Ever since I was a child, no more than four years old, I've exhibited a strong*
       interest towards the English language. Ironically it all began with my love
       for cartoons and through watching them excessively I began to acquire the
       basics of the language.

Many other students share that their life revolves around the use of English through books, song lyrics, Internet articles, movies, international news broadcasts such as BBC and CNN, multiplayer online games, and communication with friends abroad. Some claim that they use more English than Bulgarian in their daily lives.

Several students question the definition of what it means to speak "good" English and give their own versions of it: most are oriented towards effective communication, being clear and understandable, being grammatically correct:

(12)   *Speaking good English for me means to be understood and to be able to have*
       good communication with people. It isn't that important for me to speak
       with a near-native-speaker accent because I am not a native and even if
       I do keep my Bulgarian accent I wouldn't be ashamed of it as long as my
       pronunciation is clear and I am understood.

8.2 Orientation towards NS or NNS models of English

Asked about their aspirations about acquiring a near-native speaker accent through the second guiding question, a total of 21 students clearly express a wish

to pass for native speakers or to develop accents which are close to the NS ideal. Several explain this choice through the desire to sound "educated and literate," which probably comes to show that this particular stable combination of adjectives was mentioned in one of their classes. Another 16 claim that they do not want to acquire a NS accent, and four are ambivalent, showing both high appreciation of native accents and scepticism that they can ever acquire one, or questioning the need to do so.

Some clearly see a near-native accent as an asset that gives them better control over the foreign language and more confidence, respect and credibility, something particularly important for them if they talk to native speakers, or if they are preparing to become teachers, for instance:

(13) *Mastering an accent might make you feel more confident when speaking to natives because you know you will be easily understood.*

(14) *Especially teachers also should be able to sound native because they are giving an example.*

Others report that they invest a lot of time and effort into copying native accents from TV, and may even go as far as trying to master a range of accents (such as British, American, Scottish, Irish). An interest in acting and good imitation skills certainly help in this endeavour.

Several students state that "the accent is not that important," since many people in the world speak English with various accents and mutual understanding is much more important than mastering a native accent. Some insist that even though they love native accents, they want to develop their own ones, as a marker of identity and individuality. Others are realistic about mastering a native accent and are ready to accept their own limitations:

(15) *I don't mind not sounding like a native speaker, although I'd very much like that.*

(16) *Although I want to speak good English, I do not wish to sound like a native. I am not native, I am Bulgarian. And I am perfectly fine with this.*

(17) *Even though I love English accents and especially the native ones, I want to develop my own accent.*

An interesting comment is provided by one student who reflects on the accents of his lecturers at university and the way this has changed his attitude to accents:

(18) *The first time I heard Bulgarians talk near-native English was in this university. Some of the lecturers sound so natural that I was left wondering whether they were really from Bulgaria. Others' accents are not so good but that doesn't make them worse teachers. This has led me to believe that it's more important that your speech is grammatically correct and coherent unless your profession requires a flawless accent.*

Another one takes a stand in support of linguistic diversity and explains how his speech is usually a mixture of accents, a result of the exposure to different varieties of (mostly British and American) English:

(19) *I firmly believe in linguistic diversity, so I sound how I sound, which is I think a mix of RP and some American.*

8.3 Preferred English accents

The third guiding question asks the students to point to a specific variety of English they like and may want to acquire. This is not directly related to their preference for NS or NNS accents: students who would not like to sound like native speakers still have their preferences about particular varieties of English. Some have mentioned more than one variety.

As could be expected, most of the students demonstrate a preference for a British (41) over an American accent (21). In eight of the essays, there is an overlap between British and American English preferences: students either like both of them, or are in a period of transition, having been more accustomed to American English through the media but now expressing appreciation for British English as a result of their formal schooling at university:

(20) *Currently, I am fonder of the British accent since this is the one we learn to speak in our phonetics classes.*

Several other students demonstrate an awareness of a wide range of native accents, at least in theory. Four of them like the Australian accent (three of them alongside with the British accent). The responses in favour of British and American English could be further broken down as follows: 22 students prefer a British accent without further specifying which one, while seven make clear their preference for the standard RP accent and twelve quote other British accents as their favourite (five students prefer a Scottish accent; four want an Irish one; 2 students want to sound like Londoners; and one wants to

adopt a Lancastrian accent). They are less specific about American accents; of the total of 21 preferences for American, only two express a specific wish, one for a Central Californian accent and one for a Texan/Tennessee/Wild West movie accent. Both motivate their choice with a strong interest in and a desire to live in these particular areas in the US. One of the students has a "USA obsession" and takes great interest in everything American: history, culture, and people.

The comments the students make about the two major accents are as follows: British English is seen as "pleasant to the ear"; "nobler than most"; "authentic, aristocratic"; "sophisticated, classy"; "most beautiful"; "prestigious"; "authoritative"; as well as harder to understand and requiring more effort to master. American English, on the other hand, is easier to speak and to understand, according to most of the students; it is "simpler," "suits me more," and is "closer to me, easier to imitate".

Some students refer to specific public figures they would like to model their English on: the British actor Alan Rickman is one of them (probably popular through his role as Professor Severus Snape in the *Harry Potter* films). Others are: members of the Royal Family, David Cameron and Boris Johnson; Stephen Fry and Russel Brand (both of them English comedians, actors, authors and activists); Katy B (a London-born singer-songwriter); Joseph Morgan and Claire Holt (respectively, an English and an Australian actor, best known from the American TV series *The Vampire Diaries*); Morgan Freeman and James Earl Jones (African-American actors from an earlier generation); Johnny Depp (an American actor, mentioned by a student orienting to British English); Rihanna (a singer and songwriter originally from Barbados); and Sean Connery (a Scottish actor best known for his James Bond role, quoted by one student with a clearly expressed interest in Scottish language and culture).

To sum up, most students' answers in the second survey confirm the finding from the Accents Questionnaire. Again, they express their high esteem for native accents, mostly British and American; a clear preference for British over American accents on the basis of stylistic considerations and perceptions; a pragmatic orientation towards American English as easier and closer to the students; an interest in adopting various other native accents besides British and American; and a desire to be clear, easily understood and to develop good communication skills over the desire to sound like native speakers. Some of them emphatically wish to keep a trace of their own accent when speaking English for purposes of retaining their identity and individuality. In spite of the obvious preference for native accents, a lot of their comments and preferences are in accordance with ELF researchers' recommendations.

9 Discussion

Both the questionnaire and the essay proved to be useful preliminary tools for gathering information about my students' attitudes to the English language and its various accents, their own accents, as well as their awareness of the current role of English as a lingua franca. Since both tools were developed as part of course materials and not specifically as research tools, they need to be refined and administered to larger groups of students, as well as, possibly, to students from other departments and universities in the country, to make more conclusive observations about Bulgarian students' attitudes to English. The essay could be used to produce another questionnaire to refine the findings and allow for more definitive conclusions to be drawn. However, in spite of the drawbacks of the essay (namely, lack of sufficient systematicity of the data being gathered), I find it offers a richer source of data, allowing me to draw a more nuanced picture.

The results from this small-scale survey are revealing: first-year Bulgarian students of English are clearly aware of the role of English as the main language for international communication between people speaking different first languages, although few of them refer to this as Lingua Franca English. Many of them are also familiar with the main varieties of inner-circle English and are able to distinguish sub-varieties within them, such as Scottish, Irish, London English or RP. Some of them report that they actively try to copy and master various accents from television and to have a repertoire of different accents for various occasions. There is less awareness of outer-circle varieties, which is a gap that needs to be filled. Many of the students express, somewhat surprisingly, tolerance for non-native speaker accents, and in spite of their formal language education, no particular desire to follow native speaker models of English. They justify this with the need to retain their Bulgarian identity, or, to be more exact, they see no point in hiding it and feel comfortable in the knowledge that it will show in their speech. These attitudes need to be encouraged and further developed through awareness raising about the many varieties of English existing today, many of which the students may encounter in their personal and professional lives. And even though their receptive skills may not be well developed yet to help them comprehend various accents (as seen from the Accents Questionnaire), they exhibit readiness to accept diversity and would certainly benefit from greater exposure to various accents and dialects of English.

The above findings have clear implications for the teaching of English, especially at the university level, where the future language professionals are being trained. Students need to develop a complex mix of knowledge (about existing linguistic varieties, their socio-cultural context, their speakers, uses, stylistic features and formal characteristics); skills (understanding a wide range of accents; being

able to recognise and locate some of them; imitating some of them if they choose to; as well as accommodation skills and communication strategies); and attitudes (awareness of varieties and being able to make informed choices about them; tolerance to differences; curiosity; open-mindedness). These objectives could be achieved through a combination of texts, videos, role-playing assignments, class discussions and follow-up writing activities introducing students to a wide range regional, social, national and transnational varieties of English and challenging their stereotypes. The TED video series are one particularly appropriate and freely available resource among many others, available to teachers these days.

Using such activities could be very effective in raising students' awareness about the diversity of English and starting discussions about World Englishes, accents and dialects, pidgins and creoles, prestigious and stigmatized varieties, as well as conservative and liberal attitudes to language change. In addition to formal language training, more classes should be devoted to developing communication strategies, intercultural communication skills, and cultural awareness. That would allow students to escape the straightjacket of the Anglo-American native model of English and to embrace the concept of English as a lingua franca, a language spoken by all but belonging to nobody. For the future language professionals, the notion of English as a lingua franca is certainly useful and worth exploring. Preparing them to deal with fluidity, hybridity and polycentric social and linguistic trends would be more beneficial than training them to operate within a monocentric, monolithic, national model of the English language, even though it would require a much greater commitment and constant updating of skills than the traditional approach.

On the other hand, English as a native language need not be discarded in language teaching. This is particularly valid for students whose studies focus on British and American literature, culture and society. Besides, visiting Britain and the USA or coming in contact with British or American speakers remain valid possibilities for many students, and having a good command of either variety carries substantial benefits. And even though RP and General American may not be the most widely spoken varieties within Britain and the United States respectively, they are widely recognized and understood, preferred in formal environments such as universities or the workplace, and used as a model by a large number of non-native speakers, so mastering them has clear communication benefits for learners. The influence of global media should not be underestimated either. The access to movies, TV programmes and social networks based predominantly on American and partly on British English provides easily accessible native speaker models for learners of English, as well as a means of developing an emotional attachment to British and American culture. Discouraging students from imitating native models they find appealing would be futile and counterproductive.

What is needed instead is a change in attitudes: an understanding that native models are just one variety out of many; that even within a native model, multiple varieties exist; developing an interest in a preferred variety as a model of imitation and self-development; simultaneous acceptance of the fact that achieving native-like pronunciation may be unattainable and is also unnecessary; and finally, the realisation that maintaining a single pronunciation model (e.g. purely British, American or other) is unrealistic. This shift in attitudes should be the main focus of ELF study, I believe, rather than attempts to codify and fix it as a new variety.

Finally, even within the "native" language paradigm, there are multiple opportunities to support linguistic diversity and pluricentric models of English through the exploration of non-standard varieties or observing recent trends such as the development of Multicultural London English. So the notion of ELF can contribute greatly to the study of such phenomena in that it is a model which favours the crossing of boundaries, the mixing of codes, the creative and playful use of language, and the never-ending quest for better communication and mutual understanding.

10 Conclusion

ELF is an important concept in the study and teaching of English and needs to be incorporated into the higher education curriculum. I believe that it should not be presented as a new variety in need of description and standardization, but rather as a concept inviting a shift in attitudes, greater tolerance to deviations from rigid native norms and a heightened awareness of linguistic and cultural diversity. Such an approach may cause serious controversy and give grounds for concern in educational and academic institutions, especially if they subscribe to more traditional, conservative values and see the new postmodern fluidity and hybridity as a real threat to the status quo. Yet academia is also the place where innovation is incubated and new trends are generated and spread.

Appendix

List of TED presenters and presentation topics used in the questionnaire:
> Steve Jobs (American): *How to live before you die.* Stanford University commencement speech, 2005 (listed in the TED series, although not technically a TED speech).
> Sir Ken Robinson (British): *Do schools kill creativity?* TED 2006.

Jamie Oliver (British): *Teach every child about food,* TED 2010.

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Olga Dontcheva-Navratilova

English language teacher education in the Czech Republic: attitudes to ELF

Abstract: This chapter studies the attitude of Czech teacher educators and teacher trainees to English and to the teaching and learning of English in university ELT educational programmes. While considering whether intelligibility rather than conformity to 'standard English' might be established as a primary criterion for assessing the acceptability of spoken and written academic ELF, this investigation tries to find out whether the English language performance of students in written academic discourse corresponds to the kind of English set as their learning objective. The results of an analysis of questionnaire data suggests that while university teachers mostly direct students towards attaining native-speaker competence, Czech teacher trainees tend to prioritize comprehensibility and show an awareness of the lingua franca status of English in Europe. In written academic texts, however, both students and teachers expect adherence to native-speaker norms. The findings of a corpus-based analysis of formulaicity in Czech students' diploma theses show that the use of academic formulas by teacher trainees differs from their use by expert academic writers and that students' written discourse bears traces of some general tendencies established in ELF. This suggests that there is some discrepancy between the students' learning objectives and their written academic discourse performance which reflects ambivalence in the attitude of Czech teacher educators and teacher trainees to the kind of English that they teach and learn. The pedagogical implications of this investigation concern the need to reflect on the changing role of English in Europe and to incorporate the ELF perspective in teacher education programmes.

Keywords: ELT, ELF, academic formulas, accuracy, comprehensibility, diploma theses, (non)native speaker norms, teacher education

1 Introduction

With the increasing role of English in an educational context in Europe, the discussion of what kind of English should be the focus of university ELT educational programmes is gaining in importance (e.g. Crawford 2005; Jenkins 2014; Seidl-

hofer 2011; Sifakis 2009). In the last decade, ELF research has problematized the role of the native speaker as a model and questioned the practice of imposing native-speaker norms on intercultural communication (e.g. Swales 1997; Tardy 2004; Jenkins 2009; Mauranen, Hynninen and Ranta 2010), and many voices have called for setting objectives for learners which take into account the fact that English has been "appropriated internationally as a means of communication" (Widdowson 2003: 177). The need for a change of approach in ELT is emphasized most clearly by the newly emerged ELF paradigm associated with a "post-normative" approach to language teaching, learning and use (cf. Seidlhofer 2011; Dewey 2012) and a turn towards a "post-native" multicultural model of teacher education (Flowerdew L. 2015; Blair 2015) which acknowledges the fact that English used as a common means of communication by speakers with different linguacultural backgrounds, non-native and native speakers alike (Seidlhofer 2011; Flowerdew L. 2015), is "concerned more with communicative practices and interactive processes" (Cogo and Dewey 2012: 167) than with rigid norms. Yet despite the general awareness of the changing role of English as a medium for intercultural communication in the modern world, a belief in native-speaker ownership of English seems to persist among teacher educators and students of English (Jenkins 2006; Seidlhofer 2011). The reasons for this resistance to change and the issue of how and to what extent the new ELF ideology should affect the thinking about English as a subject and the expectations, practice and teaching and learning aims of teachers and learners of English has been explored intensively in recent years (e.g. Jenkins 2007, 2014; Seidlhofer 2011; Bayyurt and Sifakis 2015; Bayyurt and Sumru 2015).

This paper investigates how teacher educators and students involved in the Teaching of English for Lower Secondary Schools programme at Masaryk University in the Czech Republic view the issue of (in)appropriateness of native-speaker standard English norms in ELT. The aim of the study is twofold: firstly, to explore and compare the attitude of academic staff and students towards the kind of English that future teachers of English are supposed to acquire and teach, and secondly, to find out to what extent the English language performance of students in written academic discourse is in consonance with the kind of English that they have set as their learning objective. Based on an analysis of questionnaire survey data, the investigation into attitudes of academic staff and students addresses the question of whether intelligibility rather than conformity to 'standard English' might be established as a primary criterion (Flowerdew J. 2008; Jenkins 2011) in teacher education, and considers differences in assessing the acceptability of spoken and written ELF. The study of students' English written language performance focuses on formulaicity, since as previous research has shown (e.g. Wray 2002; Simpson 2004; Cortes 2002, 2004;

Hyland 2008) conventionalized expressions seem to indicate competent use of language in a particular context and are seen as an indispensable aspect of the communicative competence that learners must acquire to be fully socialised in an academic setting (Cortes 2004: 398). The analysis is carried out on a corpus of diploma theses and aims at finding the extent to which the students use academic formulas typical of expert academic discourse (Simpson-Vlach and Ellis 2010). Finally, this paper draws pedagogical implications related to the need to reflect on the changing role of English in Europe and to incorporate an ELF perspective in teacher education programmes.

2 ELF, language teaching and teacher education

It is difficult to deny that ELF has serious implications for language teaching and learning and teacher education (cf. Jenkins 2006, 2007; Sifakis 2007; Seidlhofer 2011; Dewey 2012, Bayyurt, and Akcan 2015). Within the traditional approach to ELT, language is conceptualized in terms of its formal properties, i.e. its lexico-grammar; it is seen as an exclusive culturally bound property of its native speakers, and language competence and proficiency are conceived in terms of learners' 'mastery' of native speaker norms (cf. Dewey 2015; Ur 2010; Seidlhofer 2011). This view is promoted by most course books, language materials and international examinations, despite the claims of their marketing discourse that they are oriented towards international English for global communication (Murray 2003; Dewey 2015). English language teachers are also trained in that spirit and apply it throughout their professional career, thus exposing learners to an ideology of standardization which favours linguistic homogeneity centred on a single prestigious norm (typically British or American English). However, this approach to language as an autonomous and monolithic entity is "largely in conflict with the sociolinguistic realities of most English language learning, teaching and using contexts" (Dewey 2015: 121). The question is whether "the unprecedental global reality of ELF might prompt a reconsideration of traditional ways of thinking" (Seidlhofer 2011: 190) and lead to a change in the conceptualization of English as a subject and of English language teaching pedagogy.

The ELF paradigm draws on Firth's (1996: 240) definition of English as a lingua franca seen as a contact language used by people who "share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture, and for whom English is the chosen foreign language of communication", which is extended to include native speakers of English who take part in ELF interactions across linguistic boundaries (Seidlhofer 2011). ELF is thus not regarded as monolithic and autonomous;

rather it is conceived as a dynamic and pluricentric use of language that varies according to context and is enriched rather than corrupted by cross-linguistic influences. ELF is therefore essentially not confined to a particular national, regional or local culture or variety of English; it can be seen as cutting across all Kachru's circles (Seidlehofer 2011: 3), and users of all varieties of English, including English as a lingua franca, may claim ownership of the language (Seidlhofer 2011; Mauranen 2012).

The adoption of an ELF-aware approach in teacher education can be seen as a key factor in bringing about a change in the ELT paradigm. This change is related to a reconceptualization of the English language, of the approach to English language teaching and learning and to the role of the native and non-native teacher in the process. As Blair (2015), following Jenkins et al. (2011), points out, an ELF perspective on pedagogy requires multicultural competence and a deeper understanding of language variability and diversity by both teachers and learners; it is associated with focus on the process rather than the product of learning and an orientation towards "accommodation strategies, intercultural and pragmatic competence, flexibility and tolerance of variation" (Blair 2015: 90).

When considering the reception of ELF by ELT practitioners, it is essential to bear in mind that "teachers can display a fundamental ambivalence about ELF" (Dewey 2012**:** 167) related to an inherent duality in their professional responsibilities, i.e. their responsibility as educators attending to immediate learning needs of their students and their institutional responsibility, which is often determined by norm-based criteria for language adequacy and language testing. As Dewey (2012) points out, this ambivalence could be resolved by attending to sociolinguistic variation in English and by choosing to teach a variety that fits the specific socio-cultural contexts in which students intend to use the language.

However, there seem to be other factors that may motivate a reluctance to change the status quo in ELT. The first group of factors concerns student expectations. The results of Timmis's (2002: 248) survey indicate that there is still a desire among students to adhere to native-speaker norms, even when communication with native speakers is not the ultimate aim of the English language learning. Student preferences may differ in association with consideration of social prestige and professional aspirations; Czech students, for instance, associate the acquisition of native standard English with educational and economic success, while ELF use is related to vocational, non-academic education (Sherman and Sieglová 2011). The second group of factors reflects teachers' attitudes towards their social role and status and the orientation of the school curriculum. As Murray's (2003) investigation into the attitudes of Swiss teachers indicates, language teachers traditionally invest a considerable amount of time in developing their language competence and may be reluctant to disregard the issue of prestige

associated with native-like fluency. This approach, combined with the lack of a specific purpose of English language teaching within the school system, leads to assessment of progress on the basis of "what has been taught rather than what has been acquired" (Murray 2003: 160), i.e. a norm-based approach to language fluency valuing accuracy over communicative competence.

Most research into ELF discourse and ELF teaching has been centred on spoken language, where the importance of context-driven accommodation is primary and the main goal is to understand and be understood. An important issue in university teacher education programmes is written academic English which is considered within ESP. Since non-Anglophone scholars who write in English for an international audience use English as an academic lingua franca (Mauranen 2012), their academic discourse typically shows features of both the Anglophone literacy and that of their native language (cf. e.g. Mauranen 1993; Mur-Dueñas 2008, 2009; Dontcheva-Navratilova 2013, 2014, on English medium research articles by Finnish, Spanish and Czech scholars respectively). The ELFA debate is based on the presumption that "there are no native speakers of academic English" (Mauranen et al. 2010: 184) and the fact that we are currently witnessing an expansion of the discourse communities that can claim owner-ship of English. However, views on the acceptability of non-native speakers' academic English vary and it is rather obvious that in the realm of written academic interaction there is still a stigmatization of multi-lingual scholars by institutional gatekeepers such as journal editors and peer-reviewers (Flowerdew J. 2008). Despite the as yet relatively low number of studies on written ELF in academic settings (ELFA), recent publications (cf. Mauranen, Pérez-Llatanda, and Swales 2012; Belcher et al. 2011; Bennett 2014) indicate that while there should be a certain level of stability and common ground in lexico-grammar in order to guarantee mutual intelligibility, ELFA should allow for variability associated with a 'cline of acceptability' (Flowerdew L. 2015) of the intercultural influences.

3 Methodology and data

In accordance with its twofold aim: (i) to investigate the attitude of students and academic staff at Masaryk University to the English language they study and teach, and (ii) to explore formulaicity in students' written academic discourse, this study combines a questionnaire survey and a corpus-based analysis of language data to find out to what extent the English language performance of students in written academic discourse is in consonance with the kind of English that has been set as their learning objective in the university study programme they follow.

The survey was carried out among teachers and students at the Department of English Language and Literature of the Faculty of Education of Masaryk University, which is in Brno in the Czech Republic. The Masaryk University has adopted the European Higher Education Area orientation towards multilingualism by offering several of its study programmes in English and assessing L2 language proficiency against native norms in line with the CERF – B2 for Bachelor degree programmes and C1 for Master's degree programmes in English.

Anonymous questionnaires based on rating scales (Dörnyei and Taguchi 2010) were administered to academic staff and Czech students involved in the Master's degree programme in teacher training in English in the spring semester of the academic year 2014/2015. The questionnaires were sent by e-mail or distributed in printed form to 33 staff members and 56 Master's degree students. Responses were received from 23 staff members and 39 Master's degree students, i.e. the response rate of 70 per cent for both groups is considered high enough to guarantee the reliability of results. The academic staff involved in the survey comprised 31 non-native speakers of Czech origin and two native speakers of English; all teachers indicated that they speak at least one additional language, while their teaching experience ranged from nine to 39 years, mostly at university level. The student respondents taking part in the survey represented an age range from 20 to 30 and were speakers of at least one additional language (typically German or French). When asked to self-assess their level of language proficiency in English overall and specifically in the four skills (speaking, writing, reading and listening), 25 students, i.e. 62 per cent, considered themselves advanced users of English overall and in all the four skills, seven (18%) estimated that they had a native-like or bilingual level of proficiency in at least one of the four skills (typically the receptive ones, listening and reading), and eight (20%) considered that their English language level was intermediate in all or some of the four skills. The questionnaire administered to all students and academic staff comprised 14 closed-ended items that attempted to map their attitude to the English language as they study and teach it, the status of the native-speaker as a model in ELT and the role of accuracy and communicative competence in language interaction. The respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agree or disagree with the statements listed in the questionnaire using a 5-degree scale ranging from strong agreement to strong disagreement (Table 1). It is necessary to acknowledge that while a questionnaire based on rating scales is a very time efficient way of collecting data, as a research method it has its weaknesses concerning a "somewhat superficial and relatively brief engagement with the topic on the part of the respondent" (Dörnyei 2010: 9), which can compromise the reliability of the conclusions. Thus to allow for qualitative insights, an additional questionnaire comprising nine open-ended questions (cf. Section 4.2) was administered

Table 1: Results of the questionnaire based on rating scales.

	Item	Respondents	strongly agree	mostly agree	don't know	mostly disagree	strongly disagree
1	English is an international language and everyone should be able to use English to communicate in an international context.	MA Ss	48.7%	48.7%	2.6%	0	0
		Staff	39.1%	60.9%	0	0	0
2	My aim is to prepare students to use English so as to communicate successfully with native and non-native speakers of English with a focus on understanding and being understood.	MA Ss	97.4%	2.6%	0	0	0
		Staff	60.9%	34.8%	4.3%	0	0
3	Successful learners/future teachers of English should reach a native-like level of language proficiency.	MA Ss	0	41.0%	23.1%	33.3%	2.6%
		Staff	21.7%	65.3%	0	8.7%	4.3%
4	The best teachers of English are native speakers.	MA Ss	2.6%	15.4%	23.1%	43.5%	15.4%
		Staff	0	8.7%	8.7%	60.9%	21.7%
5	My aim is to teach students a native-like accent; maintaining a non-native accent is unacceptable.	MA Ss	12.8%	30.5%	12.8%	38.5%	5.3%
		Staff	8.7%	34.8%	8.7%	34.8%	13.0%
6	It is very important for me that my students learn to use the language correctly and to avoid mistakes as much as possible.	MA Ss	15.4%	56.4%	7.7%	20.5%	0
		Staff	26.1%	56.6%	4.3%	13.0%	0
7	Focus on accuracy has a negative effect on students' confidence when they try to communicate in English.	MA Ss	23.1%	64.1%	12.8%	0	0
		Staff	13.0%	52.3%	4.3%	26.1%	4.3%
8	As a teacher, I will have lower demands on accuracy in spoken language than in written language.	MA Ss	10.3%	41.0%	20.5%	20.5%	7.7%
		Staff	21.7%	52.2%	26.1%	0	0
9	Conformity to Anglo-American writing conventions is a prerequisite for attaining good results at exams.	MA Ss	7.7%	41.0%	46.1%	5.2%	0
		Staff	8.7%	56.5%	26.1%	8.7%	0
10	To learn English well, students need to study a lot about British and/or American culture.	MA Ss	7.7%	33.3%	23.1%	33.3%	2.6%
		Staff	4.3%	56.6%	8.7%	30.4%	0

Table 1: (continued)

Item	Respondents	strongly agree	mostly agree	don't know	mostly disagree	strongly disagree
11 *I would favour an 'English only' policy when communicating with students/teachers.*	MA Ss	23.1%	33.3%	30.8%	12.8%	0
	Staff	26.1%	47.9%	4.3%	17.4%	4.3%
12 *My aim is to help my students develop intercultural competence and to be tolerant to differences and variation in the way English is used.*	MA Ss	38.5%	43.5%	15.4%	2.6%	0
	Staff	74.0%	21.7%	0	4.3%	0
13 *When communicating in English, non-native speakers may follow their L1 norms and conventions when interacting with other non-native and native speakers of English.*	MA Ss	2.6%	33.3%	33.3%	23.1%	7.7%
	Staff	8.7%	26.1%	0	60.9%	4.3%
14 *Native speakers of English should accept the way in which non-native speakers use English.*	MA Ss	0	66.7%	20.5%	12.8%	0
	Staff	17.4%	43.5%	30.4%	8.7%	0

to academic staff with the aim of allowing for a wide range of possible answers highlighting various aspects of the issue at hand.

A corpus-based investigation into Czech students' written academic discourse focusing on the use of academic formulas was carried out on fifteen Master's degree theses in the fields of linguistics, didactics and literature. The text of the theses included in the present investigation was converted into an electronic corpus with an overall size of approx. 254,000 words. The corpus was processed using the SketchEngine corpus tool to identify the most frequent 3-, 4- and 5-grams occurring in each diploma thesis; since there were no 5-grams satisfying the frequency requirements stated below, the analysis was restricted to 3- and 4-grams. These were then compared to items occurring in the Academic Formulas List (Simpson-Vlach and Ellis 2010) – "a pedagogically useful list of formulaic sequences for academic speech and writing" compiled on the basis of expert academic discourse as represented in the MICASE, BNC and Hyland's (2004) corpora of academic articles, and the BAWE (British Academic Written English; a corpus of university-level student writing totalling 6.5 million words). It should be mentioned that the majority of the contributors to the BAWE corpus are mother tongue speakers of English (71%), while the rest come from 36 different linguacultural

backgrounds whose assignments have been judged proficient (BAWE, Alsop and Besi 2013). I therefore assume that statistically prominent language features occurring in the BAWE corpus, such as lexical bundles, may be regarded as representative of the predominant variety, i.e. British academic written English. The comparative analysis aims at identifying whether the academic formulas are used with significant frequency by Czech students, it considers the range of formulas used and their function, and finally it explores the possible occurrence of salient features of ELF as identified by Seidlhofer (2004: 220) and further discussed by Jenkins (2011), Mauranen (2011) and Mackenzie (2014), e.g. insertion/omission of the definite and indefinite articles as compared to native speaker use, redundant use of prepositions.

Simpson-Vlach and Ellis's (2010) conceptualization of academic formulas adopts the frequency criterion as applied in the lexical bundles approach (Biber et al. 1999; Biber and Barbieri 2007; Cortes 2004), defined as highly frequent recurrent expressions regardless of their idiomaticity and structural status, complemented by psycholinguistic criteria favouring the selection of n-grams with greater coherence, i.e. with distinctive function or meaning, and educator insights. The frequency cut-off point in this investigation is set at 20 per million words. To avoid the common limitations of small corpora, such as the influence of authors' idiosyncrasies and the use of normed rates based on a low number of raw occurrences, in agreement with previous research an additional distributional requirement was introduced according to which target structures should occur in at least ten out of the fifteen diploma theses to be considered as yielding significant frequency rates. In agreement with Simpson-Vlach and Ellis (2010), the functional taxonomy of academic formulas comprises (i) referential expressions conveying ideational meanings related to the representation of reality (e.g. *in the case of, at the end of the*), (ii) attitudinal/stance formulas expressing interpersonal meanings related to authorial evaluation and commitment (e.g. *it is possible to, are more likely to*) and (iii) discourse organizers indicating textual meanings concerned with the organization of the text and the development of argumentation (e.g. *on the other hand, as well as*).

4 Analysis of questionnaire results

As mentioned above, the questionnaires administered to academic staff and master's degree students at Masaryk University aimed at exploring their attitudes to English as well as to the teaching and learning of English and finding out whether there are differences in the views of students and academic staff.

4.1 Comparative analysis of the attitudes of teacher trainees and academic staff

The results of the questionnaire based on rating scales, summarised in Table 1, indicate that despite the slightly lesser degree of commitment to this view on the part of the teacher educators, both students and academic staff acknowledge the status of English as an international language for cross-cultural communication, the knowledge of which is indispensable in the modern world (Item 1). However, while students nearly unanimously (97.4%) prioritize successful communication as the goal of language learning (Item 2), 34.8 per cent of the teachers seem to take into consideration other factors as well, such as the approximation of a native-like level of language proficiency, which for 59 per cent of the students seems to be of lesser importance (item 3). The goal of achieving near native-like language proficiency set for future language teachers and successful learners by 87 per cent of academic staff indicates that they adopt the native speaker as a model of ELT, although 86.7 per cent of them disagree with the view that the best teachers of English are native speakers (Item 4). This suggests that, on the one hand, university teachers assess their standard of language proficiency as very high, and on the other, that they do not consider their non-native status to be a disadvantage (see below for a further discussion of this issue). Some of the students (18%), however, are inclined to think that native speakers are the best teachers of English, which might reflect not only a preference towards a native level of language proficiency, but also an interest in having direct access to a source of cultural knowledge.

The responses provided by students and academic staff indicate that there is some tension between the learning objectives set for students by university teachers and what the majority of the teacher trainees regards as the goal of language learning. There seem to be several reasons for this. The near native-like language proficiency targeted by academic staff is clearly in consonance with the university policy of adhering to CERF criteria for assessing L2 proficiency and with the traditionally established orientation towards a native-speaker model (especially British English) in the Czech educational system, reflected in the choice of course books (e.g. *Project*, *New English File*) and international exams (e.g. IELTS, CAE) offered to students. An additional reason for the reluctance of university teachers to change this orientation might be the fact that in the Czech academic community scholarly 'omniscience' enjoys a high prestige; thus native-like language proficiency and extensive knowledge about English literature and culture are highly valued and seen as indicators of expertise and professional accomplishment. In contrast, students seem to be driven by more practical concerns. Their orientation towards successful communication seems to stem from their experience of

interacting in English with speakers coming from various linguacultural backgrounds in the Czech Republic and abroad, personally or via the social media, and an exposure to a wide range of varieties of English via personal encounters, films, TV programmes and the internet. It could be argued that the difference between the views of university teachers and students can gradually lead to a change in the approach to teaching English in university teacher training programmes and, eventually, in the Czech educational system.

There is just a minor discrepancy in the views of students and academic staff concerning the desirability of acquiring a native-like accent (Item 5), although at the extreme ends of the scale students seem to be more eager to adhere to a native accent while their teachers would be more tolerant to a persistent non-native accent. As to the issue of accuracy, both students and academic staff agree that correct use of the target language is a priority for foreign language teachers (Item 6). However, the majority of the students (87.1%) feel that a focus on accuracy may be detrimental to learners' confidence when trying to communicate in the target language, a view which is not shared by approximately one third of the staff respondents (Item 7). It is likely that by expressing concerns about learners' confidence perception, teacher trainees project their own experience in dealing with control and expectancy for success in language learning. Teachers, on the other hand, may partially underestimate the anxieties of the students, or rather, consider that they manage to provide opportunities for success experiences for learners during seminars and intensive courses. Considering possible differences in requirements towards spoken and written language (Item 8), Czech university teachers acknowledge that they have lower demands on accuracy in spoken language, while 28.3% per cent of the teacher trainees do not consider such differentiation appropriate. Nearly half of the students, but also some of the university teachers, are rather indecisive as to the necessity to conform to Anglo-American writing conventions for attaining good results at exams (e.g. seminar papers, diploma theses etc.), although most of the staff respondents (65.2%) indicate that they require adherence to these norms and 48.7% of the students show an awareness of this requirement (Item 9).

The role of knowledge about native speakers' cultures (mostly British and American) is seen as more important among academic staff than among teacher trainees (Item 10), while the adoption of an 'English only' policy for communication with students and among students is generally favoured by most respondents (Item 11), as it provides an opportunity for practicing language in various authentic situations, thus enhancing the communicative competence of future language teachers. Apart from an interest in native speakers' cultures, students and especially teacher educators show a clear awareness of the importance of developing intercultural competence and tolerance to variation in the use of English (Item 12), which is essential from an ELF perspective.

The issue of acceptability of L1 norms and non-native use of English is explored by Items 13 and 14. While students seem to vary considerably in their views concerning a reliance on L1 norms of communication, most Czech university teachers (65.1%) consider adherence to L1 norms rather inacceptable, which is in consonance with their preference towards conformity to Anglo-American norms of academic writing. Finally, when estimating the degree of tolerance that native speakers should show to non-native use of English, most respondents opted for agreeing with the view that non-native use should be seen as acceptable.

The findings of the survey demonstrate that while university teachers mostly direct students towards attaining native-speaker competence, Czech students of English involved in teacher training programmes at Masaryk University tend to prioritize comprehensibility and successful communication, which suggests that they have an awareness of the lingua franca status of English in Europe, probably due to experience gathered during ERASMUS stays and holidays abroad (cf. Kalocsai 2014). However, in agreement with Björkman's (2011) findings, the view that prioritizes comprehensibility and communicative effectiveness is not shared by all, especially when English for academic purposes is concerned. While both academic staff and teacher trainees acknowledge the importance of intercultural competence and tolerance to variation in the ways English is used, their beliefs about English and their teaching and learning aims seem to be shaped to a large extent by implicit native English norms. This confirms the findings of some previous research (e.g. Timmis 2002, Murray 2003, Csizér, and Kontra 2012) indicating that native-speaker English is still considered as the prestigious variety providing the benchmarks against which teachers and learners are measured.

4.2 Analysis of the views of academic staff

The questionnaire comprising nine open-ended questions administered to academic staff aimed at clarifying the attitude of teacher educators to existent English language policies, their expectations of the students' spoken and written English, their explicit or implicit attachment to native academic English norms and their perception of ELF. The questions are listed below:

1. *Comment on the English language policy and practices of the Masaryk University and the Department of English Language and literature. Do you find them useful?*
2. *Could you briefly describe what do you expect of your students in terms of their spoken English?*

3. *When you discuss and assess students' written work, how far do expect it to conform to native academic English? What are your reasons?*
4. *When discussing approaches to English language teaching with pre-service teachers, what do you advise them to prioritise – accuracy or effective communication skills?*
5. *As a non-native speaker of English, do you think you provide an adequate model of English for pre-service teachers? Why, or why not?*
6. *What is your attitude to English as a lingua franca (ELF)? Could you define the concept?*
7. *What kind of English should we teach our students (future language teachers): EFL, ELF or ESP?*
8. *How would you describe the difference between the EFL approach and the new ELF approach to the teaching and use of English?*
9. *Should teacher trainees have an awareness of ELF? If no, why not? If yes, do you try to raise such an awareness?*

The questionnaire results show that despite some minor divergences in their responses, all university teachers clearly indicate a preference for EFL and an adherence to the native speaker model in teacher education. This is in consonance with Jenkins (2014: 159) who reports that her respondents comprising academic teaching staff working in global academia shared a "consensual ideology" that native English is superior to non-native. Thus when commenting on language policies (Question 1), my questionnaire respondents expressed agreement with the Masaryk University policy of assessing L2 language proficiency against native norms in line with the CERF and several would be in favour of the recognition of international standardized exams (e.g. IELTS, CAE) at the entrance procedure. It should be noted, though, that some respondents (mostly those teaching cultural studies and linguistics) pointed out that there is too much emphasis on British English to the detriment of other varieties of English. As mentioned earlier, staff members consider the 'English only' policy of the department beneficiary as it construes an English-medium speech community granting staff and students the opportunity to use the target language for authentic communicative purposes.

While some university teachers pointed out that "effective communication across cultures is the future of global English" and prioritized intelligibility and effective interaction over accuracy (Question 4), the majority of the respondents argued that a reasonable level of accuracy is indispensable for effective communication and may be seen as mandatory for future language teachers. Most teachers believe that accuracy can be trained and that students should constantly work on its improvement, thus suggesting that non-native English is simply incorrect

and inferior and that native-like proficiency is the only possible goal which is accessible if students are willing to a invest a sufficient amount of effort and time in their language studies (cf. Jenkins 2014: 160). Fluency, native-like pronunciation and accuracy were the most typical requirements towards students' spoken English (Question 2), although most respondents were tolerant of 'good', but non-native-like pronunciation and variation in grammar and idiomaticity if comprehension is not compromised. This is in conformity with the character of spoken language where non fluency is an expected feature and indicates an awareness of the primacy of effective communication in face-to-face interaction. The tolerance of academic staff towards divergence from native-speaker norms is clearly diminished as far as their expectations of students' written English are concerned (Question 3). Most university teachers expect the students' standard of writing to conform to native academic English, arguing that this is the appropriate kind of English to be used in an academic environment and that diploma theses are displayed on the Internet, thus implying that non-native academic English is generally inacceptable. Apart from instructions provided by academic style manuals, this perception may be enhanced by the experience of academic staff of submitting their papers for publication in academic journals and edited collections published by international academic publishers, as an important criterion affecting the acceptance or rejections of these submissions is their compliance with native-speaker standards of academic English.

The adherence to an ideology regarding native (academic) English as the appropriate variety of English in university teacher training programmes is also evident in the responses to Question 5, considering the role of the non-native English language teacher as a model of English. The majority of the respondents believe that they provide a good, yet not a perfect model, as they are non-native speakers and their English has its limitations, such as fossilized pronunciation errors, accent, grammatical mistakes, etc. This reveals an evaluative attitude reflecting variation on the good-bad axis expressed through lexical means used by the respondents; native-speaker English is evaluated as "good", "fluent", "competent", "standard", "natural", "appropriate" and "proper", while non-native English is categorized as "awkward" or as a "problem" and is associated with concepts such as "mistake", "error" and "disability (to communicate)" (cf. Jenkins 2014: 159). When commenting on the status of non-native language teachers, one of the experienced staff members expressed the concern that some students have much better command of English than their teachers (especially in terms of spoken fluency), which she related to the lack of opportunity to visit or live in an English-speaking country before the fall of the iron curtain, an opportunity which is nowadays available to all students and novice teachers. This suggests that the views of academic staff may vary according to generation, reflecting

differences in the political and social context during their university studies and professional careers. While some generation-driven differences may indeed be traced in the more prominent orientation of younger teachers towards communicative effectiveness and the use of accommodation for enhancing communicative success, their importance is less significant than divergences conditioned by the subjects that the respondents teach. Thus methodology and linguistics teachers perceived their non-native status as an advantage as they share with their students the same L1 background and the experience of learning English. They believe that this provides them with an intercultural awareness which allows them to select materials for language teaching through their own cultural lens and to anticipate and empathize with the problems experienced by students in the process of language learning. This focus on the process of language learning as well as an orientation toward effective communication in relation to the specific learning objectives of teacher trainees may be seen as opening the way for an approach to the teaching and learning of English in teacher education which does not set the attainment of native-speaker proficiency as the main objective for the learners (cf. Kirpatrick 2010; Seidlhofer 2011). It seems, then, that there is a tension in the attitude of academic staff as on the one hand, in practice they mostly adhere to the standard native-speaker English ideology, and on the other, many of them show awareness of the potential of the non-native teacher of English to facilitate the teaching and learning process by their cultural and language insights (cf. Jenkins 2007: 225).

When asked to define ELF (Question 6), the respondents referred primarily to an understanding of the concept in line with Firth (1996), that is, as a kind of English used by non-native speakers when communicating in an intercultural context. Several respondents defined ELF as "imperfect" English characterized by "simplifications" and "deficiencies" thus revealing deeply rooted prejudice against any variation from Standard English. It is therefore not surprising that while acknowledging the "no-boundaries", "all-need-it" nature of ELF or English as international language (EIL), as some prefer to call it, most respondents seem reluctant to incorporate an ELF-aware perspective in teacher training programmes and academic environment in general, as they regard is as a threat to the established norms. Apart from a resistance to change, this attitude may stem from a persistent orientation towards the British and American varieties of English in the Czech educational system and a lack of tools and methodology for assessing ELF performance.

Taking in consideration the attitudes expressed above, it is not surprising that most university teachers are convinced that higher education teacher training programmes should teach EFL and ESP adopting native-speaker English as a model (Question 7). However, there were also several voices arguing that the

fact that in recent years ELF has been taking ground at the cost of EFL should be reflected in the approach to teaching English in university teaching training programmes through giving space to different varieties of English and linking communicative with intercultural competence. When comparing the EFL and the ELF approach to the teaching and use of English (Question 8), the respondents focused on differences concerning the adopted language model and the aims of the teaching and learning process. They pointed out that while EFL is strongly associated with native-speaker norms and aims at attaining close to native-like fluency, which may not be easily achieved, ELF is more benevolent, more function and efficiency oriented. While sharing the belief that teacher trainees should be aware of ELF (Question 9), as this is the kind of English language learners are most likely to experience, most university teachers regard it as independent and different from EFL and native-speaker English (cf. Csizér and Kontra 2012: 1). This indicates that the respondents consider native-speaker English as a prestigious variety required in academic and professional settings, while ELF is seen as a "sub-standard" variety inherently related to cross-cultural communication in which the process of interaction and communicating the message successfully is more important that accuracy and the approximation of a given culture-specific model.

The findings of the survey indicate that there is a general agreement among academic staff that teacher training programmes should focus on EFL and ESP as adherence to native speaker norms is seen as the only appropriate objective for teacher trainees. However, there is evidence that most university teachers take into account the increasing importance of ELF in the modern world and the pressure it exercises on ELT. Those who would replace the native-speaker model by the "post-native" multiculturally aware model of English language user may still be a minority, yet the primacy of effective communication and intercultural competence in language teaching and learning may be regarded as firmly established. It is significant that the attitudes to ELF of academic staff teaching different subjects vary. Teachers of literature and practical language typically adhere to the native-speaker English ideology, while teachers of cultural studies, linguistics and methodology seem to be inclined to adopt a more ELF-aware attitude. This seems to stem from the specific purposes of the individual courses: cultural studies courses focus on the development of intercultural competence, linguistics courses introduce different aspects of sociolinguistic variation and methodology courses prepare students for teaching English to various age-groups in the context of the school system. It is therefore unavoidable for them to take into account the spread of ELF in order to prepare future language teachers to teach English in a context where ELF is the most likely use of English they and their students would encounter when using English in authentic interaction.

5 Analysis of formulaicity in diploma theses

Since in the survey the majority of teachers and some of the students indicated that they are committed to adhering to native English norms of academic writing, this investigation into formulaicity in diploma theses written by Czech teacher trainees aims at finding out to what extent Czech students approximate the use of academic formulas typical of native written academic discourse, and, if this is not the case, in what way the most frequent word combinations they use differ from native academic writing. It is essential to stress that the Czech students' diploma theses corpus comprises good standard assignments representing the top 20 per cent of the results achieved in the period 2006–2014 and they are assumed to represent language used in an effective and communicatively appropriate way. Variation in the use of academic formulas is therefore not regarded as compromising effective communication, since there is no direct correspondence of linguistic forms and discourse functions, i.e. the same linguistic form may perform different functions, while a particular discourse function may be realized by various linguistic forms.

Formulaicity has been selected as the object of analysis, as (i) formulaic expressions facilitate discourse processing by organizing discourse in a lesser number of larger meaningful units, (ii) some discourse organising formulas have cohesive function, as they may be seen as comparable to conjunctive relations in Halliday and Hasan's (1976) model of cohesion (Nesi and Basturkmen (2009: 26), and (iii) the frequent use of formulas seems to signal competent language use within a register, including academic discourse (Cortes 2004: 1938). The analysis compares the frequency of occurrence and functions of formulaic expressions in the corpus of diploma theses of Czech teacher-trainees to those in native academic discourse as represented in the BAWE (novice academic discourse) and the Academic Formulas List (expert academic discourse) and explores the possible occurrence of ELF features in the use of the most frequent formulaic expressions.

The 20 most frequent 3- and 4-grams in the diploma theses corpus are listed in Tables 2 and 3, where they are compared in terms of their rate and function to the 20 most frequent 3- and 4-grams identified in the BAWE. Italics is used to indicate formulaic sequences occurring in both corpora, while capital font signals highly frequent sequences not comprised in Simpson-Vlach and Ellis's (2010) Academic Formulas List.

The majority of 3-grams and 4-grams occurring in the diploma theses corpus and the BAWE are comprised in the Academic Formulas List. Apart from the 4-gram *is one of the* which occurs in both corpora, the formulaic sequences which are not part of the Academic Formulas List – *point of view*, *some of the*, *seems to be* and *I would like to* – occur exclusively in the Czech diploma theses corpus, which

Table 2: Comparison of high frequency 4-grams in the diploma theses corpus and BAWE.

BAWE			Diploma theses		
4-grams	Norm. rate	Function	4-grams	Norm. rate	Function
on the other hand	129	Discoursal	*on the other hand*	352	Discoursal
as a result of the	93	Discoursal	*to be able to*	148	Attitudinal
the end of the	89	Referential	I WOULD LIKE TO	132	Attitudinal
in the form of	74	Referential	*in the form of*	120	Referential
as well as the	74	Discoursal	*at the same time*	120	Referential
at the same time	62	Referential	*at the end of*	120	Referential
can be used to	59	Attitudinal	*it is possible to*	112	Attitudinal
in the case of	58	Referential	the fact that the	108	Attitudinal
can be seen in	56	Referential	*the end of the*	100	Referential
at the end of	56	Referential	the beginning of the	96	Referential
it is important to	55	Attitudinal	at the beginning of	96	Referential
the fact that the	51	Attitudinal	*one of the most*	92	Referential
it is possible to	50	Attitudinal	IS ONE OF THE	88	Referential
IS ONE OF THE	50	Referential	by the fact that	88	Attitudinal
to be able to	49	Attitudinal	the use of the	80	Referential
that there is a	47	Referential	*the rest of the*	80	Referential
to the fact that	47	Attitudinal	from the point of	76	Referential
the nature of the	45	Referential	to the development of	72	Referential
the rest of the	43	Referential	it is necessary to	72	Attitudinal
one of the most	42	Referential	*it is important to*	68	Attitudinal

indicates some variation from native-speaker use. Explaining the reasons for this variation would require a detailed analysis of the discourse functions of these formulas, which is beyond the scope of this study. It should be mentioned, however, that previous research on the same corpus (Dontcheva-Navratilova 2012) has indicated that the high frequency of occurrence of the attitudinal formula *I would like to*, which shows a marked tendency to collocate with discourse verbs (e.g. *emphasize*, *state* and *mention*), may be related to its function to overtly present the information conveyed as the personal opinion of the writer, while performing an additional discourse-organizing function.

A comparison of the rate of the 20 most frequent 3-grams and 4-grams in the two corpora shows that the frequency of occurrence of the identified formulaic sequences is considerably higher in the written academic discourse of Czech teacher trainees than in the texts of British university students, especially in the case of 4-grams. This may be tentatively explained by the difference in the set of formulaic expressions occurring in the discourse of the Czech and the British students. The preference of Czech students towards the use of a higher rate of formulaic sequences was also indicated by previous research (Dontcheva-Navratilova

Table 3: Comparison of high frequency 3-grams in the diploma theses corpus and BAWE.

BAWE			Diploma theses		
3-grams	Norm. rate	Function	3-grams	Norm. rate	Function
in order to	489	Discoursal	*the use of*	492	Referential
as well as	345	Discoursal	*the fact that*	476	Attitudinal
due to the	318	Discoursal	*in order to*	440	Discoursal
the use of	246	Referential	*one of the*	392	Referential
one of the	246	Referential	*as well as*	372	Discoursal
the fact that	228	Attitudinal	the other hand	352	Discoursal
in terms of	224	Referential	*part of the*	308	Referential
there is a	210	Referential	according to the	244	Attitudinal
part of the	194	Referential	POINT OF VIEW	236	Referential
can not be	194	Referential	*be able to*	232	Attitudinal
can be seen	192	Referential	on the other	232	Referential
the number of	171	Referential	SEEMS TO BE	212	Attitudinal
that it is	171	Referential	*in terms of*	208	Referential
be able to	167	Attitudinal	SOME OF THE	204	Referential
a number of	164	Referential	*the end of*	196	Referential
such as the	163	Discoursal	the role of	188	Referential
there is no	152	Referential	the process of	188	Referential
the end of	147	Referential	the beginning of	188	Referential
a result of	139	Discoursal	the development of	184	Referential
it is not	133	Referential	at the end	184	Referential

2013) comparing the use of selected lexical bundles in diploma theses by Czech and German students. Czech students seem to rely on a limited set of formulaic expressions acquired as a result of overt teaching in academic writing courses and thus tend to use them repetitively (cf. Dontcheva-Navratilova 2012; Povolná 2012).

The choice of formulaic sequences by Czech and British students shows strong similarities as approximately half of the 3-grams and 4-grams in the frequency lists of the Czech diploma theses corpus and the BAWE coincide (eleven 4-grams and ten 3-grams), they are also very similar to the most frequent formulaic expressions identified by Cortes (2004) in her corpus of students' writing in history and biology. Moreover, *on the other hand* is the most frequent 4-gram in both corpora, *the end of the*, *in the form of* and *at the same time* are among the six most frequent 4-grams, and *in order to*, *the use of*, *as well as* and *one of the* are among the five most frequent 3-grams. The divergence in the formulas is more prominent among the items situated lower on the lists, which may be attributed to the difference in the disciplines represented in the BAWE and the Czech corpus of diploma theses.

It is essential to note that differences in the use of formulaic sequences in the two corpora concern not only the choice and rate of formulaic expressions but also their functions. Since the most frequent functional type of formula in academic prose is the referential bundle (cf. Biber and Barbieri's 2007), it is not surprising that the majority of formulas occurring in the frequency lists are referential expressions (24 in the BAWE and 26 in the Czech corpus), followed by attitudinal markers (8 in the BAWE and 10 in the Czech corpus) and discourse organisers (8 in the BAWE and 4 in the Czech corpus). The most obvious divergence concerns the occurrence of discourse organisers. While in the corpus of Czech diploma theses there are only four formulas with discourse organising function, the BAWE list comprises twice as many, i.e. eight discourse organisers. The lower prominence of discourse organisers in the theses of Czech students may stem from the tendency towards less frequent occurrence of conjunctives and similar expressions for guiding the reader through the text typical of Czech academic discourse, where discourse coherence is derived primarily on the basis of patterns of thematic progression and "the responsibility of decoding the message is assigned to the reader" (Chamonikolasová 2004: 83).

As to the issue of structural variation, the findings of the analysis show that there is occasional occurrence of features of ELF in the use of academic formulas by Czech teacher trainees. This concerns mainly the use of the definite article in the formulas *in the terms of, on the one hand* and *in the case*, where in the first bundle the definite article is inserted unnecessarily, while in the second and the third it is frequently omitted; however, this generally does not affect comprehensibility. Variation in the use of articles is typical of Czech speakers of English, as there are no articles in the Czech language system.

The findings of the analysis of formulaicity in the Czech diploma theses corpus show that the most frequent academic formulas used by the teacher-trainees are similar to those occurring in expert native academic discourse as represented in the Academic Formulas List. This suggests that Czech students use some of the academic formulas typical of expert written academic discourse, which is in agreement with the learning objective of attaining a native-like level of proficiency in academic writing set for university students by both students and academic staff. However, the results of the analysis also indicate that the list of formulas used by Czech students differs to some extent, on the one hand, from the formulas comprised in the Academic Formulas List, and on the other hand from the formulas occurring in the BAWE. The former is in consonance with Cortes's (2002, 2004) findings indicating that the use of formulaic expressions by university students (native and non-native speakers) differs from their use by expert academic writers, while the latter seems to indicate the presence of ELF features in Czech students' writing. Other features of ELF identified in

the Czech diploma theses corpus are the very high frequency of some formulas and the presence of variation in the use of articles. Since none of these features compromises effective communication, it is a question whether such variation, as well as other features of Czech academic discourse, such as the lower rate of discourse organisers, should be regarded as undesirable by the Czech teachers and students, and generally by all involved in teaching and learning academic English. It is my belief that while ELFA should be characterised by a high level of stability in terms of lexico-grammar, it should allow for considerable variability in stylistic and rhetorical choices reflecting the plethora of cultural and epistemological traditions interwoven in the globalized English-medium academic discourse.

6 Conclusions

The issue of (in)appropriateness of native-speaker standard English norms in ELT is increasingly gaining in importance as the proponents of ELF insist on a change in our thinking about English pointing out that in the "post-native era" (Flowerdew L. 2015) it is essential to adopt an "ELF-aware" approach to teaching associated with multicompetence (cf. Seidlhofer 2011: 201; Blair 2015: 91). Obviously, teacher education is a key factor in this process. As the present investigation has shown, however, there is some ambivalence in the attitude of Czech teacher educators and teacher trainees to English and to the teaching and learning of English. On the one hand, they seem to abide by a native-speaker English ideology when they consider their own English, and especially their written discourse (which bears features of ELF), but on the other, they are fully aware of the reality outside the university classroom where ELF is the predominant from of English. The question is how to harmonize the standards and approaches which future language teachers internalize during their university studies with the needs of their pupils and students who may not aim at native-speaker fluency. A possible solution is suggested by Seidlhofer (2011) who argues that when conceptualizing English as a subject, we should approach it from the learners' rather that the teachers' perspective and focus on what level of competence the learners need to achieve for their purposes. As Seidlhofer (2011: 202) states,

> Instead of seeing the process of learning as subordinate to the objective of attaining the goal of native-speaker proficiency which can be subsequently put to use, learning and using are now seen as essentially aspects of the same process, upon which any particular objective that might be specified is necessarily dependent.

This approach may accommodate both the high standard of native-like proficiency that most future teachers aspire to achieve, as well as the much more down-to-earth goals of their pupils and students who may just want to communicate effectively with various people they meet when travelling during their holidays.

While this investigation has attempted to contribute to the on-going debate on ELF by exploring the written academic discourse and the attitude to English of students and academic staff involved in a teacher training programme at a Czech university, its findings cannot be generalized. Further research into the beliefs of teachers and teacher trainees and their English discourse is necessary in order to draw informed pedagogical implications for the incorporation of an ELF perspective in teacher education.

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Part III: **English as a lingua franca in higher education**

María José Luzón

English as a lingua franca in academic blogs: its co-existence and interaction with other languages

Abstract: Academic weblogs provide a space for scholars to present their ideas, observations, reactions to others' work and commentaries on academic life and events. These blogs are also a discussion forum, since most of them include commenting capabilities, which enable scholars with different language backgrounds to share views and discuss any point related to the post both with other readers and with the blogger. Since academic blogging is motivated by the possibility to communicate knowledge and observations to a large audience of people sharing the blogger's interests, academic bloggers who are not native speakers of English have to decide whether to write in their L1, in English or in both.

In this chapter I explore the use of English as a lingua franca in academic blogs and its interaction with other languages. The chapter addresses the following questions: (i) When both ELF and the L1 are used, how do these languages co-exist and interact?; (ii) Which are the factors that affect language choice and language mixing in academic blogs? To answer these questions I analyze academic blogs by non-native English bloggers where posts are written in English or both in English and in the blogger's L1, and academic blogs where people from a variety of languages and cultural backgrounds interact in English. The systematic analysis of the blogs is complemented with the results of a survey where some bloggers were asked to justify their language choices.

Keywords: ELF, CMC, blogging, academic blogs, language choice

1 Introduction

Digital genres are increasingly used in academic contexts to communicate different types of information to different audiences. Since English is the lingua franca of academia (Mauranen, Pérez-Llantada, and Swales 2010; Mauranen 2012), it is of paramount importance to study how it is used in these genres and how it co-exists with other languages. A digital genre that is becoming pervasive in

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academia due to its technological affordances (e.g. immediacy, versatility, interactive functionalities) is the blog. Blogs consist of dated entries listed in reverse chronological order, which makes them suitable for a wide variety of purposes in the academic context, i.e., to record scholars' daily observations and reflections on their academic (and sometimes personal) lives, to comment on current news related to a field of research or on recent publications, to announce forthcoming academic events. Most academic blogs include commenting capabilities, which enable readers to share views and discuss any point related to the post. As blog posts are public and anyone can contribute to the discussion, blogs help to create ties between readers and to support communities of like-minded scholars with different language backgrounds. Since academic blogging is motivated by the possibility to communicate knowledge and observations to an audience of people sharing the blogger's interests, the choice of language is particularly important. Academic bloggers who are not native speakers of English have to decide whether to write in their mother tongue, in English or in both.

English as a Lingua Franca is used here to refer to "any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice" (Seidlhofer 2011: 7), including native English speakers. It is not a fixed entity conforming to native speaker norms, but a flexible resource, shaped by its users to meet their needs (Hülmbauer, Böhringer, and Seidlhofer 2008; Jenkins 2014). Although English dominates the Internet and it is often used as a lingua franca by online groups whose members do not share an L1, most web users are non-native speakers of English and therefore the web has become increasingly multilingual (Callahan and Herring 2012; Danet and Herring 2007) and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) is used alongside other languages. Therefore, the use of ELF on the Internet is discussed in relation to multilingualism and heteroglossia issues (Androutsopoulos 2007; Lee and Barton 2011; Warschauer, El Said and Zohry 2007). Leppänen and Peuronen (2012: 6) state that for non-native speakers of English the Internet is "a translocal affinity space", i.e., "a place in which they can come together with other like-minded to share their interests, concerns or causes", and "a linguistic contact zone", where linguistic resources are exploited for different purposes. Research suggests that the choice of English instead of the speakers' L1, or the mixture of English with the L1 or with other repertoires, may have a pragmatic basis, i.e., ensuring successful communication, but it may also help to index social and cultural identity (Lee and Barton 2011; Leppänen and Peuronen 2012). Although recently there has been research on mixed-language writing in online spaces, much of it has focused on social media like Flickr, Facebook or personal blogs (Androutsopoulos 2015; Lee and Barton 2011; Vettorel 2014). No attention has been paid to multilingual practices in online Web 2.0 genres intended for knowledge dissemination and education

(e.g., academic blogs), or to the motivations behind the choice of ELF or the mixture with L1 in these genres.

In this paper I will explore the use of English as a Lingua Franca in academic blogs and its co-existence and interaction with other languages. I will address the following questions:

(i)   How do non-native speakers of English deploy their linguistic resources in academic blogs? When both ELF and the L1 are used, how do these languages co-exist and interact?

(ii) Which are the factors that affect language choice and language mixing in academic blogs?

I adopt the view that ELF is "one of several options multilinguals have at their disposal in today's globalized world" (Hülmbauer, Böhringer, and Seidlhofer 2008: 25) and a resource on which multilingual speakers draw to achieve specific purposes. As Hülmbauer et al. (2008: 25) point out, ELF should be regarded "as a flexible communicative means interacting with other languages and integrated into a larger framework of multilingualism, especially in the current European situation".

2 Academic blogs

In the last few years blogs have proliferated in academic settings, giving rise to a wide range of what could be considered "academic blogs". In this paper the term "academic blog" is used to refer to any blog written in an academic context, e.g., blogs by individual scholars, both intended for experts and for a less specialized audience (e.g., their students, the lay public), research group blogs, and department blogs.

Individual scholars may write research blogs (intended to link to and discuss research in their field) or educational blogs (intended to link to and discuss content related to subjects or courses they are teaching), or they may combine both types. Research blogs are a tool to communicate with peers and interested readers: By writing a research blog, scholars may get a wider distribution and readership than with traditional publishing, immediate feedback and discussion with colleagues around the world and increased visibility and recognition in their field. University teachers also write blogs to make relevant information available to their students. They include new material related to the topic being taught in class, e.g., links to online texts or their own observations. Many research groups also have blogs where all the members can contribute. The main purposes of these blogs are publicising the group and the group's research, and

thus becoming more visible in their discipline, organizing and coordinating the group's work, creating a sense of community and facilitating collaboration, and reinforcing social links among members of the group (Luzón 2006). Universities are also seeking to expand their presence in the blogosphere, as a way to increase outreach and visibility (Mauranen 2013). Some universities provide a hub for intra-institutional blogs or an aggregate feed of the faculty and student blogs at the institution. University Departments or Institutes may also have their own blog, with posts by faculty members.

This brief description of blogging in academic settings shows that academics write blogs for a wide variety of purposes and audiences. In a single blog there may be posts for different audiences, and even a single post may have a heterogeneous audience (e.g. experts and interested public). Despite these differences in audiences and purposes, what all academic blogs have in common is that they are primarily used for *sharing*. According to John (2013: 167), "sharing is the fundamental and constitutive activity of Web2.0 in general and social network sites (SNSs) in particular". John (2013) points out that in Web2.0 sharing means making digital content available (or noticeable) to other people, but also telling, "letting people know your opinion of current events, your location or any of the minutiae of your everyday life" (John 2013: 176).

In the context of academic blogging, sharing is closely related to knowledge dissemination, collaborative learning and self-expression. Faculty can disseminate disciplinary knowledge and spread their own work among their students and peers, but also beyond their own departments and beyond the boundaries of academia. This knowledge can therefore be accessed by audiences that would not normally read scientific journals or take part in scientific discussions in conferences. Teachers can also establish connections, share ideas and observations, and learn from discussions and feedback from others. Finally, academic blogs enable the blogger to construct a complex identity, by revealing not only their academic self, but also their personal self, and, in the case of teachers, to construct a closer relationship with their students. Charpentier (2014), the author of the *Freakonometrics* blog, states: "Those posts might be to start a discussion after an open question in the class, to mention an interesting paper recently discovered, to point out an interesting conference, to provide some codes to generate a graph, to upload datasets used in an article about to be published, to criticize an article read in a newspaper, or just to share an experience", "Within the blogosphere (...) one can interact with other bloggers, learn from them". Other authors of the blogs analyzed in the study also make reference to the use of the blog as a tool to disseminate knowledge and learn, e.g. the author of *Dr Shock: A neurostimulating blog* (http://www.shockmd.com/about/) states "My blog posts contain a lot of medical information (...) I write this blog on my own for fun and

educational purposes"; and the author of *Mathemagenic* (http://blog.mathema-genic.com/about/) defines her blog as her "learning diary – a place that helps to think aloud, to start conversations with others and to reflect."

3 ELF and language choice in academia (research and higher education) and in computer-mediated communication (CMC)

Although English is indisputably the pre-eminent language of scholarly exchange and academic communication (Mauranen, Pérez-Llantada and Swales 2010), the use of ELF needs to be discussed in the context of multilingualism, since, as researchers claim, English is a flexible resource on which language users draw as part of their multilingual repertoire (Hülmbauer, Böhringer and Seidlhofer 2008; Leppänen et al. 2009).

3.1 Language choice in academia

Ferguson (2007: 15–17) makes reference to some researchers' concern about an "incipient global diglossia", where English controls high-prestige domains of higher education and academic communication, and the national languages are relegated to less prestigious domains. Multilingual scholars for whom English is not the native language have to face the dilemma of language choice when publishing their papers (Casanave 1998; Ferguson 2007). These scholars belong to several communities, which involves writing to achieve different interests and for different audiences (Curry and Lillis 2004). Since most reputed journals are published in English, English is the language of choice to engage with the international research community. Casanave (1998) showed that Japanese scholars wrote in English when they published in high prestige international journals, but they wrote in their L1 to serve the local Japanese audience.

In addition to audience, the choice of ELF in academic and higher education settings is determined by function. In these settings, ELF does not only serve an instrumental purpose, as a language for communication. Several functions have been suggested for English in Europe: the instrumental, the innovative or creative (e.g. in advertising, popular music or blogs); the interpersonal (e.g, for socializing); the institutional and the identity-indexing function (e.g. as a marker of international identity) (Berns 2009; Haberland, Lønsmann and Preisler 2013; Mauranen 2006).

3.2 Language choice on the Internet

Although English is the dominant language on the Internet, most Internet users are non-native speakers of English. For them, "English is a resource on which they draw in different ways, for example, by using it for some specific purpose – instead of their first language (L1), mixing it with their L1 or other languages, or alternating between the use of English and their L1/ other languages" (Leppänen and Peuronen 2012: 388). Leppänen et al. (2009) suggest that new media are organized as "translocal affinity spaces", or communities of practice where shared interests may be more relevant than national identity or language. They claim that in these new media activities language choice is a semiotic resource which enables language users to negotiate their local and translocal identity. ELF helps to construct these communities of practice. Focusing on ELF in academic contexts, Mauranen (2006: 27) argues that for many EFL speakers English works "as a language of secondary socialization into the academic discourse community" and helps them to construct their identity as insiders, as members of this global research community.

Previous research on multilingualism on the Internet has shown that in some CMC contexts multilingual Internet users draw strategically on resources provided by both their L1 and English (Leppänen 2007; Leppänen and Peuronen 2012; Leppänen et al. 2009) and that language mixing serves as a discursive and social resource in Internet communication (Androutsopoulos 2007, 2015). These studies have identified several interrelated factors affecting language choice on the Internet and especially in social media (Lee and Barton 2011; Seargeant, Tagg and Ngampramuan 2012; Warschauer, El Said and Zohry 2007). The choice of language is sometimes motivated by situational and pragmatic factors, e.g., the writer's education, linguistic and social background, the role of English in their profession. For instance, in Warschauer, El Said and Zohry's study (2007), young professional Egyptian Arabs pointed to the following factors for their predominant use of English in online communication: the dominance of English in their professional contexts, the fact that they had been educated in English and were fluent and comfortable in that language. Similarly, Lee and Barton (2011) found that English, the perceived global language, is also predominant in Flickr because some Flickrites want to attract speakers from different linguistic backgrounds to view their photos. Other important factors are the topic, context and domain of communication. Multilingual speakers tend to prefer L1 for exchanges involving personal content and intimacy and English for communication dealing with professional and work related issues, or with popular global culture (Huang 2004; Lee and Barton 2011; Negrón 2009; Warschauer, El Said and Zohry 2007).

The choice of language has also been shown to be strategically used to nego-tiate and index identity (Androutsopoulos 2007; Sharma 2012; Warschauer, El Said and Zohry 2007). The Chinese-English bilingual participants in Huang's (2004: 307) study preferred Chinese to display their local identity and English to index and "international and Internet identity" or a "younger generation iden-tity". The relation between the choice of language and identity is a complex one, not restricted to the distinction between local and global/international identity. Sharma (2012: 483), for instance, has shown that the undergraduate Nepaly participants in his study mixed English and Nepali "to construct their bilingual identities" and "to recontextualize both local and global media content". Lee and Barton (2011) also claim that language mixing is used to negotiate "glocal" identi-ties and that language choice can serve to project new forms of identitites that go beyond those related to ethnicity, nationality or gender.

Choice of language is also influenced by intended audience or addressivity (Durham 2003; Lee and Barton 2011; Seargeant Tagg and Ngampramuan 2012). In Lee and Barton's (2011) study of Flickr, language choice was influenced by the language spoken by the primary target audience. Flickr members tended to use their L1 if the target audience is a contact or friend with whom they share their L1 and tended to use English when the target audience was the general unknown audience on the Web. The desire to reach a multilingual or international audience promotes the use of ELF. Durham (2003) found that English was progressively adopted as the lingua franca in a mailing list whose members were Swiss medical students with three different native languages. Seargeant, Tagg and Ngampra-muan (2012: 525) consider that the fact that communication in social media takes place in a "semi-public context", where utterances may be addressed to partici-pants in the interaction but also to the potential reader, affects language choice. This is confirmed by studies of language choice in social networks like Myspace. In a study of the use of English and Spanish by Puerto Ricans, Carroll (2008) found that English was used to create the most stable part of their profile, and thus make it available to the global community, while Spanish was the language used to add comments to the users' profiles.

4 Method

To answer the questions addressed in this study I analyzed 32 academic blogs by non-native English bloggers, affiliated to non-Anglophone institutions. Those include: (i) blogs written in English or in English and the blogger's mother tongue; (ii) collective academic blogs where people from a variety of languages

and cultural backgrounds interact in English and other languages. The systematic observation of the blogs was complemented with the results of a questionnaire where bloggers were asked to justify their language choices. Data collection and analysis follows therefore a mixed-methods approach which combines analysis of the blogs and feedback from the bloggers.

The starting point was a selection of blogs by non-Anglophone bloggers where English was used as a lingua franca. Finding these blogs was a difficult task that called for different strategies, i.e., exploring non-Anglophone university websites, seeking their blogs, asking scholars in different disciplines, carrying out global searches that might trigger these blogs (e.g. "research group blogs"), exploring the blogroll of non-native bloggers.

The first step was to conduct an exploratory observation (Herring 2001) of the blogs in order to get a general idea of language mixing and alternation in these blogs. 16 of the blogs were written exclusively in English and 16 combined English and another language. In the blogs where bloggers displayed multilingual practices, I analyzed in detail the forms of co-existence of English with other languages. Finally, I invited 20 bloggers to complete an online questionnaire about their motivations for writing blogs and for language choice (see Appendix). A total of 12 out of 20 scholars returned the survey.

5 Results

5.1 Patterns of co-existence of ELF and other languages in academic blogs

In some blogs written by non-native speakers or with collaboration by non-native speakers, ELF is the only language used. The bloggers' motivation for the exclusive use of English will be discussed in section 5.3. In other cases, ELF interacts with other languages in a variety of ways: (i) some posts are written in ELF and other posts in another language (or in other languages); (ii) the same blogger writes two blogs: one in ELF and the other in his/her L1; (iii) the post in ELF includes its translation in the blogger's L1; (iii) code-switching in posts.

5.1.1 Writing posts in ELF and posts in another language in a single blog

This is a very common pattern (10 out of the 32 blogs). Some of these blogs are written by university teachers who are aware of the need to reach a diversified

Figure 1: Post in Pérez-Paredes academic blog (Source: https://perezparedes.wordpress.com/).

audience, ranging from their own students to peers working in their area of research. I will comment here on two illustrating examples. The first example is two blogs written by a lecturer at the English Department of the University of Murcia: his research blog (http://perezparedes.blogspot.com.es/) and his academic blog (https://perezparedes.wordpress.com/). Both blogs are used basically as filter blogs, where the blogger aggregates and provides information or links that may be of interest for the audience. The posts usually include the original title of the document to which the blogger links, a fragment of the text, and the source (see Figure 1).

The research blog is intended for people sharing his research interests and posts consist mainly of information taken from other texts, e.g. the original text of call for papers, information for conferences, links to research papers, information on new published books, taken from the Publisher site. Since the blogger does research in an English department, most of the information in the posts in the research blog is written in English. There are, however, also links to information in Spanish, dealing with more local issues and concerns (e.g. 1), which may be of interest to some of the readers of the blog (junior researchers at his institution). The academic blog is clearly intended for a different audience, i.e., the students in the degrees where the blogger teaches, as can be seen in the titles of some of the posts (e.g. 2).

(1) Títle: Convocatoria de contratos predoctorales para la formación de personal investigador en el marco del Plan Propio de I+D+i (*Link to the document*). (Call for predoctoral contracts for the training of research personnel under the framework of R+D+ i)[1]

(2) a. Los empresarios echan en falta mejor nivel de inglés entre los universitarios (Entrepreneurs miss better standard of English among college students)
     b. Reunión extraordinaria de la Comisión de Planificación de las Enseñanzas 24/10/2014 (Extraordinary meeting of the Commission of Teaching Planning 24/10/2014).
     c. LanguageTool Style and Grammar Check.

Both blogs link to information that may be of interest to different audiences with no comment by the blogger, and therefore the criterion to choose language is the language of the original text. However, the choice of the texts to link to in the blogs is in turn affected by the imagined audience of the two blogs. In the research blog most posts are in English, intended for an international research community and used by the blogger to showcase his own research interest; the posts in Spanish are only of interest to the Spanish audience. In the academic blog, intended for students, the blogger assumes that these are bilingual and he links to texts related to the content of the courses in English, and to administrative information or information related to the students' degree from the national or local press in Spanish.

In the case discussed above the blogger does not really write the text in the post, but copies fragments from the original texts acknowledging the source. What he basically does is to make other texts visible, to bring them to the reader's attention. However, in most blogs bloggers actually write their own text and therefore need to choose the language to do it. This is the case of the blog *Freakonometrics* (http://freakonometrics.hypotheses.org). In his paper "Blogging in academia: a personal experience", the author provides information that helps to understand his choice of language (Charpentier 2014). He makes reference to different audiences for his blog (students, practitioners in the industry, academics), and to the role of the blog in his teaching, as a fundamental way to share with his students (see i), and in his work as a researcher, as a way to promote his work and do science by discussing his work with others (see ii).

(i) Students understood the interest of the blog, as a place to discuss and to interact. The blog became an extension of the class. After the formal lecture,

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1 A translation into English will be provided for examples in another language.

in the room, the blog became a place to **share** additional documents, data-sets, computer codes, etc. (my own emphasis)

(ii) I use my blog to promote my work, and my scholarship (...) In blog posts, we connect to other blogs, using comments, reactions, and hyperlinks (...). In that sense, having informal discussions is probably the best way to work, as an academic.

In line with the ideas presented in his paper, in the blog *Freakonometrics* Charpentier always uses ELF to publicize his publications, both newly published papers and books (e.g. 3). ELF is also used in a category of posts called "Somewhere else", where the blogger links to other texts, i.e., he "filters" other texts of interest to researchers in the discipline (e.g. 4). They are posts clearly intended to share information with peers and to show his own expertise and interest.

(3) a. Our paper *Log-transform kernel density estimationof income distribution*, written with *Emmanuel Flachaire* is now available on *http://papers.ssrn.com/id=2514882*, Abstract.

  b. THE BOOK IS OUT
      That's official! Not only *on amazon.com* or *crc.com*...

(4) SOMEWHERE ELSE, PART 177
     Some posts and articles worth reading, here and there
     – "A veteran teacher turned coach shadows 2 students for 2 days" (*link*)

Posts dealing with econometric principles, theories, observations, and aspects related with the courses and lectures he is teaching are mostly in English (e.g. 5), although some of them are written in French (e.g. 6). Many posts are related to aspects discussed in the classroom and are intended for his students, but not only for them. Charpentier (2014) states that before becoming popular in his community, the blog was popular among students (his own but also students in other programs). The fact that the blogger uses two different languages for posts with seemingly similar purposes (e.g. 5 and 6) suggests that, as Hülmbauer, Böhringer, and Seidlhofer (2008: 29) state, "language choice is (...) determined by particular situational contexts" and depends on the purposes that the user intends to achieve in a given situation.

(5) REINTERPRETING LEE-CARTER MORTALITY MODEL
     Last week, while I was giving my crash course on R for insurance, we've been discussing possible extensions of Lee & Carter (1992) model.

(6) LOI MULTINOMIALE ET LOI DU CHI-DEUX
     La semaine passée j'avais rappelé que quand {N}=(N)

(MULTINOMIAL LAW AND LAW OF CHI-SQUARE
Last week, in class, I reminded that when {N}=(N))

The blogger uses French in more personal posts, e.g. when he is giving his personal comment or when he tells anecdotes, stories, which suggests that the L1 is used as the language for self-expression, but also as the language to convey intimacy with a more local audience or with an audience sharing his L1 linguaculture. In the following post, for instance, he uses French to give his view about the debate over the award of the Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences to Jean Tirole, a French economist.

(7)   LA SCIENCE ECONOMIQUE, ET SON MAUDIT NOBEL. Je voulais revenir
       rapidement sur le prix Nobel décerné il y a moins de 48 heures à Jean Tirole.
       (ECONOMIC SCIENCE AND ITS CURSED NOBEL. I wanted to quickly return to
       the Nobel prize awarded less than 48 hours ago to Jean Tirole)

English co-exists with other languages not only in blogs by individual scholars, but also in other types of academic blogs. This is the case, for instance, of the *Blog of English Studies of the Universitat Autonoma de Barcelona* (http://blogs.uab.cat/grauestudisanglesos/), a blog intended for students of the degree of English Studies. Most of the posts are in English, reflecting that the language of communication between teachers and students in this degree is English, but there are a few posts in Catalan, especially when the purpose of the post is to link to a document written in Catalan (e.g. 9), and some of them which even mix Catalan in the title with English in the text (e.g. 10). The choice of code signals the multilingual identity of the community of the English studies degree: they are mostly speakers whose L1 is Catalan who are expected to (be able to) communicate in English.

(8)   TFG LIST AND PRE-INSCRIPTION FORM
        Dear students,
        This is the list of topics and supervisors available for TFGs in 2014–2015.

(9)   PROGRAMA JORNADES ACOLLIDA 9 I 10 SETEMBRE
        Aqui el teniu (*Link*)
        Salutacions,
        (WELCOME PROGRAM, 9 AND 10 SEPTEMBER. Here it is. Best wishes)

(10) PROTOCOL D'ACTUACIÓ
        Dear Students,

Here's the document summarising the rights and duties of teachers and students in our Department.

Other blogs where ELF and other languages co-exist are collaborative blogs and research group blogs. Some collaborative blogs promote multilingualism and offer contributors the possibility to write in the language of their choice. This is the case of the blog *Nova heraldica* (http://heraldica.hypotheses.org/), where it is explicitly stated that "contributions can be submitted in English, French and German". This is in agreement with the goals of the blog:

(11) This blog shall serve several purposes. (...) it shall offer a platform to scholars in social and cultural history to communicate and share ideas, inspirations and observations on this field and provide a place to advertise new initiatives, to present current projects and, above all, to read about and to discuss.

English also co-exists with other languages in some research group blogs. The blog *IBG: Red ibérica de teoría de grupos* (http://ibg.blogs.uv.es/tag/bilbao/) and the blog of the "Risk analysis group" of the Université de Lausanne (http://www3.unil.ch/wpmu/risk/category/blog/) have posts in English and the L1 of the researchers (Spanish in the first blog, French in the second). Although most posts are in ELF, as a way to make the group and its research visible for a wide audience, promote the activities they organize and signal their international character, there are some posts in the L1, when the message is exclusively intended for a local audience:

(12) El profesor de la Universidad de Leiden, L.T., impartirá un curso avanzado en la Universidad del País Vasco entre el 17 y el 21 de diciembre de 2012.
(L.T., lecturer at the University of Leiden, will teach an advanced course at the University of the Basque Country between 17 and 21 December 2012)

(13) Le comité des anciens de l'institut des Sciences de la Terre de l'Université de Lausanne vous invite pour une journée de rencontre des actuel(le)s et ancien(ne)s étudiant(e)s...
(The Committee of Veterans of the Institute of Earth Sciences of the University of Lausanne invites you to a meeting day of old and current students..)

The blog *Hegelpd* (http://www.hegelpd.it/hegel/) also combines posts in ELF with posts in Italian. All the labels for the different elements of the blog (home, ideas, news, resources, images, people, contacts, recent posts, categories) and the labels

for the different categories (e.g. aesthetics, analytic philosophy, anglo-american philosophy, art, beauty) are in English. The description of the blog and the biodata of the different contributors provided in the people page appears first in English and then in the Italian translation. Although most of the posts are in English, there is a large number of posts in Italian. English is used in posts dealing with calls for papers, conferences, etc. that may be of interest to researchers in the field. Italian is used in posts with similar topics and purposes but intended for a more local audience (e.g. announcing talks within seminars intended for PhD students).

5.1.2 Two different blogs by the same blogger, one in ELF and the other in his/her mother tongue

An example is the two blogs by Ismael Peña, a lecturer at at the School of Law and Political Science of the Open University of Catalonia. He writes the blog *Sociedad Red* (http://ictlogy.net/sociedadred/) in Spanish and the blog *ICT4D* (http://ictlogy.net/ict4dblog/) in ELF. However, in both cases the blog provides a translation engine that enables the reader to translate the text into different languages. In the blog *Sociedad Red*, there is a high number of opinion posts, dealing with Spanish/ Catalan political issues (e.g. "El tercer eje del proceso soberanista: la radicalidad democrática"- "The third axis of the sovereignist process: democratic radicalism") and therefore intended for a more local audience. In the blog *ICT4D* posts involve academic issues related with the blogger's discipline (ICT and society).

Another interesting example is the two blogs by Miguel Peguera: *Responsabilidad en Internet* (http://responsabilidadinternet.wordpress.com/), in Spanish, and *ISPlaibility* (https://ispliability.wordpress.com/), in ELF. The blogs are connected by a tag at the top: "Blog in Spanish" in the English blog and "Blog in English" in the Spanish blog. However, the content in the two blogs is not exactly the same. The blogs include some posts that deal with the same topic but in a different language, but most of the posts do not have a corresponding post in the other blog. In the case of matching posts in both blogs, although the content and the structure of the two posts is very similar, one is not a literal translation of the other. The relation between the two blogs is explained by the blogger himself, when he decided to start the blog in English:

> I've decided to start a new blog, this one in English, to sort of micro-blog about ISP Liability. To some extend this blog will be the English version of the other one where I blog in Spanish, which focuses mainly on Spanish case law.

> Here I will echo the main entries of the Spanish blog in a streamlined way, and will also provide an up-to-date list of Spanish cases. In addition, I expect to deal a little bit with international cases.

The blogger's words reveal that the choice of language is influenced by audience, with ELF being chosen to discuss topics that may attract the interest of a wide international audience (i.e. not only "Spanish cases", but also "international cases").

5.1.3 Post written in the blogger's L1 and translated into English

The only example found was the blog *Química. Metales pesados* (http://quimica-metales-pesados.blogspot.com.es/). Both the "about page" and many of the posts are written in Spanish and translated into English (e.g. Día del mol 2014/ 2014 Mole Day). These posts are related to chemistry, mostly dealing with information taken from other sources. There are some posts, however, of a more personal nature, which are written only in Spanish, without the English translation. Most of them consist only of the title in Spanish, a picture or a video, and a short sentence or logo. For instance, the post "Cuarenta años de la Revolución de los Claveles" (Forty years after the Carnation Revolution) consists of a video about the revolution and the text "No olvidamos" [We do not forget].

5.1.4 Code switching or alternation of ELF and the L1 in the same post

Although code switching seems to be a common practice in personal blogs where English is used as a Lingua Franca (Vettorel 2014), in the academic blogs analyzed in this study there are few examples of code-switching in the same post. However, those posts where this alternation occurs are interesting because they reflect the blogger's attitude to the use of language in online forums. *Public archeology* (http://publicarchaeology.blogspot.com.es/) is a blog in Spanish, but it includes some posts in English and in the last post, when the blogger informs that he is going to stop writing the blog, the blogger mixes English and Spanish, as a way to signal his bilingual identity and to explain his choice of language.

(14) The end of a cycle. Blogging about public archaeology in Spain. El fin de un ciclo. Blogueando sobre arqueología pública en España
      *This is a bilingual text.
      **Con bilingüe quiero decir que hay partes en español, and others in English.
      14 Apr 2014, 16:07

> In this exact moment, I am writing the last post on the first blog I ever created (…). The next lines are an overview of the blog, how it started and how it ended. La última reflexión antes de cambiar de ciclo.
>
> (…) For a while I thought about doing the blog in English, but I felt my audience should be in Spain, so I went for it and created a Spanish blog. (…) ¿Por qué empieza todo esto? En 2005 le dije por primera vez a mi tutora lo que quería hacer en mi tesis. Arqueología Pública. (…)
>
> I have said that "Public Archaeology" was a blog in Spanish, but, there were certain topics I needed to write about in English.

The mixing of ELF and other languages in the same post is common in online forums intended for global and intercultural communication. This is the case of the *Open Anthropology Cooperative* (*http://openanthcoop.ning.com)* which includes the following self-description in its "about" page: "The most important word in our title is the first. By this we mean open access, open membership, open to sharing new ideas, open to whatever the organization might do or become; open to everyone". In one of the forums of this site, *Nationalism and identity*, writers sometimes mix ELF with other languages. The following example, taken from the "comment wall" in this forum, shows how the second commenter mixes Portuguese and ELF to signal his bilingual identity.

(15) C 1:
      Hello John
      thaks for your interest in my book. If you read in portuguese I will be happy to send you a copy.
      C2:
      Obrigado Ines. Non te preocupes, eu leo otras lenguas romances con moito gosto, para eso me crie en Espanha! (Gracias Inés. Don't worry. I read other Romance languages, since I grew up in Spain)
      I haven't done research on borderlands but my working hypothesis is that international borders, even today within the EU, still matter a great deal.

5.2 Choice of language: results from the questionnaire

The anwers that respondents to the questionnaire provided for the question "What was the main reason to begin your blog?" may help to explain their choice of language. The main reason to begin the blog was sharing. The bloggers wanted to share different types of information with a variety of audiences: members of their disciplinary community, students, the general public. They stated that they had

begun the blog to disseminate knowledge to the general public, but also knowledge that may be of interest to their students, to publicize their own research and make it visible, to get in contact and share observations and knowledge with the international community working in their field, and to express ideas about academic topics without the pressure of peer-reviewed publication. Other objectives were to keep up to date with their field of research, by compiling information related to their research, and to practice their writing abilities in English by writing about academic topics in a more informal register.

When asked about the language used in their blogposts, 33.3% of the respondents said English, and 66.7% English and their mother tongue. As for their choice of language, the participants in the survey gave two main reasons to write posts in English. The first one is international dissemination: they wanted to reach a wider global audience and communicate with researchers and interested public who do not share their mother tongue. The second reason is that English is their professional language. They want to practice their writing skills in the language that is the lingua franca in their field; but they also wanted to show that they master the language used to communicate in their field and thus index a global identity.

When asked whether the posts in English and the posts in the other language were addressed to the same audience, 62.2% said that they were intended for different audiences. These bloggers stated that English was used to reach a wider audience, especially (but not exclusively) an international academic community, "including other non-English native speakers" and that their L1 was used to address readers who shared this L1. One of the bloggers whose choice of language was not influenced by the audience stated that the language of the post depended on the language of the source document, English being used for posts which had originated in an English text or discussion (blogs, news, etc.).

Regarding topic, the respondents stated that English was used for professional and academic issues, with a more restricted range of topics, while the L1 was used for more personal and informal posts, and for posts dealing with controversial topics, to avoid misunderstandings that might arise from the use of English. There is a close relation between topic and audience, since most respondents stated that English was used for posts whose content may be of interest to an international audience, while the L1 was used when the topic will probably only be of interest to a local audience.

Interestingly, one of the bloggers points to situational factors (i.e. knowledge of the language) and the bloggers' own perception of their ability to express their ideas in English to account for the choice of language:

> The blog is a collaborative blog. So every one may write in the language he is most comfortable in and thinks best for his blogpost, i.e., in English, French or German. It thus depends also on the defined audience of the blogpost as it is seen by the author.

5.3 Factors that affect language choice and language mixing in academic blogs

The analysis of the blogs and the answers to the questionnaire reveal that the choice of language in academic blogs is influenced by several factors: situational and pragmatic factors, expected audience and topic, and identity construction.

Situational factors play an important role, which explains why there are few blogs written in English by non-Anglophone scholars. The search for blogs to analyze revealed that most scholars blog in their L1, unless they are affiliated to Anglophone institutions, to Departments involved in the teaching of English, and to institutions in countries where English is widely used in university settings (e.g., Scandinavian countries and Holland). In these three cases some bloggers write all their posts in English, because this is the default language to use in their academic setting, even for more informal discourse. In the blog *Dr Shock: A neurostimulating blog* the blogger uses only English, even for posts dealing with topics such as jazz, chocolate, or computer gaming. In collaborative blogs, where contributors may choose the language, language competence and the bloggers' perception of their own proficiency is an important factor. In the questionnaire, one of the bloggers commented that "ad hoc writing in English isn't an easy thing" and therefore some academic bloggers who are conscious about making mistakes may restrain themselves from writing in English. This comment reflects many scholars' view that only standard English is appropriate for academic writing: instances of non-standard English are regarded as "mistakes" and not as features of ELF. Since publishing in English usually requires conforming to ENL (English as a Native Language) norms, it seems that many scholars compare their writing against these norms, which results in linguistic insecurity, even if their writing is comprehensible and effective for achieving their purpose.

However, not all blogging scholars are inhibited from using English by the awareness that their writing does not always meet ENL norms. Since English is acknowledged by academic bloggers as the language of international communication, when they intend to disseminate research and be understood at an international level, English is the language of choice. The exclusive use of English is frequent in research group blogs, even in institutions in southern European countries (e.g. Spain). This is the case, for instance, of the *GENTEXT blog* (http://blog.dsa-research.org/), the *Spectroscopy Group Blog* (http://blog.grupodeespectroscopia.es/), the *GEOTEC group blog* (http://www.geotec.uji.es/), or the *blog of the DSA (Distributed Systems Architecture) Research Group* (http://blog.dsa-research.org/). These blogs are mostly used to promote the research group's activities and show that the members of the group are competent and very active researchers: posts are mostly used to inform of or advertise academic events

organized by the group (seminars, workshops, conferences), academic achievements by members of the group (e.g. PhD dissertations), activities in which the members participate in other research centers (conferences, invited talks) and collaborations with other groups. In the about page of the blog of the *DSA Research Group*, the group is presented as a group which "conducts outstanding research in collaboration with international research centres and companies, aiming to become a research group for excellence in advanced distributed computing and virtualization technologies". Most of the posts consist in short summaries of their papers, with a link to the paper, and of reports of their relation and collaboration with other groups, in an attempt to publicize their work and provide support for the self-presentation of the group in the about page. The use of ELF in these blogs therefore serves to signal their collaborative and international nature. Another blog where all the posts are written in English is the *blog of the High Pressure Processes Group* (http://hpp.uva.es/), at the University of Valladolid. This blog is different from the other blogs discussed above because its main purpose does not seem to be to publicize the group's publications, events and collaborations, but to disseminate their research and thus show the need for this research. Most of the posts consist in a simplified description, in a language that can be understood by the interested public (including industries and funding organizations), of the research projects in which the group is involved. The English used in all these blogs displays some non-standard features (e.g. "we could *enjoy of* their visits for one week", "steam injection *was showed to* be a promising alternative"), but interestingly native-like correctness does not seem to be a core issue in most of these blogs. English is used "exolingually", i.e. the users appropriate the language to meet their communicative needs (Hülmbauer, Böhringer and Seidlhofer 2008).

When blogs are used as a repository of news and texts of interest to the scholars in a discipline or to the blogger's students, the language of the original text is an important factor. Bloggers link to texts in English or in their L1, assuming that the audience to whom the post is addressed will understand the text. As one of the bloggers said: "the post will find its audience". In many cases the posts in these "repository" blogs are intended for students, who are assumed to be able to read posts both in English and in their L1, so the bloggers use the linguistic resources of the "class community" naturally. In the context of EMI (English as a Medium of Instruction) courses/ degrees, students are expected to communicate with each other and with their teachers in English and, therefore, the language of choice when the teacher addresses the students is English. Similarly, in some cases, the affilation of the bloggers seems to be an important factor. When the bloggers (individual scholars or members of research groups) are affiliated to Departments whose object of study is English (English Studies departments), the

use of English indexes this affiliation. The English used by these bloggers is based on a native speaker model: conformity to standard norms seems to be required, in order to show the bloggers' proficiency and expertise in their field.

The topic of the post and the audience are very closely related factors when choosing the language of the post, since very often bloggers write about different topics for different audiences. Although, as previously stated, English tends to be used for topics that may be of interest to an international community, and the L1 is used in posts that may deal with local issues and, therefore, be of interest to a local audience, the distinction is not so clear-cut. As with other social media, in academic blogs a "context collapse" usually occurs: the co-existence of multiple audiences in a single social context (Marwick and Boyd 2011). The co-existence of audiences is particularly interesting in the blogs by lecturers, where one large part of the audience consists of the blogger's students. However, even the posts that are related to issues discussed in the classroom can have a wider audience, and therefore are not always written in the blogger's and students' L1. Interestingly, in multilingual blogs, bloggers often used their L1 for more personal topics, related to their daily life, or for the expression of their personal views.

Finally, the choice of language is related to the construction of a particular identity. As previous studies have shown, multilingual speakers resort to their diverse linguistic resources to negotiate identity and to project new forms of identity that go beyong ethnicity, nationality or genre (Androutsopoulos 2006; Lee and Barton 2011; Leppänen et al. 2009). Academic bloggers use language choice to transmit who they are, who they want to be, and how they want their audience to perceive them. The blogs of some research groups are written exclusively in English because members want to project an international identity and their competence to collaborate with other groups at an international level, using the lingua franca of research collaboration. In other research group blogs the choice of language signals a glocal identity, with members writing posts in English to signal the international nature and global interest of their research and also posts in the local language to signal that they promote research and the dissemination of knowledge at a local level (e.g. 12). The use of English in blogs by individual scholars also helps them to project an image of themselves as members of the international academic community. The mixing of languages in their blogs reflects that identity is a multifaceted concept and suggests that language mixing is used to signal this complex identity. They may use English to index their bilingual identity and to project an image of academics who have information to communicate at an international level, but also their L1 to disclose aspects of their personal identity and their involvement in local issues (e.g. local politics). When writing about topics dealt with in class, blogging lecturers may use their L1 to connect with their students, but also English to disseminate information for a

wider audience (students, lay public with other L1s) and thus project an identity of civic scientists and experts engaged in science dissemination.

In addition, with their choice of language bloggers often index and construct the identity of online and offline communities. The concept of community of practice (Wenger 1998) can help to explain how language choice is used to construct community. In a community of practice the norms are negotiated among its members, who engage in common activities ("mutual engagement") to achieve shared goals ("joint enterprise") by making use of a "shared repertoire", i.e., resources that members use to negotiate meaning, including the members' linguistic resources. English, as the lingua franca of academia, and the other languages that members of the community may share, are part of these resources and therefore in collaborative and group blogs members have to negotiate the language(s) in which posts can be written, because this choice of code will contribute to signaling specific identities for the group. In the blog *Nova heraldica*, for example, multilingualism seems to be an index of their identity. Members of these online communities do not only negotiate the language, but also the norms of the code, among them what is acceptable English in this online forum. While in some blogs (e.g. blogs written by members of English Departments) standard English will probably be the only accepted norm by the community, in other blogs (e.g. some blogs by members of research groups not involved in the study of English) non-standard forms are accepted, revealing the bloggers' perception of English as an international language, rather than as the property of English native speakers.

Blogs written by teachers, where one of the intended audiences is their students, are particularly interesting. The bloggers use the L1 that they share with their students in some posts, but also English, showing that English is an integral part of their disciplinary communication. Bloggers construct the offline classroom community as a bilingual community, where English is or can be used to communicate and discuss subject content. In the case of blogs created by teachers in English Studies departments, the mixing of English with the blogger's and students' L1 reflects the bicultural identity of the group and shows the blogger's assumption that students can understand both languages and should use English in the academic context.

5.4 Conclusions

Academic blogs are instruments for sharing, used by bloggers to communicate information and disseminate science simultaneously to different audiences and for different purposes. Bloggers write their blogs for the international

academic community, for researchers in their discipline sharing their L1, for students (their own students and students at other universities), and for the interested public. Academic blogs have therefore become a tool for open education and co-learning, where knowledge is disseminated and co-constructed beyond the boundaries of the bloggers' institution and even beyond the boundaries of academia.

Although many academic bloggers blog exclusively in their L1, some multilingual bloggers harness the advantages of using ELF in their blogs, both as the only language or in combination with other languages, i.e. they draw on their multilingual repertoire to achieve their communicative purposes. This study has revealed that ELF and other languages are combined in different ways in academic blogs, the most common pattern being the mixture of posts in ELF and posts in the blogger's L1 in the same blog. The alternation of languages in these blogs is part of the mixing of codes and repertoires in these digital texts, e.g. spoken and written registers (Mauranen 2013). This alternation enables bloggers to participate in different communities, to adjust their code(s) to heterogeneous audience(s) and mobilize their linguistic resources for different purposes. Through this mixing of language, scholars can communicate their research internationally, and thus achieve academic prestige, but also connect with local audiences (including student, in the case of blogging lecturers).

This study has shown that the choice of language in posts may be determined by several factors (pragmatic and situational factors, topic, audience, identity indexing), but this choice is individualized, depending on different factors for the different blogs, and even on the bloggers' situational context, communicative purpose, and orientation to a particular audience when writing a post.

The use of ELF, in the context of multingual communication, helps scholars to reach a wide international audience, composed not only of academics but also of interested public, and thus promotes open exchange of knowledge, education and learning. It also helps scholars to engage in new communicative practices, such as informal self-publicizing of the scholars' (or research groups') work at an international level and informal dissemination of their research for a diversified and multilingual audience. English is, in addition, a social marker, used by bloggers to indicate their belonging to communities where English is regarded as the language to use for academic international communication, and to portray themselves as "public scientists" who support an open model of science dissemination and teaching.

The analysis of the blogs and the responses to the questionnaire show that bloggers have different perceptions of the English that they are expected to use in their blogs. Some of them adhere to a native-speaker model, mainly because of

situational factors, such as the need to show proficiency in standard English. For others, achieving their communicative goals (e.g. disseminating their research globally and indexing an international identity) is more relevant than native-like correctness. The fact that blogs offer a flexible forum, with no gatekeeping based on ENL norms and where non-standard linguistic forms are allowed, may help to foster this perception of ELF as a type of English in its own right, different fron ENL, and defined in terms of effectiveness in international/ intercultural communication rather than in terms of form.

Appendix: Survey

1. Discipline:
2. Name of your blog/ the blog to which you contribute (optional)
3. Nationality:
4. Mother tongue:

Blogging activity

1. What was the primary reason for starting/joining the blog?
2. What language(s) do you use in your blogposts?
   a. English   b. another language (specify)   c. Both English and another
   language
3. If you only blog in English, why have you decided to blog in English?
4. If you use both English and another language, do these languages serve different purposes?
5. Which types of posts do you write in English and in the other language, in terms of topic?
6. Are posts in English and the other language addressed to the same audience?
7. Which types of posts do you write in English and in the other language, in terms of audience?
8. If you have any additional comments, thoughts, or ideas please write them here:

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Miya Komori-Glatz
Multilingual ELF interaction in multicultural student teamwork at Europe's largest business university

Abstract: As the world becomes increasingly interconnected and English is perceived as a dominant language of commerce, business universities often see English-medium instruction as a means to attract more and highly qualified international students as well as to prepare their graduates for a career in the globalised workforce. As a result, English is not only the medium of instruction in the classroom, but also the lingua franca outside it. While there has been considerable in-depth research on the use of English in the formal classroom setting, there is still a need for studies that investigate how students use language in more interactional and less formal settings. This chapter examines multicultural student teamwork on an English-medium master's programme at WU Vienna to see how students use English and other languages in this lingua franca setting. The chapter begins by conceptualising English as a lingua franca in the international business university, synthesising research from applied linguistics and management studies. It then analyses data from an ethnographic study of multicultural student teamwork, focusing on instances of multilingualism in negotiating meaning, building rapport and creating humour.

Keywords: English as a lingua franca (ELF), English as a business lingua franca (BELF), multilingualism, higher education, teamwork, rapport

1 Introduction

The European higher education (HE) landscape has seen dramatic changes in recent years, particularly since the implementation of the Bologna process during the first decade of the twenty-first century and the introduction of the European Higher Education Area in 2010 (Unterberger 2014: 11–12; cf. Wächter and Maiworm 2014: 19). With the promotion of mobility at its heart, post-Bologna European higher education is characterised by an increasingly multilingual and

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multicultural learning space (MMLS[1]). Implementing English as the medium of instruction (EMI) is often seen as a strategy to manage this diversity: as both faculty and students frequently have a variety of other first languages (L1s), English is seen as "the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option" (Seidlhofer 2011: 7), and can be said to function as the classroom lingua franca (Jenkins 2014: 8–15; Mauranen 2012: 6–11; Smit 2010: 3, 77–81). At the same time, intercultural communication also takes place outside the classroom, where English is often the lingua franca regardless of whether or not it is the medium of instruction (Kalocsai 2013: 3–5). As Baker (2015: 40) points out, an intersecting perspective of ELF and intercultural communication offers considerable potential for further research.

With the vast majority of the studies on intercultural communication based in a business context, there is a real need for analyses that take a step back to examine the very beginning of an intercultural career from this vantage point. For business-oriented institutions and faculties, implementing EMI is often seen as a valuable opportunity. On the one hand, it allows institutions to participate and profile themselves in the "brain race" of the increasingly competitive and global higher education market (see Knight 2013: 84–89). On the other, learning to communicate effectively in multilingual and multicultural settings represents a key skill for students aiming to enter into business in a globalised world. For many, the international university may be their first such encounter, and thus presents an essential affordance for developing these abilities.

Additionally, multicultural teamwork has seen a massive rise in both the corporate and educational fields. Indeed, Peter Drucker, the "founder of modern management" (Denning 2014), believed that "the modern organization cannot be an organization of boss and subordinate. It must be organized as a team" (Drucker 2006: 150). Increasingly, these teams are also becoming ever more heterogeneous regarding a variety of attributes, be they gender, nationality, language, function, etc. (Butler & Zander 2008; DiStefano & Maznevski 2000; Kassis-Henderson 2005; Stahl et al. 2010). It is therefore vital for students to gain experience in working in a multicultural team where English is highly likely to be the lingua franca given its "dominance [...] as an international business language" (Marschan-Piekkari, Welch and Welch 1999: 379).

This chapter examines the use of English as a lingua franca (ELF) in multicultural teamwork at WU Vienna, Europe's largest business university.[2] Since the specific context of the business university and the focus on actual language use

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1 This term is borrowed from the IntlUni project (www.intluni.eu, all websites accessed 7 July 2015).

2 http://www.wu.ac.at/structure/about/en/

remains under-researched, particularly when positioned against the backdrop of the wider business environment, this paper aims to address this gap. First, it discusses conceptualisations of English as a lingua franca in applied linguistics (cf. Björkman 2013; Jenkins 2015; Mauranen 2012; Seidlhofer 2011; Smit 2010) with a particular focus on how they perceive the role of multilingualism. It then integrates the business aspect, drawing on Kankaanranta, Louhiala-Salminen and Karhunen's (2015) notion of English as a business lingua franca (BELF) and develops it to zoom in on the notion of building trust and rapport in a multicultural team. Additionally, it examines how language, specifically the flexible and multilingual nature of (B)ELF, contributes to this process. The second part of the chapter presents interactional data taken from an English-medium master's programme at WU Vienna. This illustrates how students on business courses simulating the tasks and environment of the global workplace use (B)ELF in the MMLS. In particular, the data reveal the flexible and inherently multilingual nature of (B) ELF and how the students negotiate meaning in task- and social talk, how they draw on each other as multilingual and multicultural resources, and how they use language(s) to create humour and rapport.

2 English as a lingua franca in the international(ised) business university

2.1 English in the business university

Despite the economic crises of the last decade, world trade and cross-border mergers and acquisitions continue to rise rapidly. Working and communicating effectively in multilingual and multicultural settings are therefore some of the most pressing challenges of the twenty-first century. As higher education "evolves to meet" these challenges (Knight 2008: ix), many institutions see internationalisation – "the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of higher education at the institutional and national levels" (Knight 2008: 21) – as a means to do so.

For many institutions, this means implementing English as the medium of instruction at a formal level, and English taking the role of a lingua franca outside the classroom as well. For instance, although only an eighth of all Erasmus students went to the UK or Ireland in 2012–2013, half used English as their "main language for studying abroad" (European Commission 2015: 62, 66). The results of the Academic Cooperation Association (ACA) surveys spanning over a

decade (Maiworm and Wächter 2002; Wächter and Maiworm 2008; Wächter and Maiworm 2014) support the notion that EMI is widely regarded as an opportunity by European higher education institutions, having increased exponentially "from 725 programmes in 2001, to 2,389 in 2007 and to 8,089 in [2014]" (Wächter and Maiworm 2014: 16). Though considerably smaller in scope, the IntlUni project examining the MMLS in European higher education also identified a range of scenarios where "the use of one [or the] national language and English" is "the general trend" or even "the most frequently chosen option" (Millar and van Mulken n.d.: 4). As mentioned already, where students on a programme have a variety of first languages, English is also often the lingua franca outside the classroom, whether or not it is the official language of instruction (Kalocsai 2013: 3–5; Smit 2010: 120).

This is particularly the case in business education, where "English is becoming the dominant language" (Wilkinson 2011: 111). While English is certainly not the only language of international business and in some areas may not even be the most important or widely spoken one, it does seem to play a highly prominent role in many contexts, a phenomenon that is having a clear spillover effect in business-oriented higher education, leading Wilkinson (2011: 112) to argue that "business schools cannot ignore [English]. Their job is to educate graduates to function in the business world". Perhaps more so than in any other discipline, one of the top reasons for introducing EMI is the aim to "make domestic students fit for global/ international markets" (Wächter and Maiworm 2014: 54). The group of subjects comprising social studies, business and law have both the highest proportion of English-medium programmes at around 35% (Wächter and Maiworm 2014: 66–67) and the highest share of Erasmus student exchanges at over 40% in 2012–2013 (European Commission 2015: 65). It is therefore a highly multilingual and multicultural domain.

2.2 Conceptualising multilingualism in English as a lingua franca

Consequently, it must be asked, as Kankaanranta, Louhiala-Salminen and Karhunen (2015) do, what is meant by "English"? As they point out, conceptualisations of English and even of English as a lingua franca vary tremendously across the literature found in both (applied) linguistics and management research. Analyses of English as/or a lingua franca in International Human Resource Management tend to reflect a more macro-perspective based on company strategy, with references to English as a "lingua franca" being viewed more or less as a synonym for a "shared", "common" or even "corporate"

language (e.g. Piekkari and Zander 2005: 5) and sometimes even as driven by native-speakers and thus "only a realistic option for Anglophone companies" (Harzing, Köster, and Magner 2011: 285). Though there are some criticisms of the assumption of homogeneity when using a "shared" language (e.g. Piekkari and Zander 2005: 7), "English" is largely conceived of in terms of monolithic native speaker norms and sufficient/deficient levels of proficiency rather than a flexible approach that draws on the resources of its speakers. In contrast, a recent paper from researchers in the organisation studies field has proposed the notion of a "multilingual franca" based in translanguaging and hybridity (Janssens and Steyaert 2015: 636), and using Canagarajah's (2007) terminology of LFE when referring to (lingua franca) English. This approach does perceive language as "enacted in a social practice" rather than being the "discrete, unified, pre-existing system" of some earlier work (Janssens and Steyaert 2014: 636), and thus represents an important development in the study of language in the business field. However, it is extremely surprising that the authors give no indication that they are aware of any of the research on ELF or BELF.

This paper uses Seidlhofer's (2011) now-classic definition of English as a lingua franca (ELF) as "*any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option*. Due to the number of speakers involved worldwide, this means that ENL [English as a Native Language] speakers will generally be in a minority" (Seidlhofer 2011: 7, original italics; cf. Baker 2015: 6; Björkman 2013: 1; Kalocsai 2013: 19; MacKenzie 2014: 2). However, it is also informed by James' (2006: 226) understanding of ELF as variation according to user, use, and using, i.e. individual repertoire, established practice, and in-situ communication, respectively (Smit 2010: 62). This conceptualisation of ELF is inherently potentially multilingual. While English (as a recognisable language system) is at the forefront and comprises the majority of the interaction, the interlocutors have a range of languages in their individual repertoires and they may be required to draw on them to meet the ad-hoc needs of the given communicational situation. Seidlhofer (2011: pos. 1851) argues that "English in its adapted form [i.e. ELF] co-exists as a linguistic resource alongside others, drawn upon as appropriate to particular domains and contexts of use" and that "ELF is bound to co-exist with other languages; it forms part of individuals' bi- or multilingual repertoires". Jenkins (2015: 75) pleads for an "evolutionary" re-conceptualisation of ELF "as a Multilingua Franca" which is "conceived as within a framework of multilingualism (versus multilingualism within a framework of ELF)" (Jenkins 2015: 75) and foregrounds the complex, emergent nature of ELF as well as the multilingual competence of its speakers. Curiously, her definition of ELF as a multilingua franca takes a very different perspective from Seidlhofer's: "multilingual

communicative settings in which English is known to everyone present, and is therefore always potentially 'in the mix', regardless of whether or not, and how much, it is actually used" (Jenkins 2015: 74). In other words, where for Seidlhofer the interlocutors choose to or may be forced to use English as their shared medium of communication, in Jenkins' conceptualisation English may only be latent, and even not used at all.

This is of course a somewhat different notion to Janssens and Steyaert's (2014) conceptualisation of a "multilingual franca", which, as indicated above, has a similar basis in complexity, translanguaging and language as an emergent social practice, but is presented in terms of an organisational strategy and closely linked to notions of identity. Furthermore, Janssens and Steyaert (2014: 635) also include "professional and functional" languages within a multilingual repertoire, which Jenkins does not mention. However, these play a significant role in the use of English as a lingua franca within a business context, as shall be seen in the next paragraph discussing BELF as well as in the data. It should also be noted that, though the notion of a multilingua(l) franca is an intriguing notion and certainly merits further development and empirical investigation, this paper retains Seidlhofer's definition as its point of departure for the analysis of the data. This is largely due to the fact that English was indeed the only option for the group to carry out their tasks efficiently and effectively, as they did not have any other shared languages at a sufficient level to do so. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that this understanding of English as a lingua franca, while positioning English as the primary medium of communication, does embrace a multilingual mentality and indeed may even rely on individuals' multilingual competences at times.

2.3 Conceptualising BELF for multicultural teamwork

Developing roughly in parallel with ELF research in applied linguistics, the concept of BELF (Business ELF or English as a business lingua franca) is firmly rooted in the field of (international) business communication. Kankaanranta, Louhiala-Salminen, and Karhunen (2015: 129) "emphasize the significance of the domain – the 'B' – with its goal-oriented nature, shared business fundamentals, and strategic management". They also shift the focus to "clarity and accuracy in the presentation of business content, knowledge of business-specific vocabulary and genre conventions, and the ability to connect on the relational level" (Kankaanranta, Louhiala-Salminen, and Karhunen 2015: 129). From a linguistics perspective, this is a fascinating three-pronged approach to interactions in a lingua franca setting. On the one hand, there is a strong focus on clearly codified lexis

and genre, reflecting a more English for Specific Purposes (ESP)-like approach (cf. Dudley-Evans and St John 1998: 61–65). On the other hand, equal weight is given to transactional talk, whose purpose is to ensure that "the recipient gets the informative detail correct" (Brown and Yule 1983: 1), e.g. comprehension checking, structuring, and "making discourse explicit […], simple […], and compact" (Kankaanranta and Planken 2010: 396), and interactional talk, which establishes "common ground" (Brown and Yule 1983: 4) and builds rapport (Spencer-Oatey 2000: 2). This balance reflects Spencer-Oatey and Franklin's (2009: 79) ABC framework of intercultural communicative competence, which comprises affective, behavioural and cognitive components based on attitudes, skills and awareness, respectively, as well as work on trust, which distinguishes between cognition-based and affect-based trust (cf. McAllister 1995).

In order to address both the skills- or cognition-based and the relational or affect-based dimensions, a team must learn to take advantage of the fact that it is multicultural and that it has a range of languages (including professional and functional ones) at its disposal. For the former, the team members – particularly in the university context, where much of the discipline-specific vocabulary and genres may be new to the students – need to negotiate meaning and be able to convey information clearly and comprehensibly. As Jenkins (2014: 11) points out, paraphrasing Bourdieu and Passeron ([1977] 1990: 115), "academic language […] is nobody's mother tongue"; the same can be said for ESP. In Unterberger's (2014: 162–164) study of language learning in English-medium programmes (EMPs) at WU Vienna, discipline-specific terminology was one of the few explicit language learning aims identified by the programme managers and content teachers. Strategies to aid "clarity and accuracy in the presentation of business content" and to determine the meaning and use of discipline-specific vocabulary and genre can be found across the ELF literature in both business and university settings, ranging from clarification and explicitation (cf. Kankaanranta and Planken 2010: 396–397; Smit 2010: 75; Mauranen 2012: 167–200) to the co-construction and negotiation of meaning (cf. Smit 2010:75, 313–378; Kankaanranta, Louhiala-Salminen and Karhunen 2015: 128) and "building in redundancy", i.e. "repeat[ing] information several times, checking on understanding by asking your partner to repeat the information you have just given, providing illustrative examples, and building in frequent summaries" (Harzing, Köster and Magner 2011: 282; cf. Kalocsai 2013: 40–43; Mauranen 2012: 204–231).

If language is necessary for transactional talk, it is also essential for relational talk. In both cases, drawing on multilingual repertoires can be very useful. Management research has shown that multilingual "bridge individuals" (Harzing, Köster and Magner 2011: 284) and "language nodes" (Marschan-Piekkari, Welch and Welch 1999: 386–387) are reported as a solution to the language barrier in

multinational companies, using bi- and multilingual employees to transmit information that would otherwise not be understood. In contrast, relational talk seems to require less competence or proficiency in another language than the motivation to use whatever resources you actually have. For example, "making the effort to speak a foreign language, even if fluency is lacking, invariably strikes a positive chord with new colleagues"; even if it is not the working language of the team, making an effort to learn something of the other party's language makes "a huge difference in terms of the team dynamics and of mutual trust" (Kassis-Henderson 2005: 79). Kankaanranta, Louhiala-Salminen and Karhunen (2015: 131) also point out that "even modest knowledge of the partner's language has proven meaningful for rapport building". Additionally, language plays an important role in creating humour and "language play activities such as teasing behaviour, joking, linguistic play with names and other types of wordplay" that "appear to be oriented towards relational goals" (Placencia 2004: 216). The use of humour is especially constructive in a multicultural team: "Jokes based on shared experiences [...] become the exclusive property of the team. [...] It derives its humor from the specific relationship between the people who were there at the time. It is, in fact, meaningful only to them. This creates a sense of community" (Schneider and Barsoux 1997: 204). Marra and Holmes (2007: 154), too, argue that "understanding an in-joke, for example, demonstrates the existence of common ground between co-workers, and reinforces team membership". Given that "the key for a successful but highly heterogeneous team is the formation of a common social structure" (Earley 2009: 35–36), such rapport-building mechanisms are crucial.

To conclude, there is a need to conceptualise English as a lingua franca for the context of multilingual and multicultural business universities. This should draw on both notions of BELF with its strong focus on the business domain and of ELF as being enacted in social practice and its highly flexible, inherently potentially multilingual nature. While there has already been extensive and in-depth analysis of English as the lingua franca in formal classroom settings (e.g. Mauranen 2012; Smit 2010), there is still a need for more work that examines the use of English as a lingua franca *outside* the classroom and particularly against the wider backdrop of a globalised workplace. With the focus on – and opportunities offered by – the introduction of English as a competitive advantage for European business universities, it is crucial to investigate whether students on English-medium business programmes are in fact gaining the skills and experience of working with ELF in multicultural teams that they need to succeed once they graduate. The next part of this chapter will analyse such teamwork to find out how students are using English and other languages and what roles these languages play in simulations of "real" business practice.

3 Multilingual ELF interaction in multicultural teamwork at WU Vienna

3.1 The setting

WU Vienna University of Economics and Business (WU/WU Vienna) has a total student population of around 23,000, with just over 700 students enrolled in its seven English-medium master's programmes. There are no official figures for the number or nationality of international students enrolled in the master's programmes, but a pilot study indicated that between one- and two-thirds of students did not have German as an L1, depending on the programme (Komori 2013; the other figures listed above are based on data from WU 2014: 11–12). While it cannot be said that any institution is representative or "typical" of the European higher education landscape (Millar and van Mulken n.d.: 1), WU Vienna's position as Europe's largest business university, its mid- to high overall ranking,[3] strong network with other European partner universities and location at the crossroads of Europe make it an excellent case study for examining ELF, EMI and internationalisation processes at a European university (cf. Unterberger 2014: 53–54).

The data presented in this paper was collected from the English-medium MSc in Marketing and consists of transcriptions of audio and video recordings of a team while they were working on a project that involved simulating the market entry of a multinational toothpaste producer into the Asian market (specifically China, India, Japan, the Philippines, Thailand and South Korea). The setting was deemed "very realistic" by the professor, who also had considerable industry experience in fast-moving consumer goods and global market entry strategy. The students had to assess the market using data provided, decide on a strategy (including when and where to build a production plant and how, where and when to introduce new products), and feed their decisions into a computer programme that used an algorithm to return their "profit" after each of the ten rounds. As part of their grade they also had to present their decisions to the class. The team was then ranked against the other teams in the class according to their "profits". Additionally, they had to write two case studies unrelated to the simulation but also based on issues relating to global marketing strategy. This team comprised four students, two male and two female, two of which were Austrian (Carina, Christian)

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3 In 2014, the QS ranked WU at joint 36th out of 200 business schools worldwide (http://www.topuniversities.com/university-rankings/university-subject-rankings/2015/business-management-studies) and the FT at 43rd out of 85 European business schools (http://rankings.ft.com/businessschoolrankings/european-business-school-rankings-2015).

and two international students attending WU Vienna for the full master's in Marketing programme, one Chinese (Qingling) and one Romanian (Benone).[4] They met several times to discuss the tasks for a total of approximately thirty hours, and also "chatted" to each other when they were not together using the group conversation function on Facebook. The full data set also included reflective interviews conducted after the project was concluded. This multi-method approach not only allowed for a more fully ethnographic study, but also enabled some "triangulation" of the data to add "rigor, breadth, complexity, richness, and depth" (Denzin and Lincoln [1994] 2011: 5; cf. Jenkins 2014: 73; Kankaanranta and Planken 2010: 404). For reasons of space, this chapter only presents examples from the interactional data observed and recorded in the team's face-to-face meetings.

As indicated earlier, English was clearly the general lingua franca of the group, both by choice and, to an extent, necessity. None of its members spoke English as their first language, though they all had a fairly high level of proficiency, having had to include evidence of approximately C1-level English as part of the admission requirements.[5] Though the two Austrians were both native German speakers, neither of the two international students were confident speakers of German (Benone had previously studied through the medium of German, but did not like speaking, and Qingling had only begun to learn German that semester). The main language used can therefore be said to be English, and even fairly standard English. Of course, the level of variation itself varied depending on the immediate context of the interaction and/or the type of data collected; the Facebook conversations were, unsurprisingly, considerably less adherent to SE norms, whereas the written case studies were very much so. In the face-to-face meetings, the students mostly used relatively SE, with the slightly higher level of variation that might be expected from natural speech.

As the language of the local environment, German had a much more prominent role than any other language apart from English (cf. Smit 2010: 242), and, as mentioned above, both the non-Austrian students were actively trying to improve their German language skills. While the Austrians would generally not push or initiate conversations in German, they would encourage efforts to speak German and act as language experts if asked. Consequently, it can be argued that the Austrians served a bridging function in helping the international students to develop their skills in the local language and their knowledge of the local environment, both in terms of practicalities and culture. The prominent position of German in the linguistic landscape of the university and the city often prompted the

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4 All names are pseudonyms.

5 For the specific requirements see http://www.wu.ac.at/prospective/admission/international/requirements/master/mengl/requ/requ-mark/

negotiation of the meaning of a word or phrase that had come to the international students' attention.

In contrast to the role English played, German and other languages generally had a much more interactional, or social, function. Studies of language use in business contexts show that the role of the local language(s) is often a highly important one with regard to socialising and informal company structures, especially with regard to questions of in- and exclusion (e.g. Janssens and Steyaert 2014: 633; Lønsmann 2014: 105–107, 112–114; Piekkari, Welch and Welch 2014: 62–65, 68–73). Occasionally, too, since many of the programme teachers were Austrians, German items would appear in class discussions, needing explanation if the non-German-speaking students were to be included in the class discussions. Sometimes these might be discipline-related (and thus of a more transactional nature; cf. also Smit 2010: 280–282), while other instances were not necessarily important to understanding the content of the class. However, they might also be used to construe humour in the classroom, and to create a more relaxed atmosphere in the classroom. Unfortunately, though, if international students did not understand the German items, some of the relational value of the code-switching may have been lost.

While other languages generally played a very minimal role, the importance of their interactional and relational function should not be underestimated. In the data, interactional talk – frequently involving other languages and especially German – appears above all in opening and closing phases and is frequently used to create rapport in general and humour in particular. While this is not a particularly original observation (see, e.g., Kalocsai 2013: 147–150; 158–163), it was especially well exemplified in the data from this group. The examples which follow in the remainder of the chapter illustrate some of the ways in which language, and especially different languages, are used in the interactions. To a large extent, these reflect the different strands of BELF communication: on the one hand, negotiating meaning for task purposes (clarifying discipline-specific vocabulary and developing a shared professional repertoire); on the other, negotiating meaning for social purposes and using other languages to create humour (building rapport and group bonding).

3.2 Excerpt 1 (*beziehen*): negotiating meaning for task purposes

The first example is taken from the "work" phase of one of the meetings. The students' roles in the simulation are as members of the marketing department of a toothpaste producer entering the Asian market. In this excerpt, they are discussing how many sales representatives they should employ for the various

Transcript 1: *Produkte beziehen* (acquire/obtain products).

1	**Christian**	= what is \<L1de\>beziehen {acquire, purchase, obtain}\</L1de\> I always
2		forgot what is \<L1de\>beziehen\</L1de\> in english? you \<L1de\>beziehen\</L1de\> products?
3	**Benone**	=you:=
4	**Christian**	=the company. i always want to say something for \<126
5		\>\<L1de\>beziehen\</L1de\> but\</126\>
6	**Benone**	\<126\> yeah yeah yeah \</126\>
7	**Christian**	then i say get or buy but=
8	**Benone**	=something like this
9	**Christian**	yeah but there's a there's a better word but \<127 \>there's a better word\</127\>
10	**Benone**	\<127\>achieve?=\</127\>
11	**Carina**	=obtain?
12	**Benone**	no \<128\>maybe\</128\>
13	**Christian**	\<128\>there's a\</128\> word i know but er
14	**Qingling**	what are you go- what word what do you want to say?
15	**Carina**	erm:
16	**Benone**	\<LNde\> beziehen\</LNde\>.
17	**Qingling**	what \<129\>what's that\</129\>
18	**Benone**	\<129 \>@@@\</129\>

19	**Christian**	for example i'm the the retail	**Benone**	\<LNde\> beziehen (2)
20		store i'm the independent	\<parallel	beziehen aus? \</LNde\>
21		store and i buy products from	conversation\>	
22		from the wholesaler or directly	**Carina**	\<L1de\>von\</L1de\>
23		from the manufacturer. and	**Benone**	\<LNde\> von. beziehen
24		i'm looking for a verb instead		von. \</LNde\> (.) (xx
25		of buy (.) you know a a more		that stupid xxx) \<LNde\>
26		sophisticated (.) a more		beziehen\</LNde\>
		sophisticated term for buy or		
		get. you know?		

27	**Qingling**	oh (.) ok.
28	**Christian**	but anyway a=
29	**Qingling**	=acquire.
30	**Benone**	acquire?
31	**Christian**	acquire is good. or generate? (.) generate. acquire is good \<130\>mhm\</130\>
32	**Carina**	\<130\>acquire\</130\> yeah.
33	**Christian**	acquire is good yeah (.) like acquiring a company: yeah acquiring goods
34		yeah that's good.

Note: The transcripts are based on the VOICE conventions: () indicate a pause; \<1\> \</1\> indicate overlap; @ indicates laughter; {} is my translation; \<\> are non-verbal actions relevant to the interaction. https://www.univie.ac.at/voice/page/corpus_description.

distribution channels, or customers (independent stores, wholesalers, other), in each country. This example shows the students negotiating both the meaning of a German word and the register of the English equivalent.

Negotiating and co-constructing the meaning of a German word in English, particularly terminology or subject-specific vocabulary, is a crucial strategy in multicultural student teamwork as the team members can draw on each other not only as resources for learning content, but also improving their language proficiency in terms of accuracy. The item in question in this excerpt is *Produkte beziehen*, 'to acquire/purchase/ obtain products', which represents a standard marketing collocation. From a BELF perspective, this is important in terms of being able to express content clearly and accurately (to "generate products", as Christian suggests in line 33 before rejecting it himself, would have a very different meaning and thus cause considerable problems if it arose in, for instance, a sales negotiation). Additionally, though it may sit uncomfortably with ELF scholarship in other domains, it could be argued that knowing the appropriate vocabulary of the discipline is necessary to come across as professional, even if Standard English norms are less important in other contexts. The issue of register in business communication is highlighted by Christian with his desire to find a "better word" (line 9) or a "more sophisticated term" (lines 26–27). Perhaps surprisingly, it is Qingling, who has the lowest proficiency in German and is clearly not familiar with the German term (line 17), who works out the translation they agree is best for it (in fact, Carina's suggestion of "obtain" in line 11 would also be fine). Once the term has been determined, Christian confirms the meaning of the word – and perhaps tries to anchor it in his repertoire – by linking it to a collocation he already knows ("like acquiring a company"; line 3). Lastly, the parallel conversation between Benone and Carina in lines 19–26, where he asks her which preposition is used with *beziehen*, shows the interest of the international students in learning the local language, and the bridging function of the local students who can help them to access it.

3.3 Excerpt 2 (*bǎo mǎ*): the multilingual and multicultural team as a resource

In this example, too, one of the students assumes a bridging function and helps her colleagues to make sense of an unfamiliar concept. However, in this case, it is one of the international students who acts as a "node": the students are discussing how to advertise their products in their target market (China), and Qingling alerts them to the fact that products need to have a Chinese name in order to be presented on the Chinese market.

Transcript 2: *bǎo mǎ* (precious horse/BMW).

1	Qingling	but like the: the advertising agency for the company they have to come
2		up with a chinese name for example like (1) like <spel> bmw</spel> <466> like </466>
3	Christian	<466>mhm</466>
4	Qingling	benz like every: every brand has a chinese name
5	Carina	okay so they don't say (.) <spel> bmw</spel> or:
6	Qingling	they say it but there uh: there is also a chinese name
7	Christian	there's a chinese name
8	Qingling	huh?
9	Benone	<spel> bmw</spel> is?
10	Qingling	<L1chi> bǎo mǎ </L1chi> it means like uh:m (.) um: (.) like uh (1) precious horse
11	Carina	mhm
12	Benone	precious horse
13	Christian	but in the end <467>they have</467>
14	Benone	<467>so cool </467>
15	Christian	<spel> bmw</spel>
16	Qingling	the the the <makes a gesture mimicking car badge>
17	Christian	the logo?
18	Qingling	yes=
19	Christian	=on the car=
20	Qingling	=yes=
21	Christian	=on the car so
22	Carina	okay
23	Qingling	@@@
24	Benone	mm-hmm (1) good to know

This excerpt illustrates how the multilingual context of an ELF interaction is also inherently multicultural and as such can provide added value, particularly in the business university setting. Qingling, who is Chinese, is able to provide her colleagues with first-hand experience and knowledge of the market they are planning to enter. Understanding these cultural business practices is essential, and not doing so would cost the team considerably in a "real-life" situation. Benone acknowledges this in line 24 ("good to know"), and all the team members engage with the topic through clarification and comprehension checks as well as backchannelling ("so they don't say BMW", line 5; "mhm", line 11; "so cool", line 14; "but in the end they have BMW the logo on the car?", lines 13,15, 17, 19; "okay", line 22). Additionally, we can also see some of the repetition that is frequently present in cycles of meaning negotiation in ELF and which can be seen as a means of ensuring and confirming understanding as well as an indication of alignment and listenership among the speakers (e.g. Björkman 2013: 37–38;

Lichtkoppler 2007: 56–58; Mauranen 2012: 220; Seidlhofer 2011; cf. also Harzing, Köster, and Magner 2011: 282). For example, Benone repeats the translation (line 12) to confirm that he has heard the answer and to ask for confirmation that he has understood the meaning correctly. Moreover, the repetition further serves to highlight the key notions of "a Chinese name" (lines 1,4,6,7) and the translation of the brand name BMW (lines 2,5,9,15) as "precious horse" (lines 10,12) (cf. Lichtkoppler 2007: 55–56; Mauranen 2012: 222).

3.4 Excerpt 3 (*dampf*): negotiating meaning for social purposes; using other languages to create humour

The third example is taken from the opening phase of a team meeting, when the students have not yet started working. As they sit down at the table, Qingling shows her colleagues a picture of a poster hanging in the bathroom, which is written in German.

Firstly, in contrast to the work phases observed in the other excerpts which were almost exclusively in English, this extract shows a clear transition in line 62 from relational talk (in English with a lot of German) to the transactional talk (which then continued almost exclusively in English). Analysis of the phases also revealed a difference in the way language was used in general. While the transactional talk that follows this excerpt was highly focused on the task and fairly efficient, the relational talk shown here displays an extensive cycle of negotiating the meaning of the word *dampf* ('steam', lines 28–59), which is essentially irrelevant to both the task and the word that initiated the sequence (*toilettenbürstenbenützungsanweisung*/'instructions for using the toilet brush', line 3). As such, its primary function is to create a sense of social bonding through the humour found in ridiculously long German words and through extending their shared (and individual) repertoire. In lines 12–18, Carina and Benone also find a common interest in a popular joke about the German word for speed limit and build on each other's turns to develop the joke. At the same time, the extract highlights the special role of German in the local linguistic landscape (the sign in the bathroom) and the international students' interest in learning the local language. The Austrians' examples of long German words (lines 20–21) are, incidentally, also local words relating to a company that operates on the Danube. While trying to explain the meaning of *dampf*, Carina draws on her full linguistic repertoire, including onomatopoeia (lines 31, 33); once they resort to looking the word up in an online dictionary (line 48), she confirms the use of the word in another context, as Christian did in excerpt 1 ("you say that one cooking also right?", line 54). Even more so than in the previous extract, the students repeat each other's utterances several

Transcript 3: *Dampf* (steam).

1	**Benone**	{reading} <LNde>toilett?- {toilet} </LNde> (.) oh my god this is a (.) single word.
2	**Carina**	hm:?
3	**Benone**	{reading} <LNde>toilettenbürstenbenützungsanweisung. {instructions for
4		using the toilet brush}</LNde> (6) that's cool?
5	**Qingling**	<1>@@@@</1>
6	**Benone**	<1>and this is a</1> single word?
7	**Carina**	{reading} <L1de>toilettenbürstenbenützungsanweisung. </L1de>
8	**Benone**	come o:n.
9	**Christian**	it's not a single word.
10	**Benone**	i like that joke <2>with the</2>
11	**Carina**	<2>there is</2> another long one.=
12	**Benone**	=i like that joke with the. (.) with the. speed limit you know?
13	**Carina**	ye:ah.
14	**Benone**	in every <3> language</ 3>=
15	**Carina**	<3> speed</3> speed limit=
16	**Benone**	=<LNde> geschwindigkeits-{speed}</LNde>
17	**Carina**	<L1de>-begrenzung. {limit}</L1de>
18	**Benone**	<LNde> -begrenzung</LNde>. alright.
19	**Carina**	but i think there is another (.) really long word. or th- (.) one of the longest.
20		<L1de>-dampfschifffahrtsanlegestelle? {dock for a steamship}</L1de>
21	**Christian**	er <L1de> dampfschifffahrtsgesellschaft?= {steamship company} </L1de>
22	**Carina**	=(alright) <4> alright. yeah.</4>
23	**Christian**	<4>er and<L1de> es geht</4> (.) um dampf<5>schiffe.{it's something to do
24		with steamships}</L1de> </5>
25	**Carina**	<5>with</5> three fs.(.) <L1de>schiFF(.)fahrts-. (.)
26		dampF:schiFF:fahrtsgesell<6>schaft.</6></L1de>
27	**Benone**	<LNde> <6>dampf </6> was ist? dampf. {steam what is steam}</LNde>
28	**Carina**	<L1de>dampf {steam}?</L1de> is like.
29	**Christian**	smoke?(.) no. not really <7>smoke.</7>
30	**Carina**	<7>no.</7> it's like (.) do you know the trains? that are no:t electric? but
31		they are that. <imitating steam train> tu:tu:? <8> pfpfpfpfpf :</8>
32	**Benone**	<8>oh so (.) those (.) </8> big ones. with?
33	**Carina**	yeah <imitating steam train> tshtsh<9>tsh: </9>
34	**Benone**	<9>yeah yeah <9>yeah
35	**Christian**	<9>it's NOT smoke? </9>
36	**Carina**	yeah like (.) they
37	**Benone**	i know what you mean.
38	**Carina**	they are <10>not? (o-) </10>
39	**Christian**	<10>er.=</10>
40	**Benone**	<10>no.</10> it's not smoke. <11>it's not smoke. i i know </11>
41	**Christian**	<11>it's not really: </11> but
42	**Benone**	no. I know

(continued)

Transcript 3: (continued)

43	**Christian**	a kind of (1) anyway.
44	**Benone**	causes hot er::? (1) air. or something. <un> xx</un>
45	**Christian**	yeah.
46	**Benone**	er::m
47	**Carina**	er:: m
48	**Christian**	i will check it out. {looks word up on laptop} (3) <L1de>dampf. </L1de>
49	**Benone**	mister bretele doesn't know.
50	**Christian**	steam.
51	**Benone**	<12>STEAM.</12>
52	**Carina**	<12>STEAM.</12>
53	**Benone**	steam. steam.
54	**Carina**	yeah: (there) you say that one (.) cooking also right? alright?
55	**Christian**	yeah I think <13>so. (.) </13>.
56	**Carina**	<13>for cooking?</13> =
57	**Christian**	=YEAH=
58	**Benone**	=yeah. yeah.
59	**Carina**	steam.
60	**Christian**	hhh
61	**Benone**	mm:
62	**Christian**	so let's continue? (1) <14><un>xxx</un></14>
63	**Carina**	<14>with the criteria?</14>
64	**Benone**	ok (4) so. (.) section one? (.) which invo:lves=
65	**Christian**	=marketsh- competitors. market<15>share. </15>
66	**Benone**	<15>mhm.</15> (.) yeah.
67	**Carina**	ok. competitive shares.

times (e.g. "*toilettenbürsten benützungsanweisung*", lines 3 and 7; "*-begrenzung*", lines 17 and 18; "*dampf*", lines 27 and 28; "smoke not smoke", lines 29, 35 and 40; "steam", lines 50–53).

Finally, note the reference to "mister bretele" in line 49. This (sometimes also "Dr Bretele") was a nickname given to Benone which was a recurring in-joke in the group's discourse. This practice of creating humour through ritualised code-switching in forms of address was also identified by Kalocsai (2013: 116–118) in her Szeged-based Erasmus community. Unfortunately, the origins of this nickname took place outside the team meetings and were therefore not recorded; however, they were discussed in response to a prompt in the reflective interviews conducted afterwards. The name "Mr Bretele" stemmed from a casual discussion about the students' plans for the coming weekend, when Christian, one of the Austrians, was planning to go to a party where the dress code was Austrian national dress. On describing his outfit, he realised he did not know the word for *Hosenträger* in English ('braces'[BrE]/'suspenders'[AmE]). After negotiating the

meaning of the German word for a while (in English), the students agreed they knew what was meant. Though they still did not know the English word, Benone offered the Romanian word (*bretele*). The Austrians in particular found the word easy to remember due to its phonetic similarity to *Brettl* (an Austrian word for a small board used to serve cheese and cold meats), and the word became a part of the team's shared repertoire (and in this context was clearly only meaningful to them); an example of Jenkins' (2015: 76) "repertoire in flux" which is "influenced during the course of an interaction by the language of their multilingual interlocutors". It is particularly noteworthy that *bretele* has a double semantic load in this context: not only did the non-Romanians learn the Romanian word for braces, but it took on a second meaning (i.e. Benone) within the context of the group. In contrast to the instance of Chinese in the previous example, which was shared with the group but not integrated into their repertoire, this example illustrates how individual repertoires can be shared with the group to create an in-joke and build rapport, strengthening the team's sense of community. Additionally, the back story to the in-joke reveals the prominent role of the local language as part of their everyday activities and the home students' role in bridging and explaining local linguistic and cultural phenomena. The mention of "mr bretele" here could be a humorous touch thrown in to mitigate their failure to discern the word in English, although the meaning now appears to have become clear; at the same time, the citation of an in-joke serves to strengthen the group's bond in a time of "crisis" (albeit only a minor linguistic one). It is also interesting to note that, with its integration into the group's repertoire, it is no longer marked as a code-switch. In contrast, Carina's use of German can be seen as fairly systematic code-switching with the intention of "teaching" the international students new words, as evidenced by her rather didactic explanation and repetition of "with three Fs. *schiff-fahrts. dampf-schiff-fahrtsgesellschaft*" (lines 25–26). However, Benone seems to have a somewhat more flexible approach to using his other languages, following Christian's lead by moving into German to ask "*dampf. was ist dampf*?" in line 27 but returning to English for his next utterance in line 32.

3.5 Excerpt 4 (*mi gfreits ned*): using other languages to create humour; language play with local dialects

The last example is also taken from a more informal phase, this time towards the end of a meeting. The students begin by discussing whether they will attend a "pre-party" taking place that evening. Qingling is no longer present.

Here, we see that the more social, less work-oriented phases of the meetings – i.e. those dominated by relational talk – reveal a more relaxed attitude towards

Transcript 4: *mi gfreits ned* (I'm not in the mood).

1	**Benone**	yeah. i love pre-parties.
2	**Carina**	but i don't want to go to this
3	**Benone**	=i don't want a club=
4	**Carina**	=something <L1de>pratersauna {a local club}<L1de> or so. (.) yeah maybe
5		we can just do it like last time and then just meet there and
6	**Benone**	i don't kno:w (1) <LNde>ich habe keine lust {i'm not in the mood}</LNde>
7	**Christian**	@=
8	**Benone**	=how is this in english? (.) <LNde>ich habe keine lust</LNde>=
9	**Carina**	=<L1de>ich habe keine lust?</L1de> (.) i'm not in the mood?=
10	**Benone**	=<65>not in the mood? i'm not</65>
11	**Christian**	=<65>i'm not in the right i'm not in</65> <66> the right mood</66>
12	**Benone**	<66>in the mood</66>
13	**Carina**	<66>right mood/66>
14	**Benone**	yeah yeah yeah
15	**Carina**	i- in <67>in in austrian you</67>
16	**Christian**	<67>i'm not in a party</67>animal mood
17	**Carina**	in austrian you would say <L1de>ich habe keinen bock {i'm not in the
18		mood}</L1de>
19	**Benone**	Bock
20	**Christian**	<L1de>mi gfreits ned. {i'm not in the mood, slang}</L1de>
21	**Carina**	<L1de><@>mi gfreits ned.</@></L1de>
22	**Christian**	@@@@@@@@@
23	**Carina**	@@@@@
24	**Benone**	what is this mean?
25	**Carina**	<L1de>mi <68>gfreits ned.</68></L1de>
26	**Christian**	<L1de><68>mi gfrei-</68> </L1de> i'm not interested at all. it sounds like
		this.
27	**Carina**	<L1de><@>mi gfreits ned</L1de> is like the way a polite way of saying it <@>
28	**Christian**	<69>@@ @</69>
29	**Carina**	<L1de><69>ich habe</69> keine lust</L1de>
30	**Benone**	hmmm <LNde>schleich di {get lost}</LNde>
31	**Carina**	@@<L1de> <@>schleich di</@></L1de> @@@
32	**Benone**	i love this.
33	**Carina**	and Qingling is every now always saying <L1de>griaß di {hello, dialect}</L1de>
34	**Benone**	yeah and and and and iliya's thing (.) <LNde>schnick schnack {knickknacks}</LNde>

including other languages than the "work" phases and often in fact centre on discussing words and phrases the students have encountered in their daily life in Vienna. Interestingly, in this extract, it appears that Benone is actually using the German phrase *ich habe keine Lust* to work out its English equivalent ('I'm not in the mood') and is thus drawing on one of the resources in his multilingual

repertoire to expand his other languages (in contrast to the example in excerpt 1, where Christian is trying to work out a term from his native language). Here there is again considerable repetition as the students engage with each other and the phrases being discussed ("in the mood", lines 9–13, 16; "*mi gfreits ned*", lines 20, 21, 25–27; "*schleich di*", lines 30–31). This is a particularly interesting example of introducing German as the local language since the expression given is not only in German but also in dialect, as Carina indicates ("in austrian you would say", lines 15 and 17). The Austrians then develop the joke by adding a further expression in dialect that is slightly more colloquial ("*mi gfreits ned*", lines 20, 21, 25–27). Although Benone does not know the expression (line 24), he enters into the spirit of the humour with another Viennese phrase he has learnt that is equally colloquial ("*schleich di*", line 30) and also an appropriate response to Carina's ironic comment that "*mi gfreits ned*" is "a polite way of saying it" (line 27).

This excerpt again illustrates very clearly the bridging function the local students have in helping their international colleagues to decipher local codes. On the other hand, it also shows how engaged the international students are in learning and using these codes, even at a very basic level: Benone says "i love this" language play (line 32) and Carina reports that Qingling uses a local greeting and another (Russian) classmate, Iliya, has adopted a German word as his catchphrase (line 33). The latter is also an interesting example relating to the wider classroom community of practice (cf. Smit 2010), as Carina explains later in the discussion: "[name of the professor] was using it when he tried to explain the kitchen they had in the sixties where they had so many ornaments everywhere and the flowers and *schnick schnack*". This is an example of a German word that arose in the classroom context and needed to be explained for the non-German-speaking students so that they could understand, participate, and enjoy the lesson, giving the local, German-speaking students the bridging role which has now been mentioned several times. However, once the international students had grasped the term, it was then adopted into an individual student's repertoire and thereby entered into the class parlance as an instance of humorous, ritualised code-switching (cf. Kalocsai 2013: 158–163).

4 Discussion and conclusions: multilingual ELF interaction in multicultural student teamwork

The four examples of ELF interaction given here illustrate both how the students use English as their lingua franca in teamwork on their EMP and the fact that, even when the medium of communication is predominantly (Standard) English,

the inherently multilingual and multicultural nature of this interaction means that the students often draw on their other (and shared) repertoires as the need arises. In work phases, instances of code-switching tend to be minimal and with a specific purpose aim of either gleaning or dispersing task-relevant knowledge, e.g. to find an equivalent term in English (excerpt 1) or to illustrate a point (excerpt 2). In contrast, the languaging practices in the social phases seem to be much more flexible and have a primary function of creating rapport beyond simply transmitting knowledge. In excerpt 3, for example, there is a mix of spontaneous code-switching resulting from impulses in the immediate linguistic landscape; strategic code-switching to "teach" the international students a new word; and the use of words in another language that seems to be more an integrated part of the team's shared repertoire than an actual switch. In this instance it may be more appropriate to talk about "translanguaging" (Creese and Blackledge 2010: 106) or "language leakage" (Jenkins 2015: 75) rather than code-switching. In excerpt 4, the discussion moves from finding an equivalent in English into something that is a hybrid of jointly constructed humour and a sense-making dialogue in Austrian dialect.

Not surprisingly, as the local language, German plays the strongest role in the students' shared multilingual repertoire after English. The local environment prompts a number of discussions about and in German. These impulses may be physical, as in excerpt 3, or part of the classroom discourse as seen in excerpt 4. Moreover, the prominence of dialects in Austria adds a further dimension to the notion and practice of German as the local language. The Austrian students therefore frequently acted as language "nodes" with a "bridging" function to make both the local language and culture more accessible for their international colleagues, even those who have some knowledge of (Standard) German. As Harzing, Köster and Magner (2011: 284) and Marschan-Piekkari, Welch and Welch (1999: 386–387) note, these facilitators play a vital role in easing both formal and informal information flows across language barriers, and having a wide linguistic repertoire as well as being able to act as a "bridge" are therefore excellent skills to have when entering a multilingual workplace.

The data also showed that the students' use of language reflected effective BELF communication to a large extent, and illustrated the inherently multilingual nature of such interactions. In excerpt 1, negotiating the meaning of a German term led to the co-construction of an equivalent technical collocation in English, even though the student who provided the phrase that was agreed upon as the best translation did not understand the original German item. In order to acquire knowledge of such business-specific vocabulary and to ensure clarity and accuracy in presenting business content, the students drew on a range of pragmatic strategies found in many studies of ELF interaction, such as clarification checks,

repetition and offering illustrative or alternative examples, some of which were in languages other than English.

Additionally, the students consciously or unconsciously allowed themselves time for rapport-building relational talk, the third cornerstone of BELF. As already mentioned, much of this was inspired by their local environment and often included discussions of words in other languages, particularly (Austrian) German. However, there were also instances of further languages, such as Benone's nickname of Mr Bretele (excerpt 3), which drew on a Romanian word but came to have a very specific meaning as part of the team's shared repertoire. These multilingual in-jokes helped to create a supportive and effective working climate in the team while still embracing the diversity of its members, and highlighted the team members' ability to connect at a relational level.

Finally, the students' excellent rapport with one another also facilitated the transfer of knowledge and business content in their work phases. For example, the relaxed and trusting group atmosphere allowed Christian to admit he did not know an English term in excerpt 1, and also welcomed Qingling's input about promotional strategy in China in excerpt 2. Learning not only to bridge linguistic and cultural barriers but to actively draw on the resources of a multicultural team is a crucial skill for managers of the future.

Indeed, as businesses become increasingly globalised, their employees have to be able to work effectively with colleagues from all over the world. Despite the challenges that accompany it, using English as a lingua franca is frequently seen as the most practical way to do so, whether this is decided from the top-down with the implementation of English as a corporate language, or emerges as the communicative medium of choice in an interaction between speakers of different L1s. As a result, business schools that aim to offer their graduates the best preparation for an international career need to provide them with professional, multilingual and multicultural encounters as part of their programmes. As this chapter has shown, teamwork projects that simulate "real" business activities are an excellent way for students to gain an insight into and experience of working in a lingua franca context for relatively low stakes, and to learn how to take advantage of the benefits of the inherent multilingualism of such settings.

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Marina Tzoannopoulou

"Is everything clear so far?" Lecturing in English as a lingua franca

Abstract: This study examines lecture comprehension in an English-medium programme in Greece where English is used as a lingua franca (ELF). Students' perception of lectures and their comprehension were analysed by means of a questionnaire and the lectures were further examined in order to investigate whether the use of questions in spoken academic discourse is an interactive device that facilitates comprehension. The study also involved interviews with students and academic staff who participated in the English-medium programme. The analysis showed that a considerable number of questions were found in those lectures which students reported as more comprehensible. Additional findings revealed that, contrary to previous studies, the use of questions in native language lectures (Greek) was significantly lower than in ELF lectures. The findings suggest that a) teachers use questions in ELF lectures as a scaffolding strategy to ensure comprehensibility of content, and b) lectures delivered in an ELF setting do not seem to have an adverse effect on lecture comprehension.

Keywords: English as a lingua franca (ELF), English-medium instruction (EMI), lectures, lecture comprehension, spoken academic discourse, interaction, questions, English for academic purposes (EAP)

1 Introduction

European higher education is currently undergoing a large number of changes as the result of internationalization and the efforts of the European Union to promote multilingualism and language diversity. One of the most tangible outcomes of internationalization is the development of English-medium instruction (EMI) in tertiary education. EMI is especially evident in Northern Europe and Scandinavia where there has been a vast explosion in the number of higher education institutions offering programmes exclusively in English (Wächter and Maiworm 2008), but it seems that Southern Europe and especially countries with small

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national languages are also following suit and are slowly but steadily increasing the implementation of such programmes. The expansion of EMI has been driven mainly by economic and social forces with educational objectives usually having a more marginal role. For most universities EMI is seen as a profitable enterprise ensuring the enrolment of more (paying) students. Institutions also believe that EMI improves their public image and possibly helps them attain a higher place in university rankings, ultimately bettering their chances of competition in the global education market. Educational reasons are also present, such as offering new degrees or preparing students for the global workplace and the international scientific community.

The academic staff and students who take part in EM programmes use English as a lingua franca, i.e. as a vehicular language. There are certainly advantages as to having a common language of communication: student and staff exchanges become easier, collaboration between institutions is less complicated, and dissemination of research reaches a wider audience. However, using a lingua franca as the medium of instruction brings in certain complications. In this respect, it would not be unwise to explore the effect of changing the language of instruction on the teaching/learning process and more specifically on the context of the university classroom. Lectures play a significant role in such environments as they still constitute the main means of imparting content knowledge to students in tertiary education. In contexts where students and lecturers do not share a first language and where the medium of instruction is English, lectures can be demanding for both teachers and students alike. The present study focuses on teacher discourse and, more specifically, on the use of questions in ELF settings and the role that they play in the construction of learner knowledge. There are two reasons behind this interest in teacher discourse. First, because teacher talk is considered quite demanding in terms of the complex discourse students have to face both from a conceptual (disciplinary) and a linguistic (foreign language) aspect and secondly, because it is necessary to sensitize content lecturers as to how teacher discourse can be exploited pedagogically to reinforce students in their learning process. Although the study of questions is not a novel area of interest (e.g. Cazden 1988; Chang 2012; Csomay 2002; Mehan 1979; Thompson 1998), research into the role and types of questions used in EM contexts and especially in ELF settings is much less frequent. The present study, therefore, attempts to fill this gap and aims to answer the following questions:

1.   Are questions used in EM lectures where English is spoken as a lingua franca, and, if so, what types of questions are they and how frequently are they used?
2.   What are the functions of questions in the above context?
3.   Do questions facilitate the general comprehensibility of a lecture?

2 Lectures and interaction

Lecturing in a second language has been extensively investigated since the 1990s. The majority of these studies involve lecturers who are native speakers of English lecturing to an international audience and they focus on the comprehension difficulties this audience experiences caused by the language of instruction. Issues that have been dealt with so far include vocabulary-related difficulties, proficiency issues (Flowerdew 1994) as well as cultural and pragmatic issues (Crawford Camiciottoli 2005; Flowerdew and Miller 1995; Morell 2004). However, the process of internationalization of higher education with the increasing use of English as the main language of instruction in lectures where both the audience and teachers are very often non-native speakers of English has made even more complicated the context of lecturing to an international audience. In these settings English is increasingly used as a lingua franca and both parties need to adjust to a situation where "English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option" (Seidlhofer 2011: 7). It is highly possible, then, that different and more demanding issues might arise when both lecturers and students are non-native speakers of English and have to face the extra challenge of a lecturing language other than their own.

A crucial issue that should be further explored, then, is how effective is the use of English as the lingua franca of higher education. A number of important but relatively few studies have investigated the role of English on the teaching and learning of content (Airey 2009; Klaassen 2001), the perceptions of students and academic staff as to English-medium instruction (Hellekjaer and Westerggaard 2003; Smit 2009), and students' self–assessment of lecture comprehension in EM courses (Hellekjaer 2010).

Research on ELF as an academic lingua franca includes investigation of form (Björkman 2010), and pragmatic issues such as negotiation of meaning by using accommodation strategies, preventing misunderstandings or using pragmatic strategies to prevent disturbance (Björkman 2011; Cogo 2009; Kaur 2009; Mauranen 2006; Smit 2009). Most of the above studies include dialogic speech, however there is some important work on monologic speech as well (Björkman 2011; Mauranen 2012). But are lectures to be considered an exclusively monologic genre? This calls for more investigation especially in ELF lectures which present the added complexity of involving students (and teachers) with varying degrees of language proficiency coming from different L1 backgrounds.

If we focus more closely on the academic lecture as part of institutional discourse, we should point out that the academic lecture is considered to be one of the more clearly defined genres of this particular community of discursive

practice (Mauranen 2012). However, there are differences to be found in the level of formality of a lecture which has led researchers to distinguish between lectures that are more monologic and lectures with a more conversational style (Morell 2004). Traditionally, a lecture has been defined as an extended holding of the floor in which one speaker, usually reading aloud from a pre-written paper, imparts his view on a subject using a slightly impersonal style (Goffman 1981: 165). However, the increasing use of English as the main language of instruction in lectures where both the audience and teachers are non-native speakers of English has had an impact on what may be considered the traditional lecture. Conversational style lectures where teachers deliver the lecture from notes, using a more informal style and allowing some conversation/interaction with students (Dudley-Evans 1994: 148) are increasingly becoming more common in contexts where non-native listeners are involved (Morell 2004), such as is the case with ELF settings. Despite their monologic nature interaction can be found in lectures (Benson 1994). Features such as turn-taking and co-operation or student-teacher dialogues are not uncommon (Csomay 2002) and the linguistic aspects that have been associated with a more interactive style of lecture include the use of a greater amount of personal pronouns (Fortanet 2004a; Morell 2004), interactive lexico-syntactic patterns (Crawford Camiciottoli 2004), discourse markers (Morell 2004), metadiscourse (Thompson 2003), and questions (Bamford 2005; Crawford Camiciottoli 2008; Dafouz and Garcia 2013; Fortanet 2004b; Morell 2004; Thompson 1998). However, only a handful of studies were identified which focused on the exclusive use of questions in EM and ELF contexts. Suviniitty (2012) analysed a number of ELF lectures in an engineering Master's programme at a Finnish university and reported that the lecturers' use of questions promoted the comprehensibility of a lecture. The present study, then, intends to bridge this gap and has as an objective to use the obtained results for the design of English for Academic Purposes (EAP) and teacher training courses especially relevant for contexts where English is used as a lingua franca.

3 Methodology

The material for the present study comes from an ELF setting at a Greek university, where English is used exclusively as the medium of instruction to accommodate the needs of Erasmus and international students. It is important to point out here that the number of English-medium programmes on offer in Southern Europe while increasing, still remains relatively small. Greece lags behind most Mediterranean countries in the implementation of EM programmes in the tertiary

sector. Consequently, there is a paucity of research in EMI in the context of Greek higher education which this study attempts to address.

For those few public universities in Greece that offer EM programmes the decision to do so is mainly an "English from below" initiative (Preisler 1999: 241) where the departments voluntarily offer programmes in English, this decision not being imposed by either administration or the ministry of education. It is worth noting that Greece has not signed the Bologna declaration, although it has gradually adopted some of its provisions over the last decade. The reasons behind this reluctance are mainly socio-political and ideological, involving the long-standing tradition of Greek academia on the importance of scientific research irrespective of its practical application and on the detachment of scientific knowledge from vocational skills. Consequently, the Bologna declaration was seen as an attempt to limit the state's participation in education policy and its funding and to convert universities into enterprises hunting for paying students in a competitive global market. Therefore, the decision of the Greek public universities to offer EM programmes lies not so much in the hope that the change would attract paying international students, although this is a reality to be acknowledged especially in the present economic downturn, but – as the present research indicates further on – it is established mostly in the belief that it would be important for study quality.

3.1 The context

The study took place in the 2014 spring semester and it involves the English-medium programme of the School of Journalism and Mass Communications at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. The School offers 16 courses in English for the benefit of Erasmus students who visit the School through exchange agreements. The participants were 23 Erasmus students from various European countries (Germany, Denmark, the Netherlands, Turkey, Poland, the Czech Republic, Spain and Sweden). The material used for the present study comprises six lectures delivered in English (7 hours and 36 minutes of recordings) given by five lecturers, all native speakers of Greek. The corpus also includes three lectures in Greek delivered by some of the professors who delivered the English lectures (3 hours and 57 minutes of recordings). The topics of both the English and Greek lectures belong to the social sciences domain, and focused on areas such as journalism, mass media and communication. The study also included a 20-item questionnaire using a four-level Likert scale (1 agree, 4 disagree) which was designed to tap into students' comprehension of the English lectures. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with the 5 lecturers and 10 of the Erasmus students who attended the EM courses.

3.2 Methods

The recordings of the lectures were analysed using Young's model of phasal analysis (Young 1994) which is based on Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004) and genre analysis (Martin 1997). According to this model the macrostructure of university lectures consists of six types of phases, including the interaction phase in which the teachers maintain contact with the audience through the use of questions, thereby ensuring the content of the lecture is understood.

Since the analysis of the lectures in the present study focuses on the use of questions, the methods draw on previous studies on questions in classroom discourse. Much ink has been spilt on the nature and function of questions and different classifications have been proposed over the years. Thompson (1998) identified audience-oriented questions, where the lecturer expects a response, and content-oriented questions, where the focus is on the topic being dealt with and where no response is expected. Mehan (1979) makes an important distinction between referential questions, which elicit unknown information, and display questions which check the understanding of the content. This polarity refers to whether the question is known by the lecturer (display) or not (referential). Display questions usually invoke short responses while referential questions generate longer and more authentic stretches of speech from the students and as such they are considered to be more ideally-suited for classroom use (Dalton-Puffer

Table 1: Taxonomy of questions used in the study.

Types of questions	Examples from the data
Referential questions This type of question is used to invite the student to supply information that is unknown to the lecturer (examples 1 and 2). Since this is considered to be the normal purpose of a question they are deemed to be more real and authentic.	1. Which newspapers are you going to examine, have you made that clear? 2. And what about you in Spain, did you have any educational format within public TV?
Display questions In contrast to referential questions, display questions are used by the lecturer to find out the actual knowledge of the students on the course content. The teacher is already in possession of the answer. The lecturer pauses for an answer (example 3) and sometimes insists by repeating or rephrasing the question (example 4).	3. Do you know what short attention span means? (a student answers) 4. Why do you think that children's programming is profitable? Why is it profitable? (teacher pauses for an answer)

Table 1: (continued)

Types of questions	Examples from the data
Rhetorical questions Rhetorical questions generally do not require a response from the audience and their function is, often, to provide information about the content or to encourage further reflection on the part of the student. The lecturer does not pause for an answer but usually responds directly to his/her question (examples 5 and 6).	5. They discovered what we call, the zoom lens, what is a zoom lens? (teacher answers) A zoom lens is a system of lenses like that as we can see here (teacher shows video) 6. How do TV producers defend their programming? What do they say? (teacher answers) The first thing they say is that the media reflect reality.
Confirmation/Clarification questions This type of question is used to check whether the students have understood the information presented by the lecturer (example 7) or to check if the professor has correctly understood the student's previous comment (example 8).	7. Do you understand what I'm saying? 8. Teacher: So on Tuesday June 3rd we can have the exam it will be a discussion on your essays Student: What day it's on? Teacher: Sorry? Student: What day it's on? Teacher: What…? Student: What day? Teacher: Tuesday

2007: 96). In this study a combination of taxonomies was adopted to categorize questions. An additional category was also included (confirmation/clarification questions) to adapt better to the data found. Table 1 briefly describes each of the categories and their functions in the combined framework.

4 Data analysis and discussion

After data collection the questionnaires were analysed and the lectures were grouped into two broad categories: those that students found more comprehensible and those which they found less comprehensible. As the lecture groups were rather small, ranging from 6–10 students, a sophisticated statistical analysis was considered unnecessary. Percentages were computed in order to compare the lectures. All lectures were manually transcribed and all instances of questions in the recordings were identified. For analytical purposes, a question was identified as such based not only on its form (i.e. wh-words, inversion) but also on intonation and utterance function. The analysis focused on the most accessible (in terms of comprehension) and the least accessible (or more demanding) lectures rated as

Table 2: Questionnaire items and their calculation values.

		Agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Disagree
1.	I understood the content of the lecture well. (R*)	1(4)	2(3)	3(2)	4(1)
2.	Most of the lecture was unclear to me.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
3.	I concentrated on the English language used so I missed some of the content.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
4.	I did not understand the content of the lecture.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
5.	It was difficult to follow the lecture but it had nothing to do with the English language used.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

* R indicates that this item is reverse-scored

such in the student questionnaires. Table 2 shows the series of items used in the questionnaire to delve into the students' perception of the lectures. The number of statements (5 in total) is intentionally high in order to obtain a more holistic view of the students' perception of the lectures and their comprehension. Both positively and negatively worded statements are included (Dörnyei 2007). Based on the values for each item the most positive comprehension value obtainable from one student would be 20 and the lowest value would be 5. Since a different number of students attended each lecture, the calculated totals were divided by the number of students who were present (i.e. averages were used in order to find a comparable value for each lecture).

In order to categorize lectures in terms of difficulty, it was made possible to place lectures on a continuum, based on the student responses to the questionnaire. Lectures 1, 2 and 3 (L1, L2, L3) were deemed to be more accessible than lectures 4, 5 and 6 (L4, L5, L6). Table 3 shows how the comprehension values of each lecture were calculated based on the student responses to the questionnaire. The pivoting point was identified through the use of mode in the averages of the lecture comprehension values. The first mode (3.40) was used as the cut-off point between the demanding and accessible lectures.

The inevitable question that arises in this respect is whether the interactional features of lectures, and especially the use of questions, could be considered a facilitating factor as to the comprehensibility of those lectures deemed by students to be more accessible. When the more accessible lectures were scrutinized in comparison to the more demanding ones, it was noticed that those lectures that students found more comprehensible contained a far larger number of questions than those which they marked as less comprehensible. Table 4 shows the duration, the word count and the number of questions found in each lecture, including also the frequency of questions per 1000 words. Table 5 offers

Table 3: Lecture continuum based on comprehension value.

Lecture	Comprehension number value	Comprehension value average	Number of students	
L1	18.3	3.66	9	accessible
L2	17.0	3.40	6	accessible
L3	17.0	3.40	10	accessible
L4	14.15	2.83	6	demanding
L5	13.0	2.60	10	demanding
L6	12.25	2.45	6	demanding

Table 4: Description of ELF lectures.

Lecture	Duration	Number of questions	Word count	per 1000 words
L1	97:55	149	9855	15.12
L2	26:58	41	3127	13.11
L3	78:29	93	8699	10.69
L4	16:57	9	2000	4.50
L5	62:44	24	6722	3.57
L6	160:46	31	20394	1.52
Total	441:89 (7 hours, 36 min)	347	50797	

Table 5: Number of questions in each lecture and student responses to the questionnaire.

Lecture	Questions	Questions	Student responses to the item: "I understood the content of the lecture well"			
			Agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Disagree
	Number	Frequency per 1000 words				
Accessible			%	%	%	%
L1	149	15.12	67	33	0	0
L2	41	13.11	50	50	0	0
L3	93	10.69	40	60	0	0
Demanding						
L4	9	4.50	0	34	49	17
L5	24	3.57	10	30	40	20
L6	31	1.52	17	16	50	17

a detailed breakdown of the questions found in each lecture, featuring also the responses of the students to the first questionnaire item. From this table it is evident that the more comprehensible lectures, L1, L2 and L3 prompted only positive responses ("agree" and "somewhat agree") while the more demanding lectures L4, L5 and L6 presented more difficulties in terms of comprehension as they received more "somewhat disagree" and "disagree" responses from the students. It is noteworthy that the more accessible lectures exhibit higher rates in terms of question frequency per 1000 words (starting with the highest value, 15.12 in L1, moving to 13.11 in L2 and ending to 10.69 in L3). The demanding lectures, on the other hand, start with only a 4.5 question frequency rate in lecture L4, which shows that the lecturer asked only a limited number of questions, followed by 3.57 in L5 and finally exhibiting a very low frequency rate of 1.52 questions per 1000 words in L6. We could, therefore, assume that the use of questions in those lectures (L1, L2, L3) which students found as easier to understand could be considered a facilitating factor that adds to the general comprehensibility of these lectures.

Turning now to the types of questions found in the ELF lectures, Table 6 presents the types and numbers of questions found in each lecture.

It is evident that the overwhelming majority of questions used by the lecturers in the present study are referential questions. Referential questions are quite often regarded as more natural, and are expected to trigger more authentic and complex answers than answers to display questions (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 96). Their limited presence in classroom discourse is often lamented. Moreover, it has been pointed out that answers to display questions are very restricted and frequently consist of only one word. Previous research has demonstrated that in L2 contexts display questions prevail over referential questions (Musumeci 1996:

Table 6: Types and numbers of questions in ELF lectures.

	Duration	Referential questions	Display questions	Rhetorical questions	Clarification/ Confirmation questions	N Total
L1	97:55	96	35	11	7	149
L2	26:58	18	2	16	5	41
L3	78:29	53	26	4	10	93
L4	16:57	9	0	0	0	9
L5	62:44	11	1	10	2	24
L6	160:46	16	1	5	9	31
N Total		203	65	46	33	347
Percentage		58.5%	18.7%	13.2%	9.5%	100%

299; Zuengler and Brinton 1997: 26). This trend does not emerge from the present data as we clearly notice a preponderance of referential questions over display questions at a percentage of 58.5% to 18.7%, a finding which was also reported by Dalton-Puffer (2007: 101) in her study of CLIL secondary classrooms in Austria. One possible explanation of this finding is the fact that all teacher questions which are part of the regulative register of classroom discourse are referential. An important distinction to be made here is between the regulative and the instructional register of classroom talk (Christie 2000, 186–190). The regulative register involves utterances which have to do with the pedagogical activities connected to the topic of the lecture, such as instructions for tasks or requests to start or stop an activity. In addition, utterances for physical working conditions or personal needs of the participants may be included. The instructional register, on the other hand, is dominated by demands for information where students are engaged with dealing with the actual content of the lecture. What follows is a typical sequence from the data, part of the regulatory register, which involves many referential questions. Such sequences were found to be highly present during the initial, the transitional and the closing stages of the lectures (pseudonyms are used to protect the students' anonymity).

Extract 1

T: **Where were you?**

S1:   I was in Crete.

T: **And you didn't have the test?**

S1:   No.

T: OK (laughing) so everybody is back from their trips, **who's missing today? Helen? Daphne? Helen is she in your team? She will come, do you think so?**

S2:   She will come, she was supposed to be here at 10 o' clock.

T: **Ah, she was supposed to here at 10 o'clock? Did you call her or send her a message?** Oh this is Helen, welcome.

S3:   Sorry I'm late.

Referential questions, however, are frequently used in the instructional register of the present lectures as well. Since it has been implied that teachers should use referential questions more often in order to elicit more genuine and real information from the students, then, the abundance of referential questions in the present study is a very positive finding, indicating that these ELF classrooms are a setting where exchange of real information takes place in an authentic way. However, previous studies have questioned the implication that referential questions trigger longer and more authentic contributions on

the part of the students as in their data, students' output to referential questions was limited and often reduced to minimal responses (Dafouz and Garcia 2013: 142). A careful scrutiny of the referential questions used in the instructional register in the present study will reveal nevertheless that, although these questions occasionally trigger limited responses from the students, in many cases they do trigger long stretches of speech involving more complex structure. In the following extract from a lecture on children's TV the teacher addresses the issue of educational TV and begins by asking display questions first (e.g. educational TV is, do you know what it is?) and then moves on to ask a series of referential questions (e.g. And it has to do with what, what kind of programmes? And it's still on air? How many years now?) to elicit unknown information about educational TV in the countries where the Erasmus students come from, thereby drawing them in a long conversation. Student 1 (S1) offers a rather limited output, despite being repeatedly prompted by the teacher, while student 2 (S2) produces a much longer stretch of speech making the discussion more informative.

Extract 2

T: Have you heard did you have any educational TV? Educational meaning, not like movies that make up things like social messages and things like that educational, educational TV is, do you know what it is? (waits for an answer) Would you like to say? (waits for an answer) You, yes?

S1:   In my country?

T: Yes, whatever.

S1:   Public TV has a channel, it's called Teletest study, it's about…

T: It's a special TV channel within the public one.

S1:   Yes.

T: **And it has to do with what, what kind of programmes?**

S1:   About mathematics, about history.

T: Actually the school lessons.

S1:   Yes, yes.

T: **And it's still on air? How many years now?**

S1:   I don't know like 30, 20 maybe.

T: **20, really?**

S1:   Yes, because my university started this and…

T: **Ah, and still on air?**

S1:   And my university has money, so it is still on air.

T: **And does it have any appeal to the children?**

S1:   I'm not sure but probably.

T: **It addresses to school children or?**

S1:   School children.

T: School children. **And it has only lesson studies there?**

S1:   Lessons and games sometimes.

T: **Foreign languages for example?**

S1:   No, maybe for English.

T: **Is it popular?**

S1:   Yes, everybody knows.

T: Everybody knows **who watches it?**

S1:   Who?

T: **Who watches it?** That's what I mean by appeal.

S1:   Students mostly.

T: **OK, and what about Russia?**

S2:   In Russia we have some cultural channels mainly it's about art, about some museums, about movies and also they have for example every Friday and Monday they have some lectures from Moscow university so some teachers and professors go to have some lectures in TV so it might be interesting now because it has changed and they have progressed because from my opinion 10 years ago it was interesting only for old persons because they could not afford to go to museums so they switched on the TV.

Turning now to the use of display questions, it is evident from the present data that although, in general, teachers do not use them as often as referential questions, they are mostly to be found in lectures L1 and L3. In the case of known-answer questions students are requested to display their knowledge on a certain topic and the teacher is interested in the state of the mind of the student. The findings in the present study show that display questions are used mostly as a structuring device in the content-oriented classroom: introducing new topics, directing the focus of the students and moving the lecture forward. Moreover, display questions place a topic centre stage allowing the students to make a contribution to the shared construction of knowledge, which would be beyond their capacity to construct on their own. For example, in Extract 3 the lecturer is using display questions to test the students' knowledge on the perception of motion by the brain. He encourages collective negotiation and he gradually corrects misunderstandings before offering the right answer. In this way the display questions used here serve to establish an agreed account of events witnessed collectively by the students (Wells 1993: 27) and as such declaring it part of common knowledge. McCormick and Donato (2000: 197) highlight the role of display questions in the classroom by pointing out that they "function as dynamic and discursive tools to build collaboration and to scaffold comprehension and comprehensibility".

Extract 3

T: Another question I would like to put is also do you understand why when we are talking about cameras, many things are the same, eh both in photo cameras that we take still images and in cinema or video or TV that we deal with motion pictures **why it's the same?** (waits for an answer) **Can you, do you have it in your mind why is this process very similar? Yes?**

S1: Because motion capture is a lot of pictures in a row put together perceived as motion to us but actually it's not the exact capture of the whole moment, so it's the same it's capturing motion.

T: It's the capture of many moments.

S1: No, no I said it captures motion like a still picture.

T: **You said a lot of pictures together OK?**

S1: Yes.

T: **In a row?**

S1: Yes.

T; **OK, do you know how many? Alex?**

S2: Thirty.

S3: Twenty-four in one second.

S2: Ah yes.

T: Actually it has to be more than 15 per cent, OK? There are many different formats in European TV they use 35 per cent in systems, in Japan they use 30 per cent OK? In cinema they use 50, actually in order for our brain to perceive this motion and not a spasmodic movement it has to be more than 15, more than 15 pictures per second.

Rhetorical questions were the third most frequent type of questions used in the present study. This type of question does not seem to favour any type of intervention on the part of the students as the teacher does not pause after the initial question but moves on either to offer an answer or to change the topic of the lecture. The function of the rhetorical questions in the present study is twofold: they are either used to lead the student to upcoming information or they encourage the student to reflect on the question; in the second case no direct answer is provided. What follows is a characteristic extract from a lecture on international relations and the media where the lecturer asks a series of questions to help a French student with her assignment. The teacher does not provide answers, nor is it in his intention to do so; instead, his questions serve as a springboard for reflection on the part of the student. Thus, the rhetorical questions in this case seem to fulfill the purpose of stimulating the student's thoughts in order to encourage her to construct her own answer. Only in his final two confirmation questions (Do you understand what I'm saying? Do you agree?) does the teacher make an attempt to ensure that the

student has understood the main points that her assignment should cover. From the answer of the student it is evident that his message has come across.

Extract 4

T: **What are the main characteristics of Greek-Franco relations? Is it friendly or hostile? What is the historical position of France in that?** Examine let's say the general position of France of how to deal with countries in Europe that create problems, you know, **is it one that facilitates solutions? Is it one that facilitates stereotypes? Negative ones? And if it does why is this the case? Is this the case because France is a great power with a leading role in the EU? Is it because the French president has a particular ideological position? Is it because the EU is creating more problems for big countries today than it used to create in the past?** Do you understand what I'm saying?

S: Mmm, yeah OK.

T: Do you agree?

S: Yeah, yeah, what do the French people think about in general, about Greece and the big crisis.

T: Yes, yes.

In the following two rhetorical questions (extracts 5 and 6) the question-answer sequences are initiated by the lecturer who performs both the questioning and the answering part. The lecturer is in possession of the answer but he still asks the question and provides the students with the answer without pausing or waiting for a response. Bamford (2005: 126) has suggested that this control over the question and answer sequence is an effective attention-focusing mechanism. Moreover, she has proposed that by using the prosody of spontaneous conversation, such question/answer sequences can "serve to induce the student into thinking that what is taking place is an interactive sharing of ideas and information" (Bamford 2005: 126).

Extract 5

T: **What is a multimedia conglomerate?** This is actually a group of companies under common ownership under a holding company that operate in almost all fields of the production of culture.

Extract 6

T: Within any society the cultural capital is unequally distributed. **Why?** Because the educational system in all countries actually re-creates an unequal distribution of cultural capital.

The last type of question found in the data is used to request confirmation/ clarification from the students. The lecturers frequently pause to ask questions such as "Is that all right so far?" This category represents roughly 10% of the total number of questions and its presence, although not very high, could be explained by acknowledging the possibility that, in an ELF context, teachers might feel the need to establish that the audience has understood their message and also to clarify instances of misunderstandings. In the following extract the teacher requests clarification from the student as he hasn't heard exactly what she is saying. These instances are not uncommon in the data, which is something to be expected as both teachers and students are non-native speakers of English and occasional misunderstandings might arise.

Extract 7

T: So are there any other questions about your essays?

S: How many words it should be?

T: **Sorry?** Speak…

S: How many words?

T: **How many words?** Ah, how many words, it's about 2500 words, it's not a very long essay, **OK**?

What deserves some attention at this point is that a careful analysis of the present data will reveal that all types of questions stimulate some kind of response, either brief or lengthy. However, the type of question (e.g. referential or display) in itself does not seem to predetermine the type of, or how much, interaction it will generate. Additional factors appear to play a determining role such as the topic of the lesson and how much it touches upon the question asked or the teaching style and the floor space given to students. Similar findings were reported by Smit (2010) in her study of ELF in academic classroom discourse.

From an ELF perspective an interesting question that could be posed here is whether the use of questions could be influenced by considerations of language competence as Dalton-Puffer (2007: 125) has suggested. In other words, is it possible that teachers use questions as a compensatory strategy to make up for difficulties arising from the students' limited foreign language proficiency? In order to answer this question it would be interesting to analyse contrastive data taken from L1 and L2 lectures that belong to the same discipline which together with qualitative data from interviews would shed some light on the function of questions in both L1 and ELF contexts. To this end three more lectures delivered in Greek on the same topics, by some of the same lecturers who delivered the English lectures, were also analysed in order to determine whether the frequency of questions in the L1 lectures (Greek) were similar to those delivered

in the ELF setting. Since a number of studies (Airey 2009; Klaassen 2001) have reported that native-speaker (NS) lectures, that is lectures delivered in the students' and teachers' native language, contain more interactional features than non-native speaker lectures it was considered necessary to investigate whether this would be the case in the present study. Thus, it was deemed appropriate to compare those lectures which were considered more comprehensible by the students and which included more questions, that is lectures L1, L2 and L3 with lectures delivered in Greek by the same teachers (henceforth identified as lectures G1, G2 and G3).

Table 7 shows the number of questions used in the Greek lectures and also their frequency per 1000 words. Table 8 offers a detailed breakdown of the types of questions used in both the Greek and ELF lectures which allow us to compare the results. It is interesting to note that the Greek lectures feature considerably lower numbers of questions when compared to the ELF lectures. In an effort to interpret this finding these lecturers were asked during the face-to-face interviews as to their use of questions during the Greek and ELF lectures. All three teachers mentioned that their use of questions in the ELF lectures was clearly intended to engage the students into a discussion about the topic(s) involved, and to make sure that the content of the lecture was

Table 7: Description of Greek lectures.

Lecture	Duration	Number of questions	Word count	Frequency per 1000 words
G1	67:16	24	7852	3.05
G2	54:30	21	6743	3.11
G3	92:79	36	11340	3.17
Total	214:25 min	81	25935	

Table 8: Breakdown of questions in Greek and ELF lectures.

Questions	G1	G2	G3	L1	L2	L3
Referential	5	6	10	96	18	53
Display	6	3	4	35	2	26
Rhetorical	5	4	8	11	16	4
Confirmation/Clarification	8	8	14	7	5	10
Total	24	21	36	149	41	93

understood. The teachers voiced their concern about the students' level of English and they reported that they were sometimes worried that the content of the lesson would not be thoroughly understood, so they made sure through the use of questions that difficult points were clarified. It could be, then, suggested that their use of questions can be seen as a scaffolding strategy which has the purpose of assisting students in making a contribution to the co-construction of meaning which they would be unable to achieve on their own. Regarding the limited use of questions in the Greek lectures the teachers mentioned that they assumed Greek lectures to be generally well understood by native speakers since the lectures were delivered in their native language, thus they would seldom pose questions (apart from checking occasionally with confirmation questions such as, "Is everything clear so far?"). This is an interesting finding which suggests that ELF academic lectures do contain interactional features, such as questions, which in some cases outnumber equivalent features in native speaker lectures. A similar finding was reported by Suviniitty (2012: 186) in her study of ELF and native-speaker lectures in a Finnish higher institution. It may, then, be the case that when lecturing in a foreign language teachers try to ensure the students' comprehension through the use of various devices, interactional features included, which they do not seem to consider so necessary in native-speaker lectures. Consequently, we may reach the conclusion that academic lectures delivered in an ELF setting do not seem to have an adverse effect on student comprehension. However, as a note of caution it should be pointed out here that the audiences of the Greek lectures were somewhat larger, involving 30–40 students, when compared to those of the ELF lectures which comprised 6–10 students. It may well be the case that larger audiences favour a more monologic and less interactive type of lecture where the lecturer keeps distance from the audience and refrains from asking many questions (Crawford-Camiciottoli 2005).

4.1 Interviews with students

The selection of the students who participated in the interviews was done carefully by taking into consideration their country of origin. Special care was taken to include students from the Netherlands, Sweden and Denmark who have a reputation of being fluent in English and also to include students coming from more disadvantaged foreign-language environments like Turkey. Overall, 10 students out of 23 were interviewed. The interviews focused mainly on three aspects: a) students' self-reported communicative competence in English, b) attitudes towards English as a lingua franca and English-medium instruction, and c)

comprehension of the English lectures. All students reported either an upper-intermediate (6 out of 10) or an advanced level of English (4 out of 10). Interestingly, all of them reported to have studied English on average for more than eight years. With regard to the students' attitudes towards the use of English as a lingua franca it seems that the majority of the students view English as a shared language and a natural resource to draw upon for international communication. Seven students referred to the "global spread of English" and the fact that it is "a language that connects all people" regardless of their own native language, religion or race. These responses show an awareness of ELF as a language that connects people on a global scale.

Regarding the students' attitudes towards the implementation of English-medium instruction 7 out of 10 students think that a course taught entirely in English is "more motivating" and does not have an adverse effect on participation. Most students felt that the choice of English as classroom language was an asset because it allowed cross-cultural communication, it offered practice in English as the international language of media and communication and, consequently, prepared them for their future workplace. Furthermore, eight students mentioned that the teachers' and students' competence in English is a decisive factor in the successful implementation of such programmes. In addition, all 10 students reported that the level of interaction, through the use of questions, should increase for the successful learning of the course material. As one of them characteristically said, questions help her "focus on the topic" and they make the content more memorable and "easier to understand".

4.2 Interviews with lecturers

The five lecturers who participated in the present study (four male, one female) are all native-speakers of Greek, in their mid-forties and they have all been involved in the School's English-medium programme for more than five years. The interviews focused mainly on the following points: a) communicative competence in English, b) attitudes towards English as a lingua franca, and c) attitudes towards the implementation of English-medium programmes.

With regard to the lecturers' self-reported communicative competence in English all five teachers ranked themselves in the upper-intermediate/advanced level, and they reported that their reading and writing skills were better than their listening and speaking skills. It is interesting to note here that all teachers consider a high competence in English as an important condition for the successful implementation of English-medium instruction. In this respect, two of

the teachers express their concern regarding their "weak" interpersonal skills when dealing, for example, with misunderstandings, or in informal discussions or humorous exchanges with students when there is a change of register. A similar finding was reported by Dafouz and Núñez (2009: 104) in a study of teachers' reactions to the implementation of CLIL programmes at the tertiary level in Spain.

Regarding their attitudes towards English as a lingua franca, there seem to be mixed reactions on the part of the teachers. While all of them acknowledge the importance of English as a "tool" in teaching, research and international communication, three of them believe that they should adhere to NS norms and conform to the British or American standards. What is worth mentioning here is that although all teachers show a positive attitude towards the implementation of English-medium instruction they lament the fact that there is a lack of administrative support from the Greek educational system (financial incentives, academic recognition, excessive workload, lack of appropriate technological equipment). However, they are all willing to continue teaching in the EM programme as they feel it contributes to the international profile of the School and it increases "study quality".

The majority of the teachers also acknowledge the intercultural nature of the programme and they view it as a generally "positive experience" for students and staff. Nevertheless, they also comment upon the difficulties students have with English, especially their lack of subject-specific vocabulary in the foreign language, something that might lead to "confusion and misunderstanding". As to the measures teachers take to remedy this situation we have already mentioned in the previous section that some of them resort to asking many questions in order to ensure comprehensibility of the content. More specifically, during the interviews the teachers revealed an awareness of the fact that English was an additional language and that it might cause problems for some students. In an attempt to build classroom talk and integrate students more actively in conversation, some teachers mentioned that they resorted to reformulating their questions in order to make them linguistically and propositionally easier, thus making use of a scaffolding strategy. It is worth noting here that all teachers believe in the exchange of questions and answers as a means to enhance interaction. However, as we have already seen not all of them resort to this strategy, although – in theory – they seem to embrace it. A careful observation, of Table 4 will reveal great variations among the individual professors in terms of question frequency. It is highly possible that factors that are commonly assumed to be part of a teacher's personality such as openness or extraversion should also be taken into consideration in the interpretation of the data. Such factors are, however, beyond the scope of the present study.

5 Conclusion and pedagogical implications

The purpose of this chapter was to raise awareness as to the importance of teacher discourse and more specifically to highlight the use of questions in ELF lectures as an interactive device that enhances comprehensibility of content. The findings of the study show that questions in ELF lectures are used to elicit genuine and authentic information from the students which in many cases lead to long stretches of speech, involving complex structures. Questions are also used to check understanding of the content through collective negotiation of meaning which leads to the construction of shared knowledge. Moreover, lecturers use questions as a stimulating device, a tool which encourages further reflection in an independent way. But the most important finding of the study is that lecturers report in the interviews that their use of questions in the ELF lectures is a deliberate strategy, "a special effort", to ensure comprehensibility of the content. It is worth mentioning here that the students found those lectures containing many questions as more comprehensible and accessible, a finding which adds credit to the hypothesis made in the present study that the use of interactive devices, such as questions, in the ELF lectures facilitate the comprehensibility of the content. What also seems to be encouraging is the fact that the lecturers in the present study appear to acknowledge the special requirements of these lectures. They are aware of the fact that their audience is linguistically heterogeneous and that they themselves and the participants do not share a first language, making it essential to take certain extra measures to ensure comprehensibility. Communicability, one of the key principles of ELF, seems to be given preference in these lectures where the teachers make effort to get their message across through the use of interactive devices in a genre, such as that of the lecture, which is considered to be predominantly monologic.

The abundant presence of referential questions intended to trigger conversation and draw the students into more extended discussions and also the presence of confirmation questions are in line with the two interactional features of English-as-a-lingua-franca classroom discourse described by Smit (2010), the principle of explicitness and the principle of joint forces. The first refers to the effort made by all classroom participants to express what they mean in an accurate way, while the second refers to the eagerness of all parties to contribute to the linguistic exchange, where appropriate, in order to make classroom talk more communicatively effective. It seems, then, that the use of questions in academic contexts where English is used as a lingua franca can be seen as an interactive device that contributes to mutual comprehensibility. Overall, it appears that lectures are becoming more interactive especially in contexts where English is used as a lingua franca since both teachers and students seem to be more willing to

cooperate in order to achieve comprehension. These results are in line with those reported by Suviniitty (2012), and Dafouz and Garcia (2013) who in their analyses of English-medium lectures suggested that the lecturers' use of questions can be seen as an interactive device that paves the way for a more fluent negotiation of meaning and of the content delivered. However, further research with a larger corpus will allow us to draw a more general conclusion about the use, classification, and role of questions in ELF lectures.

Regardless of the above limitations, the implications and applications of the present study to EAP design and pedagogy are distinct. Given that the students found those ELF lectures which included more questions easier to understand, non-native speakers of English should become aware of the underlying structure of the lecture genre and, in particular, of the underlying rationale of the use of questions in ELF lectures. The findings of the study as to the primary function of questions in lectures can be implemented by EAP teachers and materials designers not only to enhance non-native speakers' of English awareness but also to support them in improving their lecture comprehension skills. Moreover, the findings of the study could be used as part of the materials design for teacher training programmes that will contribute to the improvement of the lecturing skills of the non-native lecturers who take part in English-medium programmes. From a pedagogical perspective such awareness of teacher discourse seems to be of paramount importance since the overwhelming majority of lecturers working in EM contexts are not language experts, and consequently need to be trained to become aware of their discourse and of how interactional strategies such as questions can be used as a facilitating strategy which can enhance content and language learning. Furthermore, the conclusions drawn from the present study allow us to reflect upon the pedagogical implications closely related to the use of English as a lingua franca in higher education. Since in most tertiary contexts students have to cope with complex disciplinary and linguistic discourse it would be interesting to analyse teacher discourse and see how experienced academics adapt it for the benefit of an audience which is linguistically and culturally heterogeneous. Teachers are not usually taught how to adapt their discourse in a way that enhances the communicative capability of the learners which should, if we follow ELF principles, involve not so much what learners are required to achieve in the way of NS linguistic competence but rather what they can achieve with the language they have learnt. Teachers could also benefit from a training programme that would place some emphasis on the characteristics of ELF usage as this would allow them to view more comprehensively their own lecturing skills (see Sifakis 2007 for ELF teacher education). As the native speaker model may make non-native speaker lecturers feel insecure and inferior when lecturing in English (Jenkins 2007) then the findings of the present study, which has indicated

the interactivity of the English lectures as opposed to the native-speaker ones, could alleviate some of the fears and insecurities of the non-native speaker lecturers regarding their use of English. Overall, and in line with what other researchers have suggested about the pedagogical applications of their findings (Mauranen 2012; Pérez-Llantada and Ferguson 2006; Seidlhofer 2011; Smit 2010) the results of this study could be incorporated in a teacher training programme which would highlight the importance of interactional strategies (i.e. the use of questions) in ELF lectures as a tool which facilitates comprehension in a natural way. Moreover, these findings could contribute to the students' learning process since paying attention to the way lecturers use questions can activate understanding, support the construction of knowledge and, ultimately, reinforce communicative success.

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Carmen Pérez-Llantada

ELF and linguistic diversity in EAP writing pedagogy: academic biliteracy in doctoral education

Abstract: The internationalization agenda of higher education institutions in Europe has placed English at the forefront of the provision of language instruction. This privileged position, however, does not always acknowledge the functionality and creativity of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) or promote and respect linguistic diversity in academic settings. In this chapter I would argue that English for Academic Purposes instruction needs to recognize the true scope of ELF and other academic languages in today's academic and research communication. In making this argument, this chapter reports on the outcomes of the implementation of a biliteracy approach in an academic writing course to postgraduate students at a Spanish research university's PhD programme. Description of the instructional course and its theoretical influences as well as concrete details and exemplification of the course contents are provided. As described in the chapter, the biliteracy approach provided rich linguistic input through genre-based models, awareness-raising tasks and opportunities to contrast and put into practice the linguistic, discursive and rhetorical features of academic writing in ENL, ELF and in the students' academic L1. This, in turn, proved to raise the students' sensitivity towards some characteristics of ELF use in academia and, more broadly, the value of plurilingualism for research communication on a global and local scale.

Keywords: English for Academic Purposes, English as a Lingua Franca, academic biliteracy, multilingual genre learning, task-based approach, linguistic diversity

1 Introduction

Over the past decades internationalization and research policies worldwide have privileged the status of English as the main lingua franca for academic and research communication. The prescriptive English-monolingualism move (Coulmas 2007) has criticized the spread of English in academia to the detriment

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of other academic languages (Ferguson 2010; Fiedler 2010). Yet, both junior and senior scholars from linguacultural backgrounds other than English perceive English as a Lingua Franca as very advantageous for building an academic career, reaching a wide audience and gaining international prestige and recognition (Buckingham 2014; Ferguson, Pérez-Llantada, and Plo 2011; Hanauer and Englander 2011; Jarc and Godnič Vičič 2012; Muresan and Pérez-Llantada 2014; Uysal 2014).

One of the reasons why English has become the prevailing educational language in the context of higher education can be found in the drive towards internationalization and its underlying premises: greater access to international students, student and staff mobility and greater institutional prestige and visibility worldwide. Even if the regulatory context of European HE institutions is highly diverse (Byrne, Jørgensen, and Loukkola 2013: 27), documentary evidence reflects the educational philosophy shared by all European HE institutions, one that places international prestige and increased competitiveness at the forefront of mainstream institutional interests. By way of illustration, the Framework for the Internationalisation of Doctoral Education Project developed by the European Universities Association describes doctoral candidates as "one of, if not the, most mobile group within universities".[1] This project emphasizes the strategic importance of doctoral education for the successful implementation of internationalization visions. Similarly, the European Consortium of Innovative Universities (ECIU) places "student exchange and internationalising the student experience among the top priorities" with a view to strengthening students' professional development.

Not dissimilar is the aspiration for internationalization underpinning the Royal Decree/Ministerial Order 99/2011,[2] the document that regulates the educational profile of graduate students in Spanish doctoral schools, the educational context discussed in this chapter. This document includes several recommendations issued by European HE fora as regards the importance of empowering early-career scholars professionally, one of them being the need to provide them with an educational context that "incentivizes communication and creativity, internationalization and mobility" (R.D.: 3). It is also interesting to note that internationalization even lies at the root of the current accreditation (quality assurance) processes of Spanish doctoral programmes. The Ministerial order states that assessment of the degree of internationalization of these programmes will be done on the basis of such indicators as the existence

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1 http://www.eua.be/eua-projects/current-projects/FRINDOC.aspx
2 BOLETÍN OFICIAL DEL ESTADO No. 35 10 February 2011, Royal Decree/Ministerial Order 99/2011.

of networks, staff/students participation and transnational mobility, international and European PhD diplomas, international co-authored publications and organization of international seminars and conferences R.D, p. 8). In sum, there seems to be a tacit understanding that English needs to be adopted as an international lingua franca and that the use of English needs to be promoted to conduct these internationalization-oriented activities. In many ways, the taken-for-granted understanding of the role of ELF for supporting internationalization aspirations recalls Ferguson's (2010: 118) observation that English is accepted "[...] because people are seduced by dominant discourses that portray English as a beneficial language of modernisation, opportunity and economic competitiveness".

At this juncture, though, one might likewise assume that the lack of an explicit linguistic policy in the Royal Decree acknowledges plurilingual practices in global communication and takes it for granted that, in addition to English, other academic languages also play a role in the internationalization of academic activities. A wealth of literature reports that academia is linguistically diverse, as academic languages other than English also have a foothold in global academic communication. By way of illustration, the Scientific Electronic Library Online of Latin American and the Caribbean (SciELO), a directory providing open access to 1,249 journals, and Latindex, an open access database of 24,561 journals, support scientific communication in Spanish and Portuguese (Pérez-Llantada 2012, see also Arias-Salgado et al. 2009; Pabón and da Costa 2006 and Ammon 2006 and Martin and Chabolle 2010 for German and French respectively). While the scenario of graduate education in the 1990s was one where "the training of scholars to process and produce academic and research English [was] a major international endeavour" (Swales 1990: 1), today the plurilingual dimension of learning emerges as a major educational challenge.

In the absence of an explicit linguistic policy, the language provision for doctoral students in the Spanish context has no unanimous nation-wide agreement as regards what academic language(s) is/are to be taught for internationalizing graduate students' experience. It appears somehow inconsistent that while the websites of the Doctoral Schools of the 51 Spanish public universities convey a manifest vision for internationalization, their language planning and language instructional initiatives do not reflect a common agreement as regards how best to empower graduate students to become successful communicators in global academia. Some universities offer short-term academic English courses. Others provide academic literacy instruction in Spanish while others do not offer any specific academic instructional provision. If one aligns with Knight's (2011: 14) claim that internationalization is "a legitimate area of policy, practice and research in higher education", one may conclude that 'internationalization' has not yet been

consolidated as a strategic policy area in the Spanish Doctoral Schools surveyed. There seems to be no consensus about what language instruction best serves to empower graduate students professionally.

I would argue here that micro-level language planning is one feasible way of implementing an instructional approach sensitive to the predominant use of ELF and to the plurilingual dynamics of today's academic and research communication. It is hypothesised that plurilingual instruction is "truly international" language education, as it could help the graduate students become skilled academic communicators both in ELF, in their own L1 and, desirably, in other academic languages. In what follows I report on the outcomes of the implementation of a biliteracy approach to academic writing for postgraduate students at a Spanish research university's PhD programme. I explain the theoretical influences that guided the planning and the design of the instructional course. Description of the course and concrete details, as well as exemplification of the course contents and methodology are provided. Finally, the outcomes of the implementation of the programme within the current EU benchmarks for quality assessment in language provision services are discussed.

2 Institutional response to internationalization

The University of Zaragoza (UZ) is a large Spanish university with circa 30,000 students. It is one of the top-ten Spanish universities according to the number of graduate students (2,388 graduate students, 1,529 graduates in EEES doctoral programmes, and 424 incoming students in 2014–2015). The Doctoral School is a primarily (Spanish) monolingual academic site. Of all graduates, 83.8% come from Spain and only 16.4% are international students. The School's educational provision for the graduates includes ten interdisciplinary training courses. 'Academic English' was the course that the institutional managers set up to equip graduates for communicating effectively in international contexts.

Planning and setting up the biliteracy approach first involved drawing on learning theories to decide an approach to instruction and a particular instructional emphasis. The starting point to design the course was a target situation/ learning situation analysis (Bocanegra-Valle 2015; Paltridge et al. 2009). This analysis identified three main information sources: (i) the institution's expectations and views of language learning and teaching, (ii) the students' educational, language and literacy needs, and (iii) the target language use situations and tasks the graduates were expected to engage in during their professional lives. These three sources are briefly summarized below.

Content analysis of the institution's website and policy documents revealed that English is regarded as a key lingua franca for communicating in the global academic community. Over the past twenty years, the institution has been very favourable towards the provision of academic English instruction for researchers and staff. As part of the institution's professional development programme, short EAP courses have been imparted over the past 20 years. Course descriptions (<http://www.unizar.es/ice/>) indicate that this language provision has been mainly oriented towards training the participants in effective academic spoken/ written communication skills in English. This institutional commitment to supporting English instruction may explain the UZ's quick response in setting up academic English instruction for its graduate students in the form of a 20-contact hour course. Reasons for this short time duration were, firstly, time constraints, as EAP instruction was one out of 8 doctoral courses that graduates were expected to take over one academic year and, secondly, funding constraints to cover all teaching costs. The School commissioned a group of EAP researchers from the Department of English and German Studies in the local institution to plan and design the instruction.

Formal instruction started in the academic year 2013–2014 in the form of 'Academic English' courses designed for the graduates enrolled in the PhD programmes in the different disciplinary areas (business and economics, education, law, humanities, physical sciences and engineering, and biological sciences and medicine). The official document regulating Spanish Doctoral Education mentioned earlier (Royal Decree/Ministerial Order 2011) served to identify the general linguistic and communicative needs of these early-career scholars and to select the repertoire of academic genres that the courses were going to focus on. As stated above, the Royal Decree/Ministerial Order explicitly mentions activities such as participation in research networks, collaboration with international staff and students, joint supervision, co-authoring of papers with international researchers and participation in international seminars. In view of this, the instructional design followed Swales (1990, 2004) and placed the focus on those written/spoken research-oriented genres expected to be used in target language use situations.

Because of the institution's urgency in setting up the instruction, no detailed analysis of the students' educational, language and literacy backgrounds was conducted, which could have been desirable. It was thus thought appropriate to administer an online needs analysis questionnaire to identify the group's overall language competence and academic literacy backgrounds at the beginning of the course. Aspects included in this questionnaire were the students' self-reported confidence in academic literacy skills, their genre knowledge needs, their previous experience with and exposure to academic genres

and situations, and areas of academic language use in which the students were strong or felt they needed support (namely, using scientific terminology, general English vocabulary, constructing sentences, constructing paragraphs, organizing information in a text, using the appropriate register and style conventions, pronouncing in English, speaking in English, interacting with other speakers in English).

To explore a possible way in which EAP instruction might be better informed by an understanding of ELF (Seidlhofer 2011) and linguistic diversity (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1993), a biliteracy approach was implemented in one of the Academic English courses. Essentially, this approach sought to elicit awareness of the use of ENL (English as a Native Language), SNL (Spanish as a Native Language) and ELF (English as a Lingua Franca) for academic and research communication purposes. Theorization on the formal features of academic English texts written by non-Anglophone scholars has been extensive. Several concepts have been coined to characterize and describe academic texts that simultaneously exhibit textual features of academic ENL and textual features of the scholars' L1 academic discourse, among others, 'academic Englishes' (Mauranen, Pérez-Llantada, and Swales 2010), 'interdiscursive hybridity' and 'core/non-core phraseology' (Pérez-Llantada 2012, 2015) and 'non-canonical grammar' (Rozycki and Johnson 2013). The literature has further argued that the non-Anglophone writers' writing cultures strongly influence the use of English, eventually rendering a hybrid discourse. In spoken ELF research, ELF is understood to be a mean of communication used by both native and non-native speakers of English (the majority being NNS). Acknowledging this approach, in the classroom context reported in the present study 'ELF' was likewise used to reflect upon the functional use of English by Spanish scholars writing for academic and research communication purposes. Description of the instructional course and its theoretical influences as well as concrete details and exemplification of the course contents are provided below.

3 Why biliteracy learning?

3.1 Theoretical rationale

As argued by Wingate (2012), in the context of EAP education it is helpful to draw on theoretical models to design effective approaches to L1/L2 academic literacy development. The broad underlying rationale for implementing a biliteracy

approach was the theoretical view that the L1 plays a positive role in SLA/SLL cognition processes in bilingual education and ELT (Cook 2007, 2008; Cook and Bassetti 2011). Cook (2007) explains that learning second languages with a mind that already knows another language influences the learners' knowledge and use of both languages positively. In view of Cook's claims, the underlying theoretical rationale for implementing a biliteracy approach was Gentil's (2011: 7) suggestions for an academic biliteracy EAP pedagogy. This author advocates the combination of literacy and bilingualism to address the learning needs of multilingual academic writers. He explains that L1 and L2 knowledge are bidirectional and, thus, genre knowledge in one academic L1 is transferable to another academic L2. Two main aspects from Gentil's approach were considered crucial for implementing the biliteracy approach in the EAP course: the fact that the students may "adopt, in their L1 writing, a particular rhetorical feature (such as making a counterargument in an essay) they were taught in a L2 writing class, if they believe this feature to be of value in a given L1 context of writing" and, on the other hand, the fact that cross-linguistic transfer of genre knowledge "promotes not only dual language development but also cultural sensitivity with regard to genre performance in each language" (Gentil 2011: 20). This latter aspect was viewed as particularly supportive of a pedagogy sensitive to ELF.

The following subsections describe the implementation of the biliteracy approach, which was conducted in the Academic English course of the PhD programmes in the fields of Medicine & Health Sciences. The students were adult learners (aged 23–27) in year 1 and year 4 of the doctoral programme. Instruction involved working with a mixed-ability class, as the students had different levels of academic literacy competence in Spanish, the students' L1, as well as in general English and in basic academic English. It was initially hypothesised that the pedagogical value of the approach, namely, to engage students in the analysis and critique of academic texts in ENL and ELF in parallel with texts in academic Spanish, could raise awareness of the functionality of ELF and promote plurilingual skills development. It should be stressed, though, that the tasks designed to include biliteracy skills learning were framed within the EAP academic writing pedagogy, as this was the established institutional requirement.

3.2 Course methodology and learning tasks

Overall, the formal instruction subsumed in its design Swales and Feak's (2009: xiii) cycle for rhetorical consciousness-raising – analysis, awareness, acquisition, achievement – in genre- and task-based pedagogy. A corpus- and genre-based instruction was deemed pedagogically suitable insofar as it enables top-down

and bottom-up approaches to the analysis of academic texts. Top-down activities proceeded from the analysis of contextual aspects of texts (genres) for social interaction to the analysis of specific linguistic features of language. Bottom-up activities first focused on lexicogrammatical features of genres to later elicit reflection on appropriateness of language use in the context of academic and research communication. The biomedical component of the *Spanish English Research Article Corpus*, which comprises texts representing academic ENL (i.e. texts written by scholars whose first language is English), academic ELF (texts written by scholars whose first language is Spanish) and academic SNL (texts written by scholars whose first language is Spanish) constituted the core of the analytical tasks done by the students. All the tasks designed for the course were informed by corpus-based research and they all aimed at inducing noticing, engaging the students in contrasting academic writing in English and in their L1 and putting into practice writing skills. The tasks were designed to provide students with opportunities to engage in linguistic analysis of academic ENL (L1 academic English), academic ELF (L2 academic English) and academic SNL (L1 academic Spanish). Through exposure and critical analysis of corpus-based models along the lines proposed earlier (Feak 2010; Cortes 2007; Mansfield 2014), the course methodology sought to elicit awareness and critical reflection of the typical research genres and their linguistic and rhetorical realizations. Some of these tasks are illustrated below.

An initial task aimed at raising the students' awareness of the existing linguistic diversity in their own disciplinary community. It elicited group discussion on the reasons that determine academic language(s) choice for national, cross-border and international academic knowledge exchange. In other words, the task sought to make the students think about the role and functions of academic Spanish, academic English and other academic languages in typical academic activities. As can be seen below, the task included a representative genre repertoire.

Task. Think about the language(s) you use in the following academic activities and the reasons for choosing one (or several) language(s). Write down your answers and discuss them with your partner.

a.   Reading scholarly literature (journals, monographs, proceedings, others):
b.   Reading journal articles:
c.   Writing abstracts:
d.   Writing journal articles:
e.   Writing reports:
f.   Writing case studies:
g.   Writing conference abstracts:
h.   Writing grant proposals:

i.   Listening to lectures:
j.   Giving conference presentations:
k.   Writing bionotes:
l.   Writing a cv.:
m.   Writing academic emails:
n.   Writing in blogs:
o.   Others (please specify):

The following task was designed to situate English in the context of international academic and research communication. It also sought to invite the students to share their perceptions of the prevailing use of English and enabled the instructor to introduce the concepts of 'ELF' and 'ELF user'.

Task. Consider the following views about the predominance of English as a Lingua Franca for intercultural communication.

Many people regard the English language as an opportunity for speakers of other languages to participate on the world stage. The increased dominance in world affairs of the USA meant that English has assumed a lingua franca role in business, higher education, research and tourism, to mention just a few of the more economically significant domains of language use. Others, however, see it as a threat to the national languages of Europe and even as a threat to national cultures and identities. (Source: English in Europe: Opportunity or threat? http://englishineurope.group.shef.ac.uk/*)*

The spread of English is as significant in its way as is the modern use of computers. When the amount of information needed to be processed came to exceed human capabilities, the computer appeared on the scene, transforming the processes of planning and calculation. When the need for global communication came to exceed the limits set by language barriers, the spread of English accelerated, transforming existing patterns of international communication. (Source: Phillipson, R. 1992. *Linguistic Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 5–6.)

Do you agree with these views? Justify your answer.

All the learning tasks engaged the students in both analysis (differentiating, discriminating, distinguishing, focusing) and evaluation (checking and critiquing) of the corpus-based models. More broadly, they were designed with a view to showing the students how research-oriented genres act as participatory mechanisms for social interaction among researchers, a majority of whom are not native speakers of English. By way of illustration, the task below aimed at providing rich linguistic input on a prototypical research-oriented genre (in terms of information organization and schematic structure, language and style conventions). At the same time, it sought to invite reflection on language choice in relation to the genre parameters of 'audience' and 'set of communicative purpose(s)' (Swales 1990).

Task. Collect a small reference corpus of abstracts (about 10) from one English-medium journal and a Spanish-medium journal in your disciplinary field. Select three abstracts, one written by ENL researchers, one by ELF researchers and one by SNL researchers.

What is the communicative purpose of these texts?

Notice how contents are organized. Label the sentences of each abstract with one of the following tags, if applicable: introduction – materials/methods – results – discussions – conclusions – implications.

Who is the audience? A small, local audience? A national audience? An international audience?

Notice the language used in the abstracts. How can you describe it? Is it formal or informal? Justify your answer.

As explained above, the theoretical rationale underlying the implementation of the biliteracy approach was the view that the implicit, acquired knowledge of academic genres in a language may provide the base for learning genres in another academic language (Gentil 2011; Salö and Hanell 2014). In line with these theoretical claims, the tasks were designed to make the students recognize that their knowledge of the research genres they use in their academic L1 (Spanish) is transposable to the academic L2. The task below illustrates how analysis and reflection on corpus models sought to bring in awareness of the pedagogical role of the L1 in the L2 learning process by guiding and showing the students ways of establishing linkages between text-composing in their academic L1 and text-composing in academic English. In other words, instruction sought to engage the students in using their L1 genre knowledge as a scaffold for acquiring and learning L2 genre knowledge.

Task. Read the following selected extracts from article introductions. Do they follow the conventional rhetorical organization (Create-A-Research-Space, C-A-R-S)?

ENL
While the K562 cells provide a convenient system for the study of HbF production, the model is limited in that these cells are growth factor-independent and do not produce adult hemoglobin […]. Primary human erythroid progenitors isolated from CD34-selected peripheral blood provide a more relevant alternative in which to study HbF induction by drugs. Work by Miller's group has nicely demonstrated […]. To date, however, the role of cyclic nucleotides in HbF induction, which has been well established in K562 cells, has not been rigorously explored in primary erythroid cultures. In this report, we compare the actions of HU, SB, and AZA on HbF induction in primary erythroid cultures focusing on the involvement of cyclic nucleotides in this process.

ELF
Selective inhibition of the function of antiapoptotic Bcl-2 proteins is an attractive strategy for either […]. It has recently been reported that elimination of overexpressed Bcl-2 rapidly induces apoptosis and remission in a murine B-lymphoblastic leukemia model […]. Until now, these compounds have been tested mostly in cell lines, with only two reports describing HA14-1 as

inducing apoptosis in a small number of primary acute myeloid leukemia samples [26,36]. Here, we analyze the effects of the Bcl-2 inhibitors HA14-1, antimycin A, and the novel pan-Bcl-2 inhibitors GX15-003 and GX15-070 on CLL cells ex vivo.

SNL
El factor VIIa recombinante (rFVIIa) cataliza y amplifica la conversión de factor X a factor X activado en la superficie de las plaquetas en ausencia de factor tisular (FT). [...] El riesgo de trombosis inducida por rFVIIa se describe como bajo2. Clínicamente ha sido utilizado desde hace años en pacientes hemofílicos4,5, y más recientemente su espectro de indicaciones ha ido aumentando a pacientes con hemorragias graves refractarias a tratamiento quirúrgico o manejo médico6,1,2. Se presenta una cohorte de enfermos críticos, que recibieron terapia con rFVIIa, describiendo datos clínico-epidemiológicos. Los objetivos del presente estudio fueron evaluar aquellos marcadores asociados a mortalidad que permitiesen identificar de manera precoz a los enfermos con más posibilidades de supervivencia cuando se instaura terapia con rFVIIa.

Using C-A-R-S, write a brief introduction in Spanish explaining your current PhD work to an audience of local practitioners.

Now, using the same information organization, write a brief introduction in English to explain your current PhD work to an international audience.

Other tasks built on the students' previous L1 knowledge to raise their awareness and engage them in reflection on phraseological, discoursal and pragmatic features of academic English (ENL and ELF) and academic Spanish that are similar and features in which ENL and ELF and ENL and SNL differ. The following tasks focused on the different discoursal and pragmatic features in ENL and ELF and in and ENL and SNL, focussing on hybridity as an intrinsic feature of the ELF texts. In particular, drawing on the students' implicit knowledge of academic Spanish (see glosses), the tasks aimed at stimulating group discussion of discourse features such as the phraseology of stance and the use of interpersonal metadiscourse markers and address aspects of academic face and persuasion across academic writing cultures. The corpus extracts selected for the task were typical and representative of the Anglophone and the Spanish academic writing culture. The ELF extract was an example of a text containing formal features of both writing cultures that was accepted for publication in a journal and, hence, functionally appropriate to purpose.

Task. In the following extracts the writers convey different degrees of authorial commitment and build their argumentation differently. Read the extracts and discuss them with your partner.

ENL
We propose that MRI is an important adjunct in staging tumours prior to conservative surgery. However, there are few studies in the literature reporting the use of MRI in staging penile neoplasms [8–13]; the studies are limited by small patient numbers. The aims of this study were [...]

ELF
However, most of the available data arise from patients who underwent an allo-SCT using BM as the source of hematopoietic stem cells, while information on patients receiving peripheral blood (PB) stem cell support or reduced intensity conditioning regimens (allo-RIC) is scanty. In addition, in previously published studies the control group was based on randomly selected healthy individuals, but to our knowledge there is no paired study that specifically compares [...]. To specifically address this issue, we analyzed [...]

SNL
Aunque/[although] el hemocultivo se considera la base para el diagnóstico de la bacteriemia, el valor de los hemocultivos en pacientes en que se sospecha bacteriemia es cuestionable, debido a que/[due to the fact that] [...]. Además/[In addition], los resultados de los hemocultivos pueden no tener ningún impacto en el tratamiento o, incluso, llevar a un tratamiento inapropiado. A pesar de estas limitaciones, parece que el uso de hemocultivos puede llegar a ser excesivo/[Regardless of these limitations, it appears that the use of hemocultures can become excessive] en los pacientes adultos hospitalizados. El objetivo de este estudio es determinar/ [the aim of this study is to determine] [...]

Task. The following language features are used in the extracts below. Discuss with your partner how and why writers use these features in the discussion sections of their articles.
– personal pronouns and oblique forms (*we*, *our*)
– reason-result markers (e.g. *therefore*, *thus*, *as a result*)
– modals (*can*, *may*, must, *ought to*) and semi-modals (*seem*, *appear*)
– epistemic verbs (e.g. *suggest, indicate, demonstrate*)
– passive constructions (e.g. *x has been described as...*)
– evaluative adjectives and adverbs (e.g. *important*, *clearly*)
– that-clauses (e.g. *x shows that..., x indicated that ....*)
– anticipatory it + to-clauses (e.g. *it is important to...*)

ENL Discussion
Our results demonstrated that: (a) haemophilic conditions result in the formation of an altered fibrin clot structure; (b) FIX has a dose-dependent effect on clot formation and stability in the presence of plasmin; (c) haemophilic clot structure can be partially normalised if clots are formed in the presence of high doses of rFVIIa; and (d) high dose rFVIIa improves the formation and stability of haemophilic clots formed in a fibrinolytic environment. [...] Our results demonstrate that fibrin clot formation also requires a thrombin generation level that promotes clot formation more rapidly than fibrinolysis occurs and that this condition is not met in haemophilia. Lisman et al (2002) demonstrated that the low thrombin concentrations produced during haemophilic clot formation are insufficient for the formation of activated TAFI, and that this is the primary mechanism for the increased susceptibility to fibrinolysis and bleeding diathesis [...]. Thus, our results suggest an effect of rFVIIa on haemophilic clot formation that operates independent of, but probably in addition to, the TAFI-mediated effects described by others. [...] Studies have shown that the efficacy of rFVIIa is improved the earlier it is given after injury (Lusher, 1998). Thus, rFVIIa may function by strengthening the primary clot and preventing the onset of a clot lysis/rebleeding pattern, as well as improving clot reformation after a primary clot fails. It is important to note that in our study, as in previous studies of

haemophilia, neither thrombin generation nor the onset nor rate of fibrin clot formation were completely normalised by the presence of rFVIIa at pharmacologically relevant doses. Thus, rFVIIa does not completely bypass the role of FIX, but improves fibrin clot formation enough to provide adequate haemostasis.

ELF Discussion

The concentration of death receptors in lipid rafts following ALP treatment rendered MM cells more sensitive to the action of death receptor ligands. This is of particular importance for TRAIL, as this ligand shows a promising and selective antitumor action in different cancer cells 45 as well as antimyeloma activity 46,47. Thus, our findings indicate that edelfosine and perifosine are not only effective in the killing of MM cells, but they might be valuable drugs in combination therapy. In addition, MM1R cells, that showed resistance to dexamethasone treatment, were readily killed by these ALPs, suggesting that these agents could circumvent drug resistance in MM. Edelfosine has been shown to induce cell killing in MM cells resistant to doxorubicin, melphalan, mitoxantrone, VP-16, cytoxan, and vincristine 48, and perifosine has been reported to be cytotoxic to MM cells resistant to dexamethasone and melphalan 49.[...] A remarkable finding of the current study is that ALPs killed malignant MM cells, sparing normal cells derived from the same patient. Normal B and T cells as well as vascular endothelial cells were also spared. This agrees with previous reports showing that edelfosine is not toxic to normal cells at concentrations that kill a broad range of tumor cells 8,10,51. The present findings further support the notion that ALPs are effective in the treatment of hematologic malignancies, and that the induction of apoptosis through co-clustering of death receptors in lipid rafts is a promising target in cancer therapy.

Task-based instruction also sought to encourage group discussion of some formal features occurring in the texts written by Spanish scholars that do not conform to ENL features. Further, it sought to illustrate that non-conformity to conventions in Spanish or English writing did not inhibit effective communication and eventual acceptance for publication. By way of illustration, the task below focused on both grammatical, discoursal and rhetorical aspects that the literature describes as distinctive formal features of texts written in English by Spanish academics (Pérez-Llantada 2012; St John 1998): length of syntactic constructions, wordiness, use of clausal subordination and coordination and complementation and argument construction and circumlocution. The task was designed to illustrate how academic texts written by non-Anglophone writers are appropriate for functional purposes and, more broadly, that these writers can be considered "[English] language users in their own right" (Seidlhofer 2004: 214).

Task. You're currently working on your PhD. Write a statement indicating the specific goal or purpose of your PhD.

Now look at the following statements of purpose from two published journal articles. Compare them with your own statement of purpose.

ELF
In order to gain further insight into the potential impact of BCR/ABL gene expression on leukae-mic CML cells, the present study analyzed the cell cycle distribution of different BM cell compart-ments in CML patients at diagnosis in comparison with NBM and correlated the proliferative rate of each cell population with BCR/ABL gene expression in highly purified fractions of BM cells.

SNL
El objetivo del presente trabajo ha sido evaluar los resultados de la aplicación de un protocolo de análisis de LCR en España y Portugal durante 3 años para el diagnóstico de deficiencias pri-marias del metabolismo de los NT y pterinas y de los defectos en el transporte de glucosa y folato a través de la barrera hematoencefálica en pacientes pediátricos con trastornos neurológicos de origen desconocido.

The comparison of the texts written in English by Spanish scholars with texts representative of ENL and SNL paved the way for a final group discussion on both the formal conceptualization of "academic English*es*" (Mauranen, Pérez-Llantada, and Swales 2010) and on the functional conceptualization of ELF as appropriate to research communication purposes.

Task. The following extracts comment on the way Spanish scientists perceive the use of English for research writing purposes.

[Spanish] researchers frequently commented on the inadequacies of Spanish as a scientific lan-guage; it is 'less precise, longer, and more variable in structure.' Americans and British write for 'bobos', and a child's language is required. (Source: St. John 1998)

Think about the writing style you used when drafting the statement of purpose in a previous task. How would you define your style? Tell your partner and summarize your ideas below.
Other groups of non-native English-speaking scholars also tend to use some linguistic and rhe-torical features of their own L1 academic language when writing in academic English. Here are two comments illustrating this point:

[Slovak academics are] less aware of subtle degrees of truth commitment and of potentially face threatening acts than their English counterparts. (Kourilová 1998: 112)
Polish authors tended to adopt a defensive position as if trying to shun the responsibility for misreadings of their formulations, to anticipate criticisms and questions, or else to clarify their intentions. (Duszak 1994: 307)

Discuss the following questions with your partner:
– When writing in English, do you adopt the normative ENL conventions? Give reasons for your answers.
– Do you think 'academic Englishes' should be accepted/acknowledged in today's research world? Justify your answers.

What conclusions can we draw?

In closing the group discussion, it was finally concluded that ELF was appropriate to communicate research on a global scale among scholars from both Anglophone and non-Anglophone linguacultural backgrounds. As Seidlhofer (2011: 7) notes, considering that ENL speakers will generally be in a minority, their English will be less and less likely to constitute the linguistic reference norm.

In sum, a pedagogy sensitive to ELF is consistent with broader current claims in the ELT context. Cook (2016), for example, questions the use of the native speaker (NS) model in language teaching, and thus advocates a pedagogy that de-centralizes NS target language norms.

4 Validating the approach

Higher education institutions in Europe are increasingly concerned about evaluating their educational policies, systems and practices and, ensuing from this, quality assurance processes have been implemented. In accord with this current trend, an internal assessment was conducted to evaluate whether the biliteracy approach was fit for purpose, appropriate for the graduates and beneficial regarding L1 and L2 literacy acquisition and learning, both in the short and long-term. Internal assessment procedures were set up given that the time frame evaluated involved the early stages of implementation of the language provision service. Essentially, it was conceived of as a way of improving the EAP course on a continuous basis and, at the same time, evaluating the scope of the biliteracy approach as an innovative learning practice.

Inspired by the 'quality culture' in language education and languages for specific purposes (Heyworth 2013; Muresan and Ursa 2014), the Quality Improvement Scheme (QIS) developed under the Grundtvig project partnerships *Improving Standards of Quality in Adult Language Education* and *Quality Assessment Training*[3] was used to assess the quality of the instruction. The underlying philosophy of the QIS is one in which assessment is a systematic, ongoing and integrated process, that reconciles standard benchmarks in adult language education with innovation and creativity in language teaching/learning practices. The QIS is based on a set of European quality benchmarks for language services (EAQUALS 2011) and covers four main areas: Management, Academic Coordination/Support to Teaching, Teaching, and Learning. The Learning section of

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3 EU-funded Lifelong Learning Projects LLP-2011-1-BG1-GRU06-04962 and LLP-2013-1-BG1-GRU06-00108. The Quality Improvement Scheme (QIS) is directly downloadable from <http://www.europeansharedtreasure.eu/detail.php?id_project_base=2011-1-BG1-GRU06-04962>.

the QIS, which covers a range of general areas for self-assessment,[4] served to design a feedback questionnaire to assess the students' overall satisfaction with the course (course methodology, materials and tasks) and gather their opinion regarding aspects of biliteracy learning and multilingual writing practices. The questionnaire included 41 statements and a 5-point Likert scale was employed (1=strongly disagree, 5=strongly agree) as this is the same scale used at the UZ in all student satisfaction surveys. The questionnaire was distributed onsite and responded by 72.5% of the students (29 out of 40), which was considered a very satisfactory response rate.

A cumulative percentage of 96.6% of the respondents agreed/strongly agreed that they benefited from taking the course. The majority found the course contents of interest and useful (cumulative percentages of 89.7% and 96.6% respectively). Circa 95% of the respondents agreed/strongly agreed that the course satisfied their specific academic language needs and 82.6% that the instruction promoted the acquisition of skills and competences useful for their professional career. Regarding lifelong learning skills, 44.8% of the respondents agreed/strongly agreed that the instruction supported acquisition of those skills. While the group's average mean was 3.4 out of 5, the sample standard deviation and variance ($s=1.0$, $s^2=1.04$) might suggest that not all the respondents were fully aware of what lifelong learning involves.

The task-based methodology was, overall, highly valued. Approximately 85% of the respondents were satisfied with the course methodology and perceived the classroom environment as stimulating for practicing the language (86.2% and 82.8% respectively). Learning resources were considered fairly appropriate to their language needs and 72.4% of the respondents agreed/strongly agreed that the tasks provided models on aspects of academic language use. Yet, agreement/strong agreement on the usefulness of learning from models scored a cumulative percentage of 37.9%, mean (average mean=3.24, sample standard deviation, $s=1.02$ and variance, $s^2=1.04$), which seemed confirmatory that the instruction was not fully perceived as promoting lifelong learning skills.

Awareness-raising and noticing of features of academic languages proved to be a main strength of the instruction. The majority of the respondents agreed/strongly agreed that the tasks helped them become aware of aspects of academic languages (82.8%) and that the corpus texts were useful to analyse language features (89.7%). Awareness of biliteracy transfer was reflected in the respondents' agreement/strong agreement that the analytical tasks helped

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4 L1 learner motivation and involvement in task-based activities, L2. Learner competences, results and outcomes, L3. Learner autonomy and life-long learning skills, L4. Self-directed learning, L5. Learner evaluation of teaching, L6. Learner self-analysis of learning.

them identify features of academic Spanish that they could use to compose similar texts in academic English (cumulative percentage of 75.9%). 82.8% of the respondents agreed/strongly agreed that the corpus-based materials included useful textual models to later construct similar texts. The respondents almost unanimously agreed/strongly agreed that they learned phraseology, discourse features and rhetorical strategies of academic writing and developed skills to communicate in academic contexts, which indicated that the course goals were satisfactorily achieved. Instruction proved to provide opportunity for cooperation and exchange of ideas (almost 70% of agreement/strong agreement). Although the course was all corpus-based, the students did not seem to perceive that the corpus approach involved the use of technologies to improve language competence (average mean=2.79; sample standard deviation, s=1.14; variance, s^2=1.31). Other skills, such as information search and information exchange, critical thinking and communicating with peers were rated favourably (with cumulative percentage of agreement/strong agreement of 82.8%, 96.6% and 82.8% respectively).

Confirming recent claims regarding its pedagogical value (Pérez-Llantada 2015, Pérez-Llantada and Swales 2017), the genre- and task-based methodology appeared supportive of awareness-raising of multilingual practices, bidirectional language/genre transfer and increased perception of ELF. The respondents agreed/strongly agreed that the course helped them understand academic writing practices in English and Spanish and develop skills to communicate in both languages (cumulate percentages of agreement/strong agreement of 96.6% and 72.4% respectively). They also seemed to perceive that they gained awareness of how their L1 may involve positive and negative transfer, a perception that might indicate that the L1 can play an important role in L2 instruction. Their responses also indicated that the course materials were illustrative of aspects of academic English and academic Spanish (100% agreement/strong agreement, average mean=4.62; sample standard deviation, s=0.49; variance, s^2=0.24). Almost all of the respondents agreed/strongly agreed that they had opportunities to learn about ENG, ELF and SNL and that they became aware that they learnt about using languages for academic purposes (cumulative percentages of 93.1% and 93.1% respectively).

Perceptions towards language knowledge transfer were not so unanimous. While almost 60% of the respondents agreed/strongly agreed that knowing academic Spanish could help them learn academic English, circa 20% disagreed/strongly disagreed, the remaining 20% showing neither agreement nor disagreement. As a confirmatory probe, in one of the questionnaire statements they were asked to agree/disagree with whether or not they could use their knowledge of academic Spanish to communicate in English for academic and

research purposes. A cumulative response rate of 65.5% of agreement/strong agreement was obtained, which seems to suggest that the biliteracy approach contributed positively to raising the students' awareness of L1-L2 knowledge transfer. Almost 80% of the respondents stated they were aware that their L1 can positively or negatively influence their use of English and the majority of the respondents (96.6%) agreed/strongly agreed that classroom discussion raised sensitivity towards linguistic diversity and ELF use in today's academic and research communication. Attitudes towards ELF were not so unanimous, yet they suggested that the respondents were perceptive of the nature and functions of ELF. They valued the usefulness of learning what ELF is and what ELF use involves in academic contexts with a lower cumulative percentage (65.5%). Learning ELF features was perceived as useful (a cumulative percentage of 62.1% of agreement/complete agreement; average mean=3.75; sample standard deviation, s=0.98; variance, s^2=0.97).

A final set of statements were included in the questionnaire to explore the students' perceptions and attitudes towards ELF and linguistic diversity in today's academia. 93.1% of the respondents agreed/strongly agreed that research communication activities involve different languages and 72.4% showed awareness that academic communication is multicultural and multilingual, hence indicating that they perceived not English-only but multilingual practices. Approximately half of the respondents agreed/strongly agreed that they were aware of the advantages and challenges of being an ELF user (average mean=3.41), yet their responses were more heterogeneous (sample standard deviation, s=1.37; variance, s^2=1.89). Finally, almost 80% of the students agreed/strongly agreed that they had understood what a competent intercultural communicator meant. Responses regarding attitudes were mixed. While 34.5% agreed/strongly agreed that the 'competent intercultural communicator' model is an acceptable target model, 31% disagreed/strongly disagreed and a further 34.5% neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement (sample standard deviation, s=1.36; variance, s^2=1.85). Future research is needed to follow-up these responses and triangulate them against other forms of data deriving, for example, from learner diaries, focus groups or intercultural competence surveys.

The qualitative comments that some of the respondents provided at the end of the questionnaire were in accord with the quantitative findings. The participation in the course was described as a positive experience: "very worthwhile", "very useful because what we have learnt is adapted to our needs, "the language is relevant for my academic interests", "very, very useful material . . . gives us a lot of real information", "the teaching materials were very useful for description of texts". Some other comments supported the awareness-raising effect of

biliteracy learning: "having models in academic Spanish made it easier for me to understand the kind of language used", "I was not aware of the structures of texts even if I used them in Spanish", "[...] expands our view of language differences when writing the same kind of texts", "a good idea to use texts written in different varieties", "interesting because I had not heard about ELF before", "made me thoughtful", "the comparison of languages has been useful, it has enabled me to know about cultural differences in academic writing", "the tasks have helped me learn about features of academic Spanish I was not aware of".

It should be acknowledged here that the design of the questionnaire still needs further improvement in terms of reliability (revision of the statements posed including, e.g., reverse-polarity statements). As a tool for piloting the approach, it nonetheless provided first-hand feedback and useful data for comparison with the data gathered in other institutions participating in the Grundtvig project. In the future, though, it would be desirable to test the pedagogical advantages of the biliteracy approach quasi-experimentally, with a control group and an experimental group. As stated earlier, the biliteracy approach was exploratory and, hence, empirical investigation is needed in the future to determine its impact in EAP writing pedagogy for graduate students. To validate the approach in the long term, retrieving information on language, literacy and learning profiles by means of individual interviews/focus groups with the students, learner diaries or ethnographies using observations of the students' communities of practice, e.g. along the lines described by Barton and Tusting (2005) and Seloni (2012), would also be desirable. This would enable the course instructors to gain insight into the students' previous academic literacy background both in their L1 and in other languages. As a language auditing practice, it would also inform how to fine-tune this micro-level language planning initiative.

The use of technologies supporting learning in general and biliteracy learning in particular is an aspect that needs further development. Adapting ICT-based initiatives can support both formal instructed learning and autonomous, self-directed learning, and track the educational effectiveness of the biliteracy approach. Chang and Kuo's (2011) research-based online courseware for graduate students of computer science and Lo, Liua and Wang's (2014) development of a genre-based writing tutorial system are two relevant models to improve the course at UZ. The former is a courseware that follows a genre-analytic approach similar to the instructional approach described in this chapter. The latter is a system that utilizes move analysis and corpus-based analysis to assist students in learning how to write journal articles effectively. Both seem feasible to adapt to the biliteracy approach.

5 Final thoughts

The inclusion of ELF and biliteracy in EAP writing pedagogy might be a possible way of inviting students to take a reflective stance towards multilingual practices in today's academic communication and in English as a lingua franca. Concurrently, it may sensitize the graduates, early-career scholars, about issues of intercultural competence, as recommended by the European Framework of Reference for Languages.[5] On broader educational grounds, it can support "the lifelong enrichment of the individual's linguistic and cultural repertoire" that institutions such as the European Centre for Modern Languages of the Council of Europe advocates. It therefore seems reasonable to encourage small-scale language initiatives that can foster the graduates' awareness of multilingual practices in today's academia as well as of the importance of gaining multiliteracy competence for professional development.

In the HE context, cooperation between decision-makers and specialists in languages for academic purposes is essential in micro-level language planning and language management processes. As I argued elsewhere (2015), EAP teachers are central agents in the investigation of linguistic, cultural, social and educational requirements in local institutions and, thus, should inform decision-making regarding academic language instruction. Efforts should be made to find ways in which language education at a tertiary level can contribute to plurilingualism and offer students culturally and linguistically responsive teaching/language provision services. Innovative and creative approaches to EAP instruction may support academic multiliteracy learning while assisting the graduates in using English as "a unifying means of communication" on a global scale (Seidlhofer 2012: 373).

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5 Recommendation 2006/962/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 18 December 2006 on key competences for lifelong learning [Official Journal L 394 of 30.12.2006]. http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/education_training_youth/lifelong_learning/c11090_en.htm

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APPENDIX

Students' feedback questionnaire

The aim of this questionnaire is to know your opinion about the course and about aspects dealt with in the course. Please rate the statements below using the following scale:

1= strongly disagree
2= disagree
3= neither agree nor disagree
4= agree
5= strongly agree

	1	2	3	4	5
1. I benefited from taking this course.					
2. The course contents were interesting.					
3. The course contents were useful.					
4. The course satisfied my specific academic language needs.					
5. I learned skills and competences that will be useful for my professional career.					
6. Lifelong learning skills were promoted.					
7. I was happy with the course methodology.					
8. The classroom environment was stimulating (and not threatening) for practicing the language.					
9. Learning resources were appropriate considering my language learning needs.					
10. Classroom tasks and materials were interesting and motivating.					
11. The tasks provided models on aspects of academic language use.					
12. Learning from models will be a useful strategy to keep on learning academic English in the future.					
13. The tasks helped me become aware of aspects of academic languages.					
14. The corpus texts were useful to analyse language features.					
15. The analytical tasks helped me identify features of academic Spanish and use them to compose similar texts in English.					
16. The corpus texts were useful models to later construct similar texts.					
17. I learned phraseology, discourse features and rhetorical features of academic writing.					
18. I developed skills to communicate in academic contexts.					
19. I cooperated and exchanged ideas with my classmates.					
20. I used technology to improve my language competence.					
21. In learning the language, I needed to search for, understand and transmit information.					
22. In learning the language, I had opportunities to think and give my own opinion about topics, ideas, etc.					
23. I practiced the language by communicating with others (e.g. peers/students and teacher).					
24. The course helped me understand academic writing in English and in Spanish.					

(continued)

(continued)

	1	2	3	4	5
25. I have developed skills to communicate in academic English and academic Spanish.					
26. The tasks illustrated aspects of academic English and academic Spanish.					
27. Knowing academic Spanish can help me learn academic English.					
28. I can use my knowledge of academic Spanish to improve my academic English skills.					
29. I am aware that my L1 can influence the use of English as an L2 positively or negatively.					
30. In the classroom I had opportunities to learn about ENL, ELF and SNL.					
31. I learnt about different academic language varieties (ENL, ELF, SNL).					
32. Classroom discussion made me think about linguistic diversity in academic settings.					
33. Classroom discussion made me think about the use of ELF and about being an ELF user.					
34. In learning about academic languages I learnt about my culture and other cultures.					
35. Learning the main ELF features is useful.					
36. Learning what ELF is and what ELF use involves in academic contexts is useful.					
37. I am aware that academic communication is multicultural and multilingual.					
38. I am aware of language choices in the different research communication activities.					
39. I am aware of the advantages and challenges of being an ELF user.					
40. I now understand what a competent intercultural communicator means.					
41. The 'competent intercultural communicator' model is an acceptable target language model.					

If you have any comments or suggestions, please write them below:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COLLABORATION

Concepción Orna-Montesinos

Perceptions towards intercultural communication: military students in a higher education context

Abstract: In a scenario of growing internationalization the Spanish Armed Forces face the challenges of participating in multinational and multicultural coalitions. When deployed or operating in other countries, the capacity to work across cultures, to understand the complexity of cultural identity, ethnicity, religion or social organization and to adapt to a diversity of values, beliefs and worldviews has become a high priority. In a context in which both language and culture barriers have been frequently recognized as sources of communication failure, there is no denying that gaining communicative skills, that is, linguistic, sociolinguistic, discourse and intercultural skills, has become a crucial academic and professional competence. Drawing on the large body of literature on English as an International Language (EIL) and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) in academic and professional communication, this chapter presents the results of a questionnaire-based survey of intercultural communication awareness carried among military students in a higher-education institution. From the data collected on the respondents' background information, on their language and culture learning experiences and on their intercultural sensitivity awareness, the study examines the perceptions of the surveyed students about their experiences on the acquisition of intercultural communication competence in the language classroom. In the light of the results, this paper discusses the pedagogical implications for the training of future professionals able to operate in foreign cultures and act in culturally appropriate ways.

Keywords: Intercultural communication, cultural awareness, military, higher education, training, EIL, ELF

1 A new understanding of 'culture' in the military

In the post-Cold War period, military missions have shifted to ones not traditionally considered military: peacekeeping, peace enforcement, anti-terrorist,

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stability and support, search and rescue, or humanitarian aid missions. Reasons of political legitimacy and cost-effectiveness have been used in military studies (Coops and Szvircsev 2007) to explain the participation of Armies in multinational coalitions or specialist units, complex assemblies of people representing diverse national and organizational cultures. The work of coalitions is also marked by the interaction with a myriad of military and non-military parties: the culture, traditions and religion of the host nation, NGOs and international organizations, UN agencies, the private sector military companies, the media or national populations.

Lessons learnt after the September 11 attacks and operations in places like Iraq or Afghanistan have highlighted the convenience of the adoption of a "gentler approach" to culture (Jager 2007), even a "weaponization" of culture (Gusterson 2008), which brings to the fore the crucial role of culture as a component of its counterinsurgency doctrine. Understanding all the actors involved and their objectives and minimizing intercultural frictions is essential for the efficiency and effectiveness of military operations (Abbe 2008; Abbe, Gulick, and Herman 2007; Coops and Szvircsev 2007; Wunderle 2006).

The mission of the Spanish Armed Forces, the focus of this study, is to ensure "a strong Spain that can maintain the necessary international influence for contributing to stability in our direct area of interest and preserving our national interests throughout the world" (*National Defense Directive 1/2012)*.[1] To pursue this, in 2015 more than 2,100 soldiers were expected to be deployed all over the globe to participate in at least 14 international missions under the flags of institutions such as UN, EU or NATO.[2] Added to the professional complexity of their integration in larger contingents and their subordination to different routines, procedures and codes, the Spanish Army faces the challenge of communication in multilingual and multicultural environments. As stated in its vision statement (*Visión 2025*), knowledge of the languages used in the Operation Theatre as well as of the culture of conflict areas is of strategic importance in order to create a climate of confidence and cooperation and eventually to facilitate the success of the mission.[3]

In this new scenario it is, in my view, highly relevant to explore the views of the future officers of the Spanish Army towards the linguistic and cultural challenges involved in intercultural communication through English. They belong to a very particular higher education context, one in which academic and professional

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1 file:///C:/Users/Usuario/Desktop/dgl-national-defence-directive-2012.pdf

2 www.defensa.gob.es

3 www.ejercito.mde.es/Galerias/Descarga_pdf/EjercitoTierra/Noticias/2010/vision_jeme2025.pdf

training are closely interrelated. Internationalization is for these learners a decisive professional requirement, a challenge that education needs to address. This chapter draws inspiration from the large body of literature on English as a Lingua Franca as well as on intercultural communication, to examine the results of a survey of cadets' attitudes and perceptions on intercultural relations and on the use of English in linguistically and culturally diverse environments. Findings are discussed and then interpreted in the light of the pedagogical implications for academic and professional training in the context of HE.

2 Intercultural communication: The challenges of language and culture

The linguistic and cultural barriers faced by the military in the global geopolitical scenario make cultural awareness and intercultural communication acquisition an imperative. For this purpose the first challenge to be addressed is the one derived from the adoption of English as the working language of economic, political, cultural and, understandably, military spheres. This role has been attributed to the historical and geographical influence of the British colonial empire, the economic, military and political dominance of the United States and the growing influence of supranational organizations (EU, UN, NATO) (Crystal 2003; Graddol 1997).

Yet, this supranational form of communication involving both native (NSEs) and non-native speakers (NNSEs) bears complex professional, linguistic and cultural implications. Research into English as an International Language (EIL) and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) has traditionally used both terms interchangeably although ELF is the preferred term to refer to communication in English among people from different first language backgrounds, whereas EIL also includes native speakers (Dewey 2007; Fiedler 2010; House 2003; Jenkins 2000; Scollon, Scollon and Jones 2011; Seidlhofer 2004, 2010). In line with these studies we can argue that military speakers join a very heterogeneous community of practice (Wenger 1998) to which individuals contribute their hybrid cultural norms and linguistic backgrounds as simultaneously members of "a corporate, a professional, a generational, a gender, a cultural, and even other discourse systems" (Scollon, Scollon and Jones 2011: xiv), a "linguistic masala" as Meierkord (2002) puts it to refer to EIL and ELF interactions.

In these high-stakes encounters the consequences of communication, and very particularly of misunderstanding, might provoke not only miscommunication but even hostility. As it is the case with many other professionals (Kassis-Henderson and Louhiala-Salminen 2011; Ladegaard and Jenks 2015; Leung

2005; Nickerson 2005; Voss, Albert and Ferring 2014) issues of negative impact on interpersonal relations, professional judgment and evaluation, trust, intellectual (in)competence, (un)cooperation motivated by linguistic and cultural lack of competence seriously affect the military profession (Abbe, Gulick and Herman 2007; Coops and Tibor Szvircsev 2007; Orna-Montesinos 2013; Voss, Albert and Ferring 2014).

The frequently cited definition of ELF as "a *contact language* between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture" (Firth 1996: 240; emphasis in original) particularly suits the needs of the military speech community since it highlights the interrelation of language and culture in EIL and ELF communication. However, as noted by Glaser et al. (2007), the use of a shared language does not ensure real communication. An interculturally competent speaker must also demonstrate non-verbal communication and intercultural abilities such as tolerance of ambiguity, behavioral flexibility, communicative awareness, knowledge discovery and respect of otherness (Prechtl and Davidson Lund 2007).

The complexity of intercultural communication in a linguistically and culturally plural society has attracted growing interest (see Kramsch 2001 for an overview of the psychological, anthropological, pragmatic and ethnographic implications of intercultural communication). It is also, as mentioned in the introductory section of this chapter, of undeniable interest and urgency for the military. Acquiring intercultural skills needs training and guidance to respond to the perceived need that tools should be developed that help students to critically reflect on their attitudes towards one's own culture and the culture of the others (Byram, Gribkova and Starkey 2002; Glaser et al. 2007). In higher education contexts worldwide, such as the military one discussed in this chapter, emphasis on mobility, (re)employability, competitiveness or professional development, particularly for young professionals, has also fueled the need for promoting the acquisition of intercultural competence, or cross-cultural competence, the preferred military term, and intercultural citizenship (Baker 2012; Coperías 2009; Dervin 2010; Hismanoglu 2011; Stier 2006).

For the Army the acquisition of intercultural communication competence (ICC) is expected to facilitate the interconnectedness of cultural behavior and communication practices of people with "ethnic, generational, regional, ideological occupation- or gender-related interests, within and across national boundaries" (Kramsch 2002: 276). In this respect, an intercultural dimension in language teaching (Byram, Gribkova and Starkey 2002; Little and Simpson 2003) has been claimed to equip learners with the "awareness of difference" (Alptekin 2002), the ability to work both global and local and to feel at home in both international and national cultures (Kramsch and Sullivan 1996: 211). Similarly, military studies

have sensibly advocated a "culture and language strategy" (Abbe 2008), one that involves the development of language proficiency, culture awareness and regional knowledge and expertise (Abbe 2008; Abbe, Gulick and Herman 2007). The development of intercultural competence is, however, a gradual process which for Bennett (1993) involves moving from ethnocentric stages (denial – defense – minimization), in which one's culture is the central view, to ethnorelative stages (acceptance – adaptation – integration), in which one's culture is as equally valid as that of the other.

Under these premises, the overall aim of this chapter is to understand cadets' views on intercultural communication through English and on how the role of English as the international language of professional communication would explain the linguistic and socio-cultural challenges faced by the professions. Knowledge of the perceptions towards the factors which affect intercultural communication is expected to provide a sound basis to propose some pedagogical implications.

3 Exploring cadets' views: Population and methods

The survey presented here was conducted among the cadets enrolled at the Spanish Military Academy of Zaragoza (Spain). The future officers of the Spanish Army graduate in Engineering Management, a four-year 240-ECTS-credit bachelor's degree taught by the Defense University Center (CUD), complemented with 124 military credits, including tactics, military strategy, weapons systems or NBC courses, a leadership training program and a physical training program. The goal of this dual academic and professional training program is to prepare cadets to assume their future responsibility as army leaders. Learners are equipped with the management and leadership skills that enable them to work in an international environment, to apply international and military law, to communicate in English, to understand geopolitics and international relations, to manage logistics and to use geographical information systems. Together with strictly academic and professional knowledge, cross-curricular skills in leadership, decision-making, team-working, tolerance, respect, behavioral flexibility and values, such as sacrifice or discipline, need to be developed.

The survey focuses on the analysis of intercultural communication competence, an issue that has received scholarly attention from a variety of contexts and from different perspectives: for the analysis of intercultural awareness in a Thai higher education setting (Baker 2012), for measuring instructed language

learners' intercultural competence development (Garret-Rucks 2014) or for the investigation of the relation of linguistic proficiency, overseas experience and formal instruction on students' intercultural communication competence (Hismanoglu 2011) to name but a few. These studies follow Byram's (1997) view that in order to interact with people from different linguacultural backgrounds a learner needs to develop not only linguistic competence but also sociolinguistic, discoursal and intercultural competence. These will enable the interculturally competent communicator to acquire a sense of appropriateness, acceptance and respect for the other's values and beliefs.

The use of questionnaires has been a common practice in a number of projects focused on the exploration of interculturality and intercultural communication, most of them funded by different Council of Europe programs. Particularly relevant for the goals of this work are the *Intercultural Competence Assessment* (*INCA*) project (Prechtl and Davidson Lund 2007), which developed a helpful diagnostic tool and record of achievement for the assessment of intercultural competence meant to inform training programs and to support benchmarking, recruitment and employee development. Adapting previous models to the development of intercultural competence for a primary audience of professionally mobile people, the *Intercultural Competence for Professional Mobility* project (*ICOPROMO*) (Glaser et al. 2007) designed a useful framework which includes training activities for the development of the intercultural competence of a multicultural workforce. Other questionnaires which also share their orientation towards adults who want to acquire language skills for mobility reasons, and which also inspired this work, include the *Intercultural competence needs analysis questionnaire*, developed by the *Erasmus Mundus Programme*,[4] the *European Language Portfolio – Adult version* and the *Citizenship actions: A step towards sustainable equal opportunities* project.[5] More specific for the analysis carried in this study is Baker's (2012) study of e-learning in a Thai higher education setting, in which a questionnaire is used to gather information on learners' experiences of learning English and their attitudes to intercultural communication through English.

The questionnaire used for this study included questions from some of these projects. However, given their very general character, some of the original questions were adapted and made more specific in accordance with the particular context being explored in this study. Accordingly, some of the options were eliminated or rewritten. The type of questions and answers was kept as originally

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4 www.em-a.eu/ar/home/newsdetail-announcements/erasmus-mundus-intercultural-competence-needs-analysis-questionnaire-744.html
5 Code: 110420-CP-1-2003-1-FR-GRUNDTVIG-G1 www.neweuropeanteams.net/Contributions/Actions_Citoyennes.html

designed. The questions are grouped into three sections: i) my intercultural passport, ii) how I see myself in intercultural contexts and iii) how I see intercultural communication.

Drawing on the biographical information section of the *INCA* Project and the *Language Biography* of the *European Language Portfolio*, the section "My intercultural passport" included background questions about the factors that might have influenced responses to intercultural situations. The goal of these questions, which explored cadets' experiences in terms of location (work, study and travel) and intensity (frequency, duration, degree of involvement and significance for one's life history and identity) (Little and Simpson 2003), was to outline the respondents' profile, and therefore, to contextualize their answers about intercultural communication. Since Army promotion rules allow soldiers and non-commissioned officers to enter officer training school, the first question enquired into their years in the Army (Q 1.1), and linked to that, about their previous participation in international missions (Q 1.2) and their experience of working or studying in multinational teams (Q 1.3). With the goal of determining whether, as claimed by Hismanoglu (2011), their knowledge of foreign languages could influence their perception of interculturality, a number of more personal questions asked about their knowledge of foreign languages (Q 1.4). A final area of interest in defining the cadets' intercultural profile was their international experience of travelling abroad (Q 1.5), understood as a decisive criterion in determining their attitudes towards multiculturalism.

Inspired by the ICOPROMO Project (Glaser et al. 2007: 1) view of awareness of the self as the starting point towards accepting, understanding and enjoying otherness, the second set of questions focused on self-perceptions of personal and professional encounters in intercultural contexts, which were deemed of significant relevance for cadets' future professional career. The questionnaire included a question (Q 2.1) adapted from the intercultural profile section of the INCA Project whose goal was to explore perceptions on intercultural encounters in the respondents' own country and their reactions to the customs, behaviors and values of other people when, for example, communicating or eating with them.

The second question in this block (Q 2.2) was borrowed from the Language Biography section of the *English Language Portfolio – Adult version*. It inquired into how cadets view themselves in intercultural contexts, exploring their awareness of issues arising within different cultural groups, particularly in the professional context: when relating to colleagues, adapting to different work practices and coping with formalities, when asking questions and clarifying uncertainty or when trying to build bridges. Although both questions were adapted to suit the specific characteristics of the survey respondents, the original format of both questions, with closed-ended Likert-scaled answers, was maintained, and so

were the very useful examples provided in the original questionnaires, which were meant to provide clarification. For both questions a non-applicable answer was included.

A final question (Q 2.3), taken from the *Youngsters intercultural attitudes* questionnaire of the *Citizenship actions* project, was found relevant for the military context and was included to understand how respondents might react to being offered the possibility of studying or working abroad. This was a very likely possibility in these young professionals' future career and it seems therefore germane to explore their views since it would certainly involve total immersion in an intercultural professional and personal experience. For this question a multiple-choice closed-ended question was used.

Using Baker's (2012) framework for the analysis of intercultural communication, the final set of questions centered on attitudes towards intercultural communication in English. The first question was a closed-ended rating scale questions about the importance of learning English (Q 3.1): for fun when travelling and when meeting people, for respect, for learning, for acquiring more knowledge or simply for better grades.

The next two questions focused on perceptions about the role of English as the language of international communication and thus on issues such as dominance and power, as postulated in ELF literature (Alptekin 2002; Crystal 2003; Seidlhofer 2004, 2010; Widdowson 1994). The next question was a multiple-choice closed-ended question about the variety of English (British, American, Indian, Australian or other) these learners want to learn (Q 3.2). Complementing this question, a closed-ended Likert question sought to ascertain how strongly respondents recognized any variety of English as standard (English spoken by the native speaking countries such as UK, US or Australia, in countries colonized by native English speaking countries or in countries like Thailand, Mexico, China that use English), or whether they thought no standard exists (Q 3.3).

The last two questions sought to inquire into the respondents' views on intercultural communication. Question 3.4 was a closed-ended rating scale question about the elements which facilitate comprehension, like a native-like pronunciation or grammar, the way English is used by other speakers, the culture of both native and non-native speakers, or knowledge of the relationship between language and culture and of intercultural communication. Finally, Question 3.5 was a closed-ended Likert question about the understanding of culture and its influence on the success of communication, inquiring into the meaning of tone, gestures and body movement, the use of taboo topics, word-by-word translation and the need of learning language, culture or new kinds of behavior.

Using *WordSmith Tools* (Scott 2012) free survey software, the survey was anonymously answered by 508 respondents, 60.3% of the 843 cadets who in September

Table 1: Respondents per year.

	students enrolled	% respondents / year	% of total respondents
1st year	269 (91 / Civil Guard)	63.9	37.4
2nd year	282 (75 / Civil Guard)	56.0	31.1
3rd year	190	57.4	21.5
4th year	102	67.6	10.0
Sum	843	60.3	

2013 enrolled in the Spanish Military Academy (see Table 1 for the complete distribution per year of enrolment). Aged between 19–25 years old, the large majority of them had first joined the Army when they entered the Academy. However, it is interesting to note that less than 10% of the respondents, older more experienced cadets, had previous experience in the Army; in fact, almost 60% of these (5.7% of the total respondents) had participated in operational deployments. Their first-hand experience in missions abroad is expected to have greatly conditioned their view of intercultural communication. Almost 70% of the survey respondents are first and second year cadets. This is explained by the fact that Civil Guard cadets (43.1% of first and second year cadets), those belonging to the Spanish military police force, leave the Academy after their second year to join a specialty Academy.

4 Attitudes and perceptions towards intercultural communication through English

Because views on intercultural communication have been seen as influenced by the respondents' linguistic proficiency (Hismanoglu 2011), the "Intercultural Passport" section offered helpful insights into their self-perception of foreign language knowledge. The respondents show confidence in their linguistic skills since 56.3% of them claim to speak a second language well, mostly English. This perception of growing linguistic competence might be explained by their educational experience in secondary and tertiary levels, in which English is a compulsory course, as well as by the increasing participation of students in school exchanges or language courses abroad. Also significant is the case of those students who have lived in other countries, a specific trait in some military families whose members have taken positions in allied countries. Their "Intercultural Passport" was also defined by their answers to questions about social interaction in English. Higher linguistic proficiency translates in their increasing interest in

travelling. A cumulative total of 91.9% have travelled abroad, almost 40% of them more than six times, with 34.3% referring to several-week stays abroad. This internationalization tendency would have favored their contact with foreigners and 42.3% of them claim to have foreign friends, a privileged opportunity to establish multicultural working or studying relationships (65.6%).

The cadets' views on their personal and professional encounters helped to better define their perceptions on intercultural relations, the second large group of questions in the survey. As the data summarized in Figure 1 show, their feelings in intercultural situations in their own country (Q 2.1) clearly pointed towards neutrality in situations they seemed to accept as normal but towards which they still found it difficult to openly express their position. Communicating with people of different cultures attracted the most positive reaction, with a cumulative 48.0% of responses pointing towards feeling at considerable ease with the situation against the 15.55% of those who claim claimed they would feel uncomfortable or who would nevertheless make allowances. Comparable, though lower, percentages apply to eating and drinking in other cultural contexts, although the reactions to encountering the different behaviors, customs or values of people from other cultures showed the opposite trend, with growing feelings of discomfort. It can be

- A. This makes me feel very uncomfortable
- B. This feels strange but I make allowances
- C. This feels fairly normal – I have neutral feelings
- D. This feels quite good – I tend to be at ease
- E. This feels very good – I often seek out such a situation
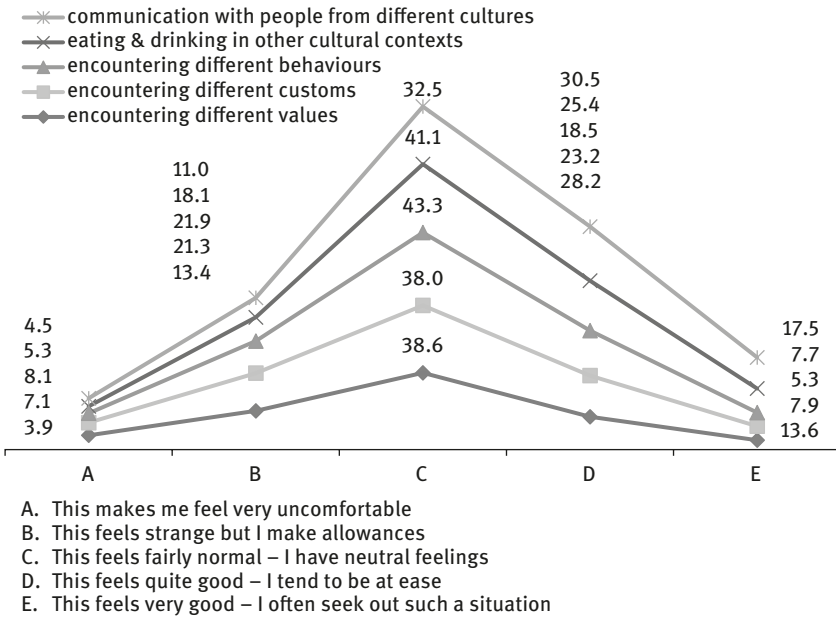
Figure 1: About encounters with different cultures in my own country.
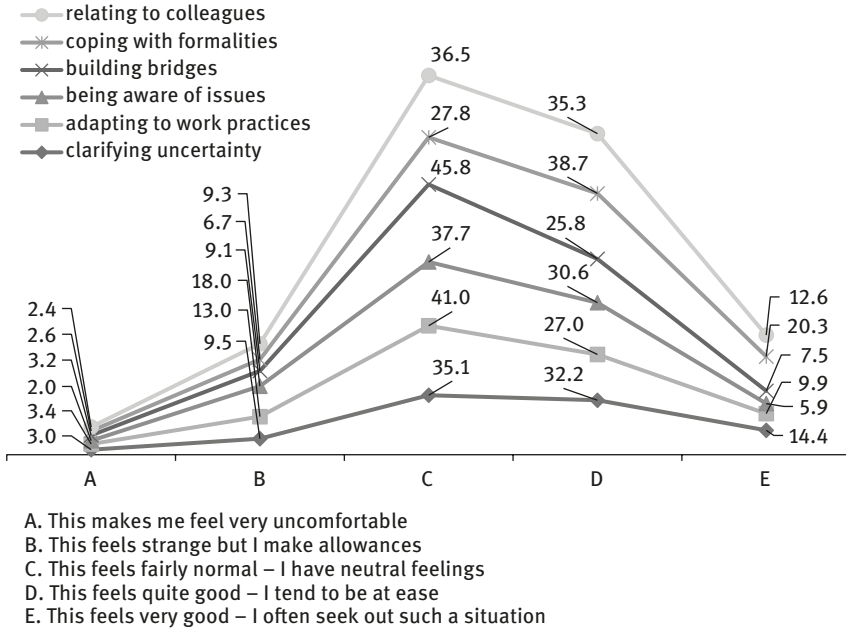
Figure 2: About how I see myself in intercultural workplaces.

A. This makes me feel very uncomfortable
B. This feels strange but I make allowances
C. This feels fairly normal – I have neutral feelings
D. This feels quite good – I tend to be at ease
E. This feels very good – I often seek out such a situation

argued that encountering behaviors, customs or values requires a degree of personal commitment, which might frequently involve an ethical conflict with one's behaviors, customs or values.

Figure 2 illustrates that neutrality was also the most frequent reaction to five of the six questions about their self-perception in intercultural workplaces (Q 2.2). When asked about their relationship with foreign partners (the only item to which a neutral attitude was not the most frequent one) a cumulative 59.0% claimed to feel comfortable against the 9.3% of those who mentioned their discomfort. To questions about copying with formalities or about building bridges, the curves rise towards more comfort and a more relaxed attitude. This might be explained by the idiosyncrasy of their life as students in a military Academy that hosts cadets from all over the country. In fact, they seemed to have already begun to experience the difficulties, as suggested by the less assertive answers about the awareness of issues arising within a different cultural group, about their adaptation to new routines and practices or about the need to construct new bridges with others.

The acceptance of discipline, respect and obedience of hierarchy is expected to prepare cadets for the acceptance of military duty in a life of service to their country and, indirectly, for the adaptation to their demanding future living and

Table 2: About the possibility of studying / working abroad?

Super! I like meeting many different people & discovering countries.	68.0
I have a previous experience: It was very interesting.	13.6
I will make an Internet research to get information about this country and learn some words.	11.1
I had a previous experience but I didn't have a relationship with locals.	4.7
I get worried: I never left my house.	2.2
I don't know if I will go: It depends on the country …	0.4

working environments. However, their training has been restricted to a national environment and exposed to limited multicultural contact. Their discomfort in these situations is understandable, since these would clearly involve interaction with other cultures and therefore a certain degree of what might be seen as losing something from their own culture in favor of the others' culture.

The final question about intercultural relations enquired into the possibility of studying or working abroad (Q 2.3), thus not a question about their past experiences but one stimulating reflection about their future. A cumulative percentage (81.66%) of the informants showed their willingness to accept a proposal and would enjoy the experience of discovering and meeting new people; some would also try to search the net for information about the country and even learn new words; some had already had the experience and valued it positively (Table 2). The number of those who showed some degree of reluctance, either because they would be worried about moving to a foreign country for the first time or because they would link their acceptance to the country, is, although relatively small, nonetheless surprising in a profession in which participation in international missions is an essential component and positions in allied Headquarters, in embassies, as military attachés or in teaching positions highly enhance chances for the professional advancement of their careers.

The third part of the questionnaire explored cadets' views on intercultural communication. The first question, which contextualized the following ones, was about the possible benefits for them of studying English (Q 3.2). The boxplot in Figure 3 shows their preference for communication, firstly with varied people from different cultures, but also with native speakers, thus reinforcing the perception of the native speaker as the ideal speaker. However, responses also showed a great degree of dispersion between those who chose them as the most frequent answer and those who relegated them to less important positions.

This dispersion was even higher when respondents valued the benefit of English for their future career. The lack of consensus would reveal that cadets
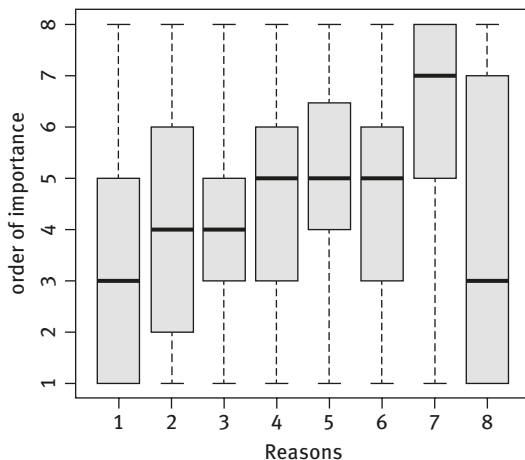
Reasons
1. It will allow me to meet and converse with more and varied people from many different cultures.
2. It will allow me to meet and converse with native speakers of English.
3. It will make me a more knowledgeable person.
4. It will allow me to get good grades at university.
5. It will allow me to have a fun and enjoyable experience.
6. It will allow me to travel to many different countries and to learn about different cultures.
7. Other people will respect me more if I have knowledge of the English language.
8. I'll need it for my future career.

Figure 3: About the importance of studying English.

were surprisingly unaware of the importance of acquiring the competence of communicating in English. Although this might be viewed as a feature shared with other tertiary contexts, and thus possibly attributed to factors such as age, the fact that cadets were in the early stages of their professional career and still too academically focused might explain this distancing from what is otherwise acknowledged by the military community as an essential professional competence (Vision 2025). Positive responses might be also attributed to those cadets with previous experience in the army or to those belonging to military families, both with firsthand knowledge of the profession. As might be expected from a group of tertiary education students, fully immersed in pursuing academic success, the benefit of becoming a more knowledgeable person ranked third in the list of cadets' preferences, followed by the possibility of getting better grades–English is one of the most demanding courses of the degree. The personal experiences of having a fun and enjoyable experience and that of travelling to many different countries and to learn about different cultures, that is, the more social and personal options, came
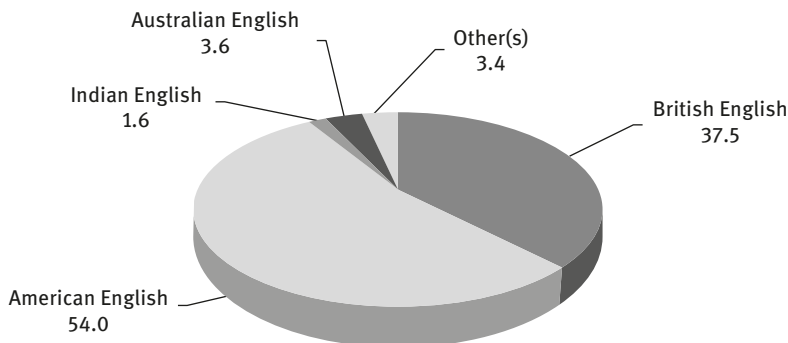
Figure 4: About the variety of English they want to learn.

next in their list of choices. The abstract benefit of being respected more was not as valued as other more concrete and immediate benefits.

When asked about the variety of English they would prefer to learn (Q 3.2), a large majority of the responses pointed towards American English as the preferred variety (see Figure 4). Although this preference might be relatively unexpected in the European context in which learners have been mainly exposed to British English, traditionally viewed as the standard variety, and with very limited influence of American accents, prosody or vocabulary, other reasons, such as the strong influence of American music, TV series or cinema on younger generations cannot be ignored. More importantly, it can also be viewed as a disciplinary trait, given the participation of the Spanish Armed Forces in international operations, particularly in NATO coalitions or under the UN flag, in which the economic and military supremacy of the US is firmly established.

Linked to the preference for any variety of English was the consideration of one of them as the standard variety (Q 3.3). Despite the international multilingual and multicultural nature of the military profession, the results of the survey (Figure 5) highlighted the view that the varieties of English spoken in the Anglophone countries, the United Kingdom, the United States and Australia, can be considered standard (a cumulative 60.56% agree or strongly agree whereas 15.93% disagree or strongly disagree), unlike those varieties spoken in countries such as Singapore, India or Hong Kong, former colonies of native English speaking countries. A similar percentage applied to the varieties of English spoken anywhere in the world or to the view that no standard English exists. The results should be interpreted in the light of the professional implications of the military professions and of their participation in coalitions. In a previous study (Orna-Montesinos 2013) present officers referred to the difficulties
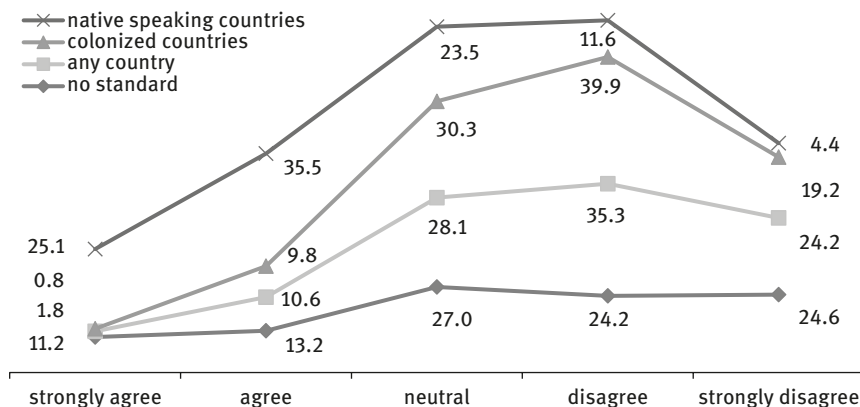
Figure 5: About standard English.

experienced with different accents, particularly with NSEs accents. Survey findings were also consistent with previous studies into ELF, which have claimed that NSEs tend to be considered the custodians of the language, thus raising concerns about linguistic and cultural imperialism, language ownership, equity, access, domain loss, or disappearance of less widely spoken languages (Fiedler 2010; Jenkins 2009; Phillipson 1992; Seidlhofer 2004, 2010; Widdowson 1994; Yano 2009).

Cadets' perceptions on the factors that might help understanding in conversations (Q 3.4) (Figure 6) showed that the most important factor was a native-like pronunciation or less frequently a correct native-like grammar, which would ratify previous claims made in ELF research (Jenkins, 2000; Mauranen 2010; Seidlhofer 2004, 2010). Despite generally being the most valued option the dispersion of answers might reflect two apparently contradictory views, that of learners inclined to favor the hegemonic view of the native speaker and that of studies such as that of Jenkins' (2000) which support the importance of phonological intelligibility, that is, of mutual intelligibility among non-native speakers rather than of correctly imitating the pronunciation or grammar of NSEs. The value given to how other NNSEs use English, with which respondents acknowledge the importance of assuming their specific position as NNSEs, follows this second line. Next in the list of preferences is knowledge of the culture of, firstly, the NNSEs they are communicating with (the more likely interlocutors in their future academic and professional encounters), of the native speaking countries, of the relationship between language and culture and, finally, of the mechanisms of intercultural communication. The survey responses thus suggested that cadets
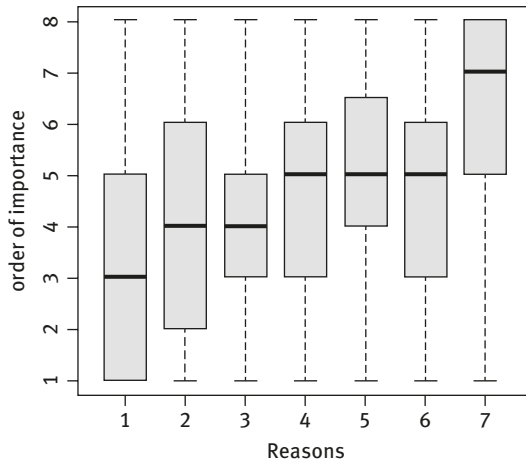
Reasons

1. Having a native-like pronunciation.
2. Knowing about the way other non-native English speakers use English (e.g. their accent and vocabulary).
3. Knowing about the culture of the non-native English speaker you are communicating with.
4. Knowing about the culture of native English-speaking countries.
5. Using correct native-like grammar.
6. Knowing about the relationship between language and culture.
7. Knowing about intercultural communication (communication between people from different cultures).

Figure 6: About the items helping understanding in conversations.

value the correction of language aspects such as pronunciation and grammar over their knowledge of the culture of their interlocutors. Arguably, most foreign language syllabi across different courses are exam-centered so the focus tends to be on the development of linguistic abilities rather than on cultural competence acquisition (Hismanoglu 2011).

The final question of this block (Q 3.5) invited the respondents to reflect on their awareness of culturally related aspects of language use. Cadets stated that their years in formal language education helped to raise their awareness of the language, of its rules, conventions and mechanisms. It is then understandable that, as Table 3 shows, they agreed strongly with those claims with which they have had first-hand experience, such as the difficulties encountered with the different tones and intonation patterns of languages, with the different use of gestures and body movements to convey meaning or with language-specific taboos. Their fruitless efforts to find an electronic translator to help them with their reading and writing tasks have probably made cadets very aware of the difficulty

Table 3: How much do you agree with the following statements?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
tone & intonation	43.4	39.6	12.0	3.0	2.0
translation word by word	50.8	30.5	11.0	4.0	3.8
gestures & body movements	35.7	44.0	15.9	3.0	1.4
taboo topics	30.9	39.4	22.9	4.6	2.2
judging standards					
defining & understanding culture	28.1	37.9	21.9	7.8	4.4
Learning culture	15.2	42.7	26.4	11.2	4.6
Cultural groups	14.7	39.4	37.5	6.4	2.0
Language, culture & country	16.3	35.5	30.5	12.8	5.0
Understanding culture	13.0	33.5	29.3	18.7	5.6
Learning behavior	12.4	31.9	30.5	18.2	7.0
Understanding own culture	11.0	26.7	37.1	18.7	6.6

of translating languages word-by-word and would explain their strong agreement with the claim.

Not so conclusive, though still large, were those answers about the intercultural awareness of respondents, who agreed that cultures are defined and understood differently and that individuals belong to many different cultural groups. These might translate in the understanding of the dangers of judging people by the standards of one's culture. Yet, although aware of the interrelation between learning a language and learning its culture or of its relationship with a particular country, the cadets surveyed seemed to be more reluctant to accept the need to understand the culture in order to communicate with the speakers of a language. Higher was the disagreement with learning new kinds of behavior when learning the language or with the importance of linking one's culture and the culture of the second language. Their difficulties are understandable since these are perhaps the most advanced ethnorelative stages in the development of intercultural competence (Bennet 1993).

5 Discussion of findings regarding the challenges of ELF in HE contexts such as military education

The first part of the survey administered, the "Intercultural Passport", showed the growing interest of the cadets interviewed in participating in international

activities both at a personal and at an academic level. From responses about perceptions on their knowledge of English, internationalization can be seen both as a cause and as an effect of enhanced linguistic competence. Improved proficiency in English results from more international experiences and subsequently better linguistic capabilities boost confidence for participating in activities abroad, whether tourism, courses, volunteering, stays in allied countries or participation in missions. Furthermore, not only may these initiatives greatly improve cadets' linguistic competence but also provide them with a first-hand intercultural experience and eventually make them interculturally mobile and competent future professionals. However, the participation in exchange programs in foreign academies is certainly limited, as well as that of foreign students from Academies in the United States, Thailand and Jordan who participate in semester-abroad or full-program exchanges. As members of the Spanish Armed Forces and thus as members of supranational organizations, mobility is essential in their preparation for their future profession. In a tertiary-education environment the implementation of internationalization practices like English-Medium Instruction and immersion or semester-abroad programs, very frequent in other military academies (Watson, Siska, and Wolfel 2013), should certainly benefit cadets.

The analysis of the cadets' views on their intercultural encounters appears to indicate that, despite the growing acceptance of intercultural relations, their responses nonetheless reflect a clear trend towards neutrality, particularly when referring to encountering values, customs and behaviors. Although their neutral positioning may be interpreted as a positive sign of normality, the strong professional requirement of fostering cross-cultural awareness makes training and guidance even more relevant in this tertiary education context. Their training at the Academy is meant to be the starting point of a long-term professional adaptation process to new, highly-demanding, particularly-challenging environments, which will eventually help them in the acquisition of cultural awareness. Although a large majority of the cadets who participated in the study already showed their willingness for internationalization activities, this is undoubtedly a not fully accomplished training journey.

Aware that cultural competence can only be instilled following educational instruction, the cadets' training program seeks to promote vertical and horizontal coherence. A large percentage of the academic course syllabi refer to the acquisition of the competences of working in a multidisciplinary multilingual environment and of analyzing the social and environmental impact of technology acting with ethics, professional responsibility and social compromise. Strong emphasis is also placed in military instruction on value training and on their commitment to the Cadet's Code of Honor. The training program thus shares the view that intercultural learning should be a "step-by-step" and not an "all-or-nothing"

process (Beacco et al 2010: 8), a long-term investment which requires time, study and practice, as well as tutelage and mentoring. However, we need to acknowledge that, as has been argued, the teaching of intercultural competence should not fall on teaching content but rather on helping learners "to ask questions and to interpret answers" (Byram, Gribkova and Starkey 2002: 16).

The final part of the questionnaire focuses on communication. Of paramount importance for future officers is the acquisition of the competence of communicating and transmitting knowledge, abilities and skills, as specified in a large percentage of the academic syllabi. This stress on communicative competence would seek to respond to the need of transmitting the right message and winning the battle of public opinion stated in the Army vision statement (*Visión 2025*). Yet, professional communication becomes particularly challenging when this must be carried out in English, adding extra linguistic and socio-cultural difficulties. The findings of the survey conducted stress the possibility of communication with people from other countries and cultures, both at a personal and at a professional level. As mentioned earlier, proficiency in foreign languages, and specially English, is seen as strategic by the Spanish Army and strongly demanding language certification requirements have been implemented, which seriously affect promotion chances, particularly for officers (Orna-Montesinos 2013). Understandably this finds its correlation in higher education with the strong emphasis placed in language training, with four one-semester courses of English and an optional one-semester course of a second language offered in the degree.

As has also been reported in other professional contexts (Kassis-Henderson and Louhiala-Salminen 2011), although these professionals pragmatically perceive knowledge of the language as a guarantee of success, it is nonetheless claimed as an "element of vulnerability and risk" (p. 16), what Crystal refers to as the "disadvantage scenario" (2003: 17). An educational model should be developed that helps cadets to overcome communication difficulties and to deal with the inferiority complex experienced by NNSEs worldwide, as a result of misunderstanding and prejudice. Rather, adopting an ELF approach to language teaching and learning, which stresses the pragmatic, purpose-oriented conception of communication and prioritizes successful communication over correction (Alptekin 2002; House 2003; Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey 2011; Kassis-Henderson and Louhiala-Salminen 2011; Seidlhofer 2004, 2010; Widdowson 1994), should, in my view, greatly benefit future officers.

Particularly suitable for the specific needs of the military community is House's (2003) distinction of language for communication and language for identification, that is, as another professional skill used to "get the job done" (Kankaanranta and Louhiala-Salminen 2010: 205) rather than an affectively loaded socio-cultural trait. For military professionals, people from different

linguacultural backgrounds, English is an instrumental solution whose shared goal is "making oneself understood in international encounters" (House 2003: 559). It is this practical orientation of professional communication that justifies the preference for "plain English" in contexts such as aviation or radiotelephony communication (Kim and Elder 2009: 23.4), that involve speakers from multiple backgrounds and in which the priority is understanding and being understood correctly.

Responses to questions about the items that might favor understanding also point to the preference for native-like pronunciation and grammar, a significant finding given the consistent evidence of the phonological difficulty of intelligibility of British and American accents (Jenkins 2009) or the difficulty encountered in English business communication with English NSEs understanding (Charles and Marschan-Piekkari 2002). The findings of the survey presented in this chapter thus seem to ratify claims on the persistence of stereotypes about the NSE supremacy, assumed to possess correct and appropriate knowledge of both the language and the culture (Byram, Gribkova and Starkey 2002; Kramsch 2001). Traditionally, teaching has exclusively focused on the inapplicable concept of the NSE (Hismanoglu 2011; Widdowson 1998) and thus on training NNSEs to imitate the behaviors of NSEs; a model which is "no longer educationally satisfactory or desirable" (Leung 2005: 139). Teaching English from the perspective of English as a Lingua Franca would, in my view, provide a very suitable response.

The overall dominance among respondents of the preference for the Anglo-Saxon varieties of English, particularly American and British varieties, and the consideration of those as standard, though a specific professional trait, does not seem to correlate with the reality of multinational military coalitions, in which soldiers and officers will have to communicate with NSEs but more frequently with NNSEs. From an ELF perspective (Alptekin 2002; Seidlhofer 2004, 2010; Sewell 2013), language training programs in EFL contexts such as the Spanish one, should involve exposure to English used as an international language. These would mean what Seidlhofer (2004) calls a "destandardization" process (p. 212) and thus "the monopoly of 'real English'" (p. 213). Beyond stereotypes they should be instructed to efficiently use their ability as multilingual practitioners with diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds, instruments and pragmatic strategies which they activate in order to facilitate successful communication, often in ways not available to monolingual NSEs (Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey 2011).

The findings presented here show that at this stage in their training process identifying the importance of such elements as tone or intonation and facing difficulties in translation from the speaker's L1 or with non-verbal language, which they have experienced first-hand, seem easier. Their awareness of cultural difference, of the importance of establishing relations across cultures and of the

interrelation of language and culture would not be perceived as immediate by the respondents. Yet, misunderstanding in professional communication, with either NSEs or NNSEs, has been attributed not only to poor linguistic skills but very frequently to the failure in understanding cultural relations (Scollon and Scollon, 1995). Although the higher value assigned to the correction of linguistic features such as pronunciation and grammar over cultural features has been attributed to the immediacy of exam-focused courses (Hismanoglu 2011), the interrelation of mastering both linguistic and cultural competence has been consistently demonstrated (Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey 2011; Seidlhofer 2004, 2010; Widdowson 1994; Yano 2009).

6 Some final considerations

This study has sought to provide views on cadets' perceptions of intercultural communication through the medium of English. Survey findings show the awareness of the role of English as the dominant language of personal, academic and professional communication. Findings ratify previous claims on the dominant role of Anglo-Saxon varieties of the language, considered as standard as well as on the emphasis on the acquisition of native-like skills to facilitate communication (Fiedler 2010; Jenkins 2009; Phillipson 1992; Seidlhofer 2004, 2010; Widdowson 1994; Yano 2009). Views on the relevance of the intercultural factors of communication show more neutral results.

Although results are limited and future research should be conducted to obtain more in-depth information, survey findings allow us to draw significant pedagogical implications on how to address both linguistic and cultural challenges. Students should be guided to learn how to deal with issues arising between members of different cultures and how to construct bridges; in short, on how to negotiate cultural differences to overcome ethical conflict over such issues as gender, religion, ethnicity, or social relations. For that, developing programs and tasks which seek to promote awareness of one's self-image and of using culture as the lens through which to interpret the world is truly a necessary skill since only the understanding of one's culture can lead to the understanding of the culture of the others. As very rightly proposed by the postulates of the INCA project (Prechtl and Davidson Lund 2007), tasks should be designed which foster the acquisition of the skills of comparing, interpreting, relating and discovering the learners' own identities and values and those of the others will correlate the development of non-ethnocentric attitudes, openness, understanding, respect and acceptance of perspectives, values and behaviors.

As far as the language classroom is concerned, the acquisition of interactional skills and intercultural communication strategies, rather than correctness, should be the goal of language instruction, particularly in professionally-oriented contexts such as the military. The training of young military professionals to become competent in both linguistic and intercultural communication skills should be oriented towards the acquisition of both verbal and non-verbal communication features and the understanding the culture(s) of other speakers, whether NSEs or NNSEs. To foster successful communicative and intercultural competence cadets should develop linguistic awareness at all levels, a sense of appropriacy in language use and of the social context of language use (Canagarajah 2007; Hismanoglu 2011; Leung 2005), with the ultimate goal of accommodating to the specific interlocutors and real-world needs they will encounter (Fiedler 2010; Jenkins 2009). Beyond the "dos and don'ts", the training of these cadets would clearly benefit from the selection of reading and listening materials which seek to raise cross-cultural awareness, to expose cadets to different worlds, contexts, accents or personalities, and from the use of teaching methods (group discussions, case studies, etc.) that facilitate reflection and critical thinking on, for example, such potential friction points as power, solidarity or corruption.

However, despite the general tendency towards positively viewing intercultural communication, the gradual development of intercultural awareness needs to be acknowledged. It is desirable that training programs facilitate the gradation from the acquisition of cultural awareness, to cultural understanding. In other words, training should help cadets to move from tolerance to values customs or practices, which they might approve or disapprove, to the acceptance of widely varying perspectives, in which they are able to put themselves in the place of others and to avoid hurtful or offensive behavior (Bennet, 1993; Prechtl and Davidson Lund 2007). If guaranteeing a "safe landing" (Glaser et al. 2007: 7) is important for any student or professional who is about to participate in mobility programs or jobs abroad, it is, as argued in the introduction of this chapter, essential for these future officers to be able to face the intercultural challenges of international missions. Preparation and guidance on not only the practical aspects of the countries they might be deployed to but also on the necessary changes in behaviors, attitudes and values. Yet, this is only a fictional scenario and we should not forget the very inspiring proposal of the ICOPROMO project (Glaser et al. 2007: 7) that "the challenge of the new, the culture shock it brings, is no more than an opportunity to learn, to become different, to 'unlearn', in short to gain the new perspective that is part of any education".

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