

DE GRUYTER
MOUTON

Ying Wang

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES IN THE CHINESE CONTEXT

ORIENTATIONS TO ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA

DEVELOPMENTS IN ENGLISH
AS A LINGUA FRANCA

Copyright 2020. De Gruyter Mouton. All rights reserved. May not be reproduced in any form without permission from the publisher, except fair uses permitted under U.S. or applicable copyright law.

EBSCO Publishing : eBook Collection (EBSCOhost) - printed on 2/9/2023 9:18 PM
via
AN: 14949949 ; Ying Wang.; Language Ideologies in the Chinese Context :
Orientations to English As a Lingua Franca
Account numbers335141

DE
G

Ying Wang
Language Ideologies in the Chinese Context

Developments in English as a Lingua Franca



Editors
Jennifer Jenkins
Will Baker

Volume 12

Ying Wang

Language Ideologies in the Chinese Context



Orientations to English as a Lingua Franca

DE GRUYTER
MOUTON

ISBN 978-1-5015-1168-4

e-ISBN (PDF) 978-1-5015-0370-2

e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-1-5015-0366-5

ISSN 2192-8177

Library of Congress Control Number: 2020933304

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2020 Walter de Gruyter, Inc., Boston/Berlin

Typesetting: Integra Software Services Pvt. Ltd.

Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

www.degruyter.com

To Wei and Boheng

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank De Gruyter Mouton for their support and patience with publishing this book and especially Kirstin Boergen for providing timely and necessary information.

I owe particular debts of gratitude to the series co-editors Jennifer Jenkins and Will Baker. I spent longer time in writing this book than I was imagining. I appreciate their understanding, support, and trust, without which I would not have been able to get this book into shape for publication. I thank them for their valuable and detailed feedback on the proposal and the manuscript. Jennifer has always been a source of inspiration and encouragement, as my Phd supervisor and then an advisor, colleague and friend since she introduced me to the field of ELF research. Will has always provided me with guidance and information at all levels, as an advisor and colleague. I have benefited substantially from the discussion with him, and his comments on my manuscript have greatly motivated my reflection and sharpened my minds.

I am indebted to the Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics at the University of Southampton. I designed the MA module entitled *Language ideologies in a globalising world* when I joined the staff in 2015. Many ideas incorporated in the book were developed and evolved during my designing and running of the module. Colleagues in the department and students taking the module have all contributed to the development of ideas. My thanks go to Laura Dominguez and Marion Demossier for their support in getting me on the sabbatical leave that made writing the book possible. I would like to thank members in the Centre for Global Englishes, whose ideas, opinions, agreements and disagreements have combined to shape my thinking and driven me forward to explore L1-based imagined communities as a rarely researched dimension in ELF research. I thank Sonia Moran Panero for her generous collegiality when I presented ideas of the book in a department seminar.

I am grateful to Zhichang Xu from Monash University for his time and expertise on the manuscript as well as the information that he provides regarding the research on English in China. I need to note my profound gratitude to Wen Qiufang from Beijing Foreign Studies University, who has been generously contributing to my understanding of controversies of English as a lingua franca in relation to China, which has been core to my research. I thank all the participants in this study, whose valuable and, sometimes, extensive contribution have laid the material foundation of the book. I need to thank Xiaoqiong Hu from China Three Gorges University for her assistance and support during my data collection among university students. I thank Yan Qin and Ke Wang for their assistance with access to the participants in different professions and for the friendship over the years to help me to focus on my research.

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501503702-202>

Table of Contents

Acknowledgement — VII

1 Introduction — 1

- 1.1 Where the study starts — 1
- 1.2 English dilemmas for Chinese individuals — 5
- 1.3 English as a lingua franca: A new perspective on English in China — 9
- 1.4 Chinese English as a lingua franca (ChELF): An ideological focus — 13
- 1.5 Legitimacy and ideology — 18
 - 1.5.1 A critical perspective — 18
 - 1.5.2 Legitimacy as an ideological attribute — 19
 - 1.5.3 Legitimacy as an ideological process — 21
 - 1.5.4 Researching the legitimacy of ELF — 22
- 1.6 The structure of the monograph — 25

2 China and the globalisation of English — 31

- 2.1 The globalisation of English — 31
 - 2.1.1 The spread of English — 31
 - 2.1.2 Global, local and glocal — 32
 - 2.1.3 Blurring boundaries — 33
 - 2.1.4 A case of similects — 34
- 2.2 English, power and English users — 35
 - 2.2.1 A native/non-native divide — 35
 - 2.2.2 Power relations in English — 39
 - 2.2.3 Standard English ideology — 41
 - 2.2.4 Agency and new power relations — 43
 - 2.2.5 Summary — 44
- 2.3 English and China — 44
 - 2.3.1 English for national agendas — 45
 - 2.3.2 English for individual expressions — 47
 - 2.3.3 Chinese speakers' perceptions — 50
 - 2.3.4 Summary — 53
- 2.4 From ELF to ChELF — 54
 - 2.4.1 The position of L1 — 54
 - 2.4.2 An issue of community — 56
 - 2.4.3 An issue of boundary — 58

2.4.4 An issue of territoriality — **59**

2.5 Conclusion — **60**

3 Language ideologies: From languages to Englishes — 63

3.1 Theoretical departures — **64**

3.1.1 A social-theoretic inquiry — **65**

3.1.2 Structure and agency — **67**

3.1.3 Neutrality versus criticality — **70**

3.1.4 From level to scale — **71**

3.2 Languages and language ideologies — **73**

3.2.1 Languages: What are they? — **73**

3.2.2 The nature of language ideologies — **75**

3.2.3 Semiotic process — **78**

3.2.4 Orders of indexicality — **79**

3.2.5 Language users' identities — **82**

3.3 Language ideologies in the spread of English — **84**

3.3.1 English as a national language — **85**

3.3.2 English as a global language — **88**

3.3.3 English as a localized language — **92**

3.3.4 English in motion — **95**

3.3.5 Summary — **97**

3.4 Language ideologies and ELF — **98**

3.4.1 An overview: From attitudes to ideologies — **98**

3.4.2 Ideologies and institutions in current ELF research — **103**

3.4.3 Language ideologies and English change — **105**

3.5 Conclusion — **109**

4 Researching Chinese speakers' language ideologies — 111

4.1 Research questions — **111**

4.2 Methodology — **112**

4.3 Fieldwork — **117**

4.4 The data — **120**

4.5 Analytical procedure — **122**

4.6 Conclusion — **125**

5 Orienting to Chinese speakers' ELF — 126

5.1 Questionnaires — **126**

5.1.1 English experience — **127**

5.1.2 Linguistic orientation — **133**

5.1.3 Self-labelling — **137**

- 5.1.4 Evaluation and justification — **144**
- 5.2 Chinese speakers' language orientations — **151**
- 5.2.1 English, Chinese, and Chinese speakers — **151**
- 5.2.2 Exonormativity versus endonormativity — **154**
- 5.2.3 Chinese speakers' own English — **157**
- 5.3 Conclusion — **158**

6 Authority, identity and ideological struggle — 160

- 6.1 ELF and identity — **160**
- 6.1.1 Is ELF identity-free? — **161**
- 6.1.2 The ownership of ELF — **161**
- 6.1.3 ELF and community — **164**
- 6.1.4 Summary — **171**
- 6.2 Interviews — **171**
- 6.3 Authority centres in the space of English — **177**
- 6.3.1 Native English speaker — **178**
- 6.3.2 “The standard” — **180**
- 6.3.3 Chinese ELT tradition — **181**
- 6.3.4 Authority gap — **182**
- 6.3.5 Summary — **184**
- 6.4 Identities through English — **185**
- 6.4.1 Elites versus non-elites — **185**
- 6.4.2 User versus learner — **187**
- 6.4.3 International community of practice — **190**
- 6.4.4 An imagined Chinese community — **195**
- 6.4.5 Summary — **200**
- 6.5 Ideological struggle — **201**
- 6.5.1 Commonsense language beliefs — **201**
- 6.5.2 Educational constraints — **207**
- 6.5.3 Group identity — **211**
- 6.5.4 Summary — **213**
- 6.6 Conclusion — **214**

7 Sense-making of English change among Chinese speakers — 215

- 7.1 Focus groups — **215**
- 7.2 Approaching ELF — **217**
- 7.2.1 ELF versus native-like English — **217**
- 7.2.2 A phenomenon of ELF — **220**
- 7.2.3 An issue of “standard” — **222**
- 7.2.4 A conceptual struggle — **224**

- 7.2.5 Summary — **226**
- 7.3 Debating “standard” — **227**
- 7.4 Defining variations — **241**
- 7.5 Negotiating ownership — **247**
- 7.6 Conclusion — **254**

8 Ideologies about ChELF: China and compromised linguistic legitimacy — 256

- 8.1 The wrap-up of the study — **256**
- 8.2 ChELF: China as a conceptual factor — **261**
- 8.3 Compromised linguistic legitimacy — **263**
- 8.4 Implications and future research — **265**
- 8.5 Conclusion — **268**

Appendix A Questionnaire design — 271

Appendix B Interview design — 283

Appendix C Focus group design — 285

Appendix D Interview participants’ bio-data — 287

Appendix E Focus group participants’ bio-data — 289

Appendix F Key to transcription — 291

References — 293

Index — 313

1 Introduction

1.1 Where the study starts

The global spread of English illuminates an increasing need for English and a growing number of Chinese speakers of English in China. However, the Chinese interest in English is often paired with a widespread bias against Chinese speakers of English together with their linguistic performance. A keyword search on Google for “Chinese speakers’ English” is returned with about 91,300,000 results (retrieved on 13 January 2020), showing an international reputation about “Chinese speakers of English”. A colossal body of English-medium entries containing “Chinese speakers’ English” tend to highlight “errors”, “problems”, “learning” resources and courses targeting Chinese speakers of English. Those entries serve an effect of conflating Chinese speakers and Chinese learners into the same group whose English presumably contains “errors”, “problems” and “pitfalls” to which solutions are needed. Likewise, a keyword search for 中国人说英语 ‘Chinese speakers speak English’ conducted on Baidu (a Chinese equivalent to Google) is returned with about 48, 200, 200 results (retrieved on 13 January 2020). Baidu is a Chinese website, the users of which are usually Chinese speakers. The searching results thus explicate a predominant assumption about Chinese speakers’ performance in English; that is, Chinese speakers’ English includes “problems”, causes miscommunications and feels inappropriate. The assumption is evident in many articles found on the Baidu website which are titled as 中国人说英语为什么听起来没有礼貌 ‘why Chinese speakers’ English sounds impolite’, 为什么对中国人来说英语这么难 ‘why English is so difficult for Chinese speakers’, 为什么许多中国人讲不好英语 ‘why many Chinese speakers can’t speak good English’, and so on.

The widespread negativity often coincides with an observation that native English speakers (NESs) do not use English the way that Chinese speakers do. In other words, Chinese speakers are often judged against the benchmark of NESs’ Englishes, such as American and British Englishes. Traditional SLA research plays a role in reinforcing the modelling on native Englishes, by offering or adopting theories, for example, native speaker competence (Chomsky 1965), the poverty of stimulus (Chomsky 1975), and the first language (L1) transfer (Gass 1988). Following this research tradition, corpus linguists seek to identify and eradicate commonly made “errors” among Chinese speakers of English within a research agenda under the label of “Chinese learner English”. For instance, Lu (2017) “explores the features of Chinese learner English with analysis of grammatical and lexical collocations” through a corpus study (<https://www.routledge.com/>

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501503702-001>

A-Corpus-Study-of-Collocation-in-Chinese-Learner-English-1st-Edition/Lu/p/book/9781138205567). The research on why Chinese speakers cannot achieve native speaker competence and how to help Chinese speakers to approximate native speaker competence, unfortunately, has an effect of trapping Chinese speakers in the powerless situation.

While Chinese speakers are increasingly engaging with international activities, the expectations for Chinese speakers to follow NES norms do not empower them but even disempower them. On the one hand, Chinese speakers are often observed to produce linguistic outcomes that feature a non-conformity to NES norms. Against the benchmark of native Englishes, the more Chinese speakers use English, the more prejudice they receive. On the other hand, the expectation undermines Chinese speakers' right to English. The benchmark of native Englishes confines Chinese speakers to a narrower range of choices by prescribing how to communicate meanings through linguistic forms. While Chinese speakers increasingly need English for the access to international activities, they are denied of equal power relations with NESs but positioned as "followers" or "learners" of native Englishes, of which they have no control, but NESs do.

The research into English as a lingua franca (ELF) provides a source of inspiration for addressing Chinese speakers' dilemma. ELF scholars raise an issue of power in the spread of English around the world, a spread that has resulted in not only the diffusion of English across different contexts but also the unprecedented growth of English users in statics. With the metaphor of the ownership of English, Widdowson (1994, 2003) discusses the issue of power and authority in English. He problematizes the commonsense assumption that NESs have the authority in deciding how English should be used and posits that NNESs have right to English and creative use of English. Seidlhofer (2004: 209) remarks that the global spread of English presents "a state of delicate balance" between NESs' authority in English and non-native English speakers' (NNESs) population size. Jenkins (2015a: 177) reminds us of a power structure in currency, within which standard L1 Englishes, non-standard L1 Englishes, standard L2 Englishes, and non-standard L2 Englishes are ranked from the highest level to the lowest level. This model describes the current linguistic hierarchy that designates the authority of English to NESs, although there is further categorization among NESs. While standard L2 Englishes are equivalent to Kachruvian institutionalized Englishes, Chinese speakers' Englishes can be projected to the group in the lowest level of the power structure. Importantly, ELF scholars do not simply seek to describe the power structure in the spread of English, but also strive to facilitate new power relations that support the global ownership of English. As Seidlhofer (2009: 236) states, "English belongs to all those who use it". The implication of the global ownership of English lies in the rebalance of power relations between

NESs and NNEs and the pursuit of the equal footing among all English users. In this sense, the powerless status of Chinese speakers should not be automatically accepted, but ways of empowering Chinese speakers should be sought with a focus on the search for appropriate explanations for Chinese speakers' use of English to be evaluated in its own terms.

ELF research has yielded fruitful results. ELF is uncovered as a natural linguistic reality with its own communicative norms and a linguistic practice that allows its users to give new meanings to English (e.g. Cogo and Dewey 2012, Hynninen 2016, Mauranen 2012, Pitzl 2018a). That is, established norms and meanings generated in NES communities are irrelevant for ELF users. There are two implications for Chinese speakers' use of English. In one way, ELF research takes issue with the automatic acceptance of native Englishes as *the* reference. Admittedly, the reference itself is not problematic; what is problematic is the treatment of native Englishes as the sole benchmark in evaluating practices of English across different contexts whether those contexts are NES speech communities or not. The global spread of ELF has conditioned the use of English by Chinese speakers, which could not be confined to the engagement with NESs and their communities. Thus, the bias for native Englishes might undermine Chinese speakers' purposes of using English to communicate with others than NESs. In another way, ELF research advocates the acknowledgement of ELF users' language practice in their own right. ELF research interrogates how ELF users get their jobs done and establish solidarity among them by means of ELF as linguistic resources (Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey 2011, Seidlhofer 2011). The focus departs from the conformity to native Englishes to the effects and meanings of non-conformity, motivating me to reconsider Chinese speakers' use of English in terms of the effects and the meanings that their linguistic performance has yielded between interlocutors. In this sense, Chinese speakers' English should not be automatically judged with reference to native Englishes. Rather, it would be constructive to appreciate how Chinese speakers' English works and what their English means in communicative encounters. In short, ELF research offers theoretical implications for a reconsideration of Chinese speakers' English.

Nonetheless, the reconsideration is yet to be carried out by delving into Chinese speakers' English from Chinese speakers' own perspectives. As Giddens (1984: xxii) reminds, "the comfort of established views can easily be a cover for intellectual sloth. If ideas are important and illuminating, what matters much more than their origin is to be able to sharpen them so as to demonstrate their usefulness, even if a framework which might be quite different from that which helped to engender them". Although previous research on ELF in other contexts has offered new thinkings of English in relation to its users around the globe, it is necessary to prevent being what Giddens notes as an "intellectual sloth"

and taking for granted that Chinese speakers' use of ELF is autonomously legitimate within the framework of ELF research that has been developed by previous researchers – especially Jennifer Jenkins, Anna Mauranen, Barbara Seidlhofer and their students as well as their followers, who have investigated the phenomenon of ELF in international settings in general and in other contexts in particular. Considering this, I would like to explore the legitimacy of Chinese speakers' use of English, which plays a role of ELF in nature for Chinese speakers today, on the basis of previous research on ELF. It is my hope that this study with the focus on Chinese users of ELF in the context where Chinese speakers see their English as particularly relevant would “sharpen” the framework of ELF that has been developed by other ELF researchers.

The issue of legitimacy flags up as core to the reconsideration of Chinese speakers' use of ELF. Language legitimacy is never a linguistic issue but features an ideological dimension, which implies the necessity of taking language ideologies on board in interrogating Chinese speakers' use of ELF. As ideology is essentially the systematic study of ideas, it is fair to say that language ideology captures the systematic study of ideas, beliefs, perceptions, understandings and interpretations of language. A wide consensus has been achieved in the scholarship of language ideologies that language ideology is never a social- and political- free phenomenon. As Fairclough (1989) posits, a critical approach helps to examine language ideologies in relevant socio-political contexts, which establish linkages between language structure and social structure – or, in a sense, power structure. The study of language ideologies gives attention to both “what” language ideologies are and “how” language ideologies come into being. A focus on the latter illuminates the process through which the power structure governs social actors on the one hand, and social actors react to the power structure on the other hand. In the same vein, language legitimacy entails both legitimacy as an outcome and legitimacy as a process. The notion of legitimacy as a process entails two directions, that is, a top-down process whereby legitimacy is ascribed to a language by the authoritative group and a process initiated at the grassroots level whereby language practices serve as a way of struggling for legitimacy. A focus on the grassroots gives space to language users' agentive role in the development of language legitimacy, which is an approach accepted in this book. This book thus focuses on Chinese users of ELF and explores how they interact with the English-medium communicative order that defines them as “learners” of English. Specifically, I will explore how Chinese speakers perceive, evaluate and elaborate on their own linguistic outcomes, how they see their relationship with English and their own linguistic outcomes, how they see the English-medium communicative order and how they position themselves in the power structure.

The rest of the chapter will proceed to contextualize the study by elaborating English dilemmas faced up by Chinese speakers in China, with regards to China's language policy that has implications for the development of English in China. I will then discuss the implications of ELF research for the legitimation of Chinese speakers' use of English, proposing the conceptualization of Chinese English as a lingua franca (ChELF) which emphasizes a grassroots approach to the ideological process of English in China. Subsequently, some space is given to discuss the connections between legitimacy and ideology, which leads to the clarification of the research questions the book seeks to answer through empirical data. Finally, the structure of the book is outlined to allow a convenient and panoramic overview of the book.

1.2 English dilemmas for Chinese individuals

English has been a paradox in China. On the one hand, it is welcomed, given a widely-recognized role in national, societal and individual development. On the other hand, it causes apprehension and scepticism that it would threaten Chinese language, culture and identity. China thus seeks to reconcile the paradox by keeping English a “foreign” language and stripping English of the ideological bearings. Correspondingly, Chinese speakers are expected to exploit English of its instrumental value and consult NES norms. Where Chinese speakers' linguistic outcomes show divergences from NES norms, the bias arises against not only Chinese speakers but also their linguistic performance. Different labels have been applied to Chinese speakers' use of English, such as Chinglish, Chinese learner English, Chinese English, as well as China English, and different voices have been heard to comment on Chinese speakers' English, revealing the commonplace of Chinese speakers' non-conformity to NES norms. The context where Chinese individuals are situated thus features various dilemmas regarding policy, practice, normativity, identity and legitimacy, shedding light on Chinese individuals' perceptions and identities in relation to English, which are investigated in the current study. In turn, what follows explores the English paradox and dilemmas in more details to contextualise the study of Chinese individuals' language orientations.

As observed by many others (e.g. Pan 2014), a phenomenal craze for English has been sweeping China. The English mania is supported by not only the government but also the grassroots. Pan (2014) notes that the governmental agendas of improving Chinese people's English proficiency are reproduced among grassroots. At the national level, English is accepted to enhance economic development and prosperity. At the individual level, English is conceived to offer access to

resources and opportunities, increasing possibilities for mobility. While English is ascribed in language policy as the most important foreign language in China, Chinese officials explicitly emphasise – through public discourse in media- the role of English in developing the country and improving Chinese people’s life (Pan 2014). Not surprisingly, education as a central device of language ideology (Shohamy 2006) makes English education a compulsory subject in schools and universities in China. In addition, all sorts of English teaching and learning programmes are available in the education market, offering complementary services to Chinese people. It appears to be a commonsense belief that English will bring Chinese people good life and welfare, contributing to the material civilization of China. However, the English mania has aroused much of a concern for English imperialism in China (e.g. Gui 2010, Liu 2014, Ren 2005). While alarming voices are heard among Chinese scholars, a few ideological practices are visible in countering the English concern, such as the promotion of Chinese as a national language and an international language, the instrumentalist approach to English, and the definition of English as a “foreign” language.

The state has long engaged with the promotion of Chinese language, culture and identity to resist ideological impacts of English in China. In order to protect Chinese culture and Chinese value while appreciating English as important for Chinese speakers’ learning from the west, China has always adopted an instrumentalist perspective to follow the principle of 中学为体, 西学为用 ‘Chinese learning for essence and western learning for utility’ (Gao 2009, Pan 2014). The principle is expected to restrain the role of English within linguistic terms. Official attitudes towards Chinese have led to the promotion of Chinese both nationwide and worldwide. Nationwide, Chinese education is provided to Chinese speakers through formal education. Worldwide, Confucius Institutes function as a key mechanism of promoting the Chinese language. The Chinese government encourages the learning of Chinese among international students through different funding schemes (Wang 2017). In addition, Chinese language and culture are seen to be promoted through various discursive practices, such as Chinese Poetry Congress broadcasted by the China Central Television and the rising market for 汉服 ‘Hanfu’-- traditional Chinese clothing. Implicitly, English and Chinese seem to be assigned with different roles for the nation’s development and prosperity so that English does not interfere Chinese culture, value and identity but serves Chinese speakers as an ideologically free instrument.

English is positioned as the primary foreign language that Chinese speakers need in China’s language policy. While the positioning undoubtedly suits national agendas for development and prosperity, the treatment of English as a foreign language in language policy sits comfortably with the nationalist language ideology.

Obviously, China is one of the many countries where the nationalist language ideology prevails. The nationalist language ideology emphasises the essentialist connection between “one nation” and “one language” (Shohamy 2006). In this sense, Chinese is defined by the state as the national language, while other languages are not. English is thus naturally accepted to be tied and belong to a foreign country. By keeping English “foreign”, the state seeks to maintain the Chinese culture and identity integrity. English education, which as Lippi-Green (1994a) and Shohamy (2006) point out, is a crucial device of language policy, provides strong support to the maintenance of the role of English in China. The view of EFL comes to terms with the modelling on Standard Englishes (StEs) – which are often standard American and British Englishes, in China’s English education. The modelling echoes a Confucius thinking that it is impossible to establish the order without rules and standards – a similar idea to what Widdowson (2003) describes that things fall apart without standards. Thus, it is possible to say that EFL has the ideological, educational and cultural underpinnings in China. Nevertheless, while EFL seems to be an idealized solution to the English concern in China’s language policy, EFL causes dilemmas to Chinese individuals in a few ways.

First, EFL constrains Chinese learners of English within a restricted scope of English that serves a limited arrange of purposes, while the global use of English has led to global Englishes (Jenkins 2015a), which go beyond what StEs can represent. ELT materials and cultural products available in China tend to represent English in a way that English has NES norms, links to NESs’ cultures, enables Chinese individuals to communicate with NESs, and helps cultural exchange between Chinese speakers and NESs (Wang, Weng and Li 2019). In addition, an instrumentalist perspective on English associated with EFL does not offer opportunities to support Chinese learners’ identity needs, seemingly treating Chinese learners as containers to be filled in with NESs’ knowledge of native Englishes.

Second, as EFL is embedded in the gatekeeping practice in China, EFL affects Chinese individuals’ access to various opportunities and resources. Chinese individuals are often expected to sit different English exams for academic advancement and for job hunting. Not only international job markets require English proficiency, but also domestic job markets often require to see job hunters’ certificates of different sorts of English exams. A common national exam is the College English Test (CET), and the most popular certificates are CET Band 4 and Band 6 certificates in China. Some job seekers holding IELTS or TOEFL certificates are advantageous in the job markets. However, the EFL-based gatekeeping practice is problematic and inviable. Jenkins and Leung’s (2019) critique of standard English tests is applicable here. It is necessary to note that the

pursuit of standard native Englishes is the other side of the same coin of EFL. As English tests are likely to be based on StEs – as Widdowson (1994) notes, those Englishes used by a small group of elite NESs- Chinese individuals are tested whether they have what Chomsky (1965) defines as near-native competence of English- or accurately, a small group of elite NESs' competence. In other words, Chinese speakers' capability of managing English-medium settings and domains is automatically denied when Chinese speakers do not produce native-like Englishes.

Third, EFL cannot suit Chinese individuals' needs for mobility at the international scale where intercultural communication makes essentialist and nationalist cultures and identities not helpful. Due to the national policy on "opening up" and "internationalization", Chinese individuals need to engage with multilingual speakers of English through the medium of English as a lingua franca (ELF). In addition, many Chinese individuals are practising or preparing for what Blommaert (2007a) notes as "scale jump", that is, to travel from a national scale where they mainly engage with intracultural communication to an international scale, where they turn to intercultural communication through English playing a role of a global lingua franca. While the role of ELF becomes increasingly important for Chinese individuals, the insistence on ELF cannot help Chinese individuals appropriately.

In short, while the spread of English finds its way into various aspects of Chinese individuals' lives, Chinese individuals' needs for English is increasingly in tension with NES norms at different scales – institutional, national, and international. One might assume that Chinese speakers should work hard to make their English native-like. Nevertheless, the assumption has three loopholes. First, Chinese speakers have invested a lot of time and money in their English education, which is unsurprisingly oriented towards native Englishes, but they have continued to end up with disappointments (Gao 2009, Pan 2014). Second, the assumption takes for granted that Chinese speakers want to be native-like and overlooks other identity options that Chinese speakers have right to, for instance, their identification with other NNESSs whom they work with in international business companies. Third, the assumption overlooks Chinese speakers' agentive role in the development of English and regards Chinese speakers as imitators of NESs. Thus, the discourse about EFL in China puts Chinese individuals in a paradoxical situation where their linguistic performance can hardly be respected, and their identity needs can barely be satisfied. In a word, as English is increasingly used as a medium of communication between Chinese speakers and non-Chinese speakers, the notion of EFL imposes constraints upon Chinese speakers' use of English but lacks the explanatory power for the phenomenon of English arising among Chinese speakers in China.

1.3 English as a lingua franca: A new perspective on English in China

The notion of EFL does not offer explanatory power in capturing the use of English by Chinese speakers today and in the foreseeable future. Both China and Chinese individuals are embracing English for internationalization and international engagements, where language contact often takes place between Chinese speakers and non-Chinese speakers to put the role of ELF in the spotlight. A new perspective thus should be adopted to align with the sociolinguistic reality that Chinese speakers use English to communicate with multilingual speakers from other first language (L1) backgrounds. It is fortunate that the research on ELF has flourished to offer implications for the understanding of English, which is literally ELF, in China. A new perspective thus can be loosely labelled as an ELF perspective in this monograph for the ease of discussion to encapsulate ELF scholars' and researchers' insights into ELF, which, in turn, have implications for the understanding of English in China.

ELF can be defined 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”* (Seidlhofer 2011: 7, original italics). Finding its way to a considerable body of literature, the notion of ELF invokes two connotations. One points to the function of English in international communication; the other relates to forms of English in international communication. It is widely accepted that English plays an indispensable role in multifarious settings where communication takes place between people from different L1 backgrounds. It is, nonetheless, not uncontroversial regarding the nature of linguistic outcomes of English being used in international communication. As Jenkins (2006: 140) points out, the same linguistic outcome might be an error from a perspective of EFL but a variant from a perspective of ELF. The juxtaposition between the function of ELF and the forms of ELF thus can point to diverging perspectives under the label of ELF. Swan (2012), for instance, accepts the role of ELF but seeks to understand how far NNEs' usages can be regarded as “mistakes”, claiming that ELF should not be treated as an independent language phenomenon. For those who cannot depart from the interest in “mistakes” or “errors”, the notion of ELF should be used “sparingly” – as in Swan's (2012: 388) word – to designate the “lingua franca” role of English. Apparently, how Swan proposes to use the notion of ELF does not essentially depart from the perspective under the label of EFL, a perspective that is not constructive but reinforcing the modelling on native Englishes and, in turn, the prejudice over NNEs' non-conformity to the models. By contrast, those who have accumulated work to establish the field of ELF research (e.g. Jenkins 2000, 2015a, Mauranen 2012, Seidlhofer 2011) accept the lingua franca role of English and seek to explain

the resultant diffusion of English. For them, linguistic consequences of the functioning of English in intercultural communication should be recognized without reference to pre-defined models. It is this line of inquiry that the monograph follows to reconsider Chinese speakers' use of English, which serves the purpose of intercultural communication but diverges from StE models.

Unlike the notion of EFL, which serves to *regulate* NNESS' linguistic performance through the modelling on native Englishes, the concept of ELF provides a theoretical foundation to *explain* NNESS' linguistic outcomes generated in intercultural communication. Core to the ELF concept is the rethinking of a series of traditional convictions, among which language, community and culture are re-theorized to justify ELF as a natural language which should be studied in its own name (see, e.g. Baker 2015, Cogo 2012, Dewey 2009, Jenkins 2014, Mauranen 2012, Seidlhofer 2011). ELF scholars reject an essentialist approach to language, community and culture, which are traditionally defined as "bounded" entities and presumably interconnected with each other in a way that a definite language represents a definite community, belongs to a definite nation-state, and correlates with a definite culture. ELF scholars abandon a neat demarcation between different categories of linguistic forms, which, by contrast, falls within a purist approach to languages that regards code-mixing and code-meshing as manifestations of linguistic pollution or corruption. ELF scholars also see geo-politically defined boundaries as irrelevant to the understanding of ELF as a linguistic phenomenon (e.g. Jenkins 2014, Morán-Panero 2018, Seidlhofer 2011). The deconstruction is followed by reconstruction. The notion of language is reconstructed by shifting the focus from linguistic codes to sociolinguistic practice (Seidlhofer 2011). The treatment of language as a set of discrete codes is outdated from an ELF perspective. Rather, ELF researchers are interested in all communicative resources brought to intercultural communication and all communicative strategies that support the communication between the speaker and the hearer (e.g. Cogo and Dewey 2012, Mauranen 2012). That is, language is not a set of codes but situated practice from an ELF perspective. The situatedness implies the need for making sense of linguistic output with reference to the context and the interlocutors. It follows that language is not necessarily pre-defined outside the communicative settings but emergent in various forms during communicative actions (Hynninen 2016). Furthermore, community as a concept addressing the relationship between language and its users is redefined to group language users who do not do what speech community members do or share histories and cultures that have been developed and accumulated over generations. ELF researchers (e.g. Ehrenreich 2018, Pitzl 2018b) adopt an innovated version of Wenger's (1998) conceptual framework of community of practice to group ELF speakers together. In the early stage of conceptualizing ELF speakers'

groupings, Wenger's concept is used to draw attention to the "joint negotiated enterprise", for example, international business or academic meetings, that brings ELF users together for "mutual engagement" through the exploitation of negotiated resources in the real-time interactions. Subsequently, ELF scholars (Ehrenreich 2018, Pitzl 2018b) see the need to update Wenger's concept by incorporating the transiency, heterogeneity, and dynamics of the grouping of ELF speakers who engage with each other. In addition, culture is re-theorized to deal with the dynamics of cultural flows and highlight the "in-betweenness" of ELF speakers in ELF communicative settings (Baker 2015: 35). That is, the conception of ELF rejects the question of what is *the* culture of ELF but invokes the analysis of how ELF is associated with cultural heterogeneity and dynamics. All in all, the theorization of ELF together with a set of associated issues of its conception departs from traditional caveats of language and draws attention to how ELF plays its role in communication and make its users connected with each other. In short, ELF is a self-defined language which should be explained in its own terms rather than evaluated in comparative terms. ELF users' performance is a natural course in its situated circumstances. The expectation for ELF users to conform to pre-defined norms, which are likely to be standard NES norms, should be abandoned.

The re-theorizations of language, community and culture depart from the categorical nature of language, community and culture in traditionally bounded territories to capture ELF encounters where language, community and culture become boundary-less, fluid and hybrid. Importantly, the re-theorizations are supported and supplemented by prolific and down-to-earth scholarly contributions in examining ELF. Researchers have discovered the nature of ELF to be fluid, hybrid, transient, contingent and complex (e.g. Baird, Baker, and Kitazawa 2014, Cogo 2012, Pitzl 2018b); they have examined how ELF performs its functions in intercultural communication – for example, ELF leads to successful communication through accommodation, translanguaging, meaning negotiation and co-construction (e.g. Cogo and Dewey 2012, Jenkins 2000, Mauranen 2012); they have identified norms and regularities that ELF presents as going beyond superficial linguistic features but underlying linguistic performance (Hynninen 2016); they have explored ELF users' identities, communities and cultures, which are indispensable factors of a natural language (e.g. Baker 2015, Ehrenreich 2009, Seidlhofer 2011). In short, the unremitting efforts in the research on ELF have yielded fruitful results towards the legitimacy of ELF as an independent language in the spread of English.

An ELF perspective offers two major implications for the understanding of English used by Chinese speakers in the changing context where intercultural communication is gaining increasing relevance for Chinese speakers' language

contact. First, an ELF perspective makes visible the detrimental constraints exerted by the discourse about EFL upon Chinese speakers' creativity in international engagements and problematizes the prejudice against Chinese speakers of English. Those constraints mainly evoke the conformity to NES norms, the correspondence between English and NES cultures, and the instrumentalist approach to English – which emphasizes identity free. From an ELF perspective, the constraints overlook what Chinese speakers demand from English at the grassroots level and how Chinese speakers establish relations with English in respect of language, community and culture in real-life situations. Second, an ELF perspective helps to understand Chinese speakers' contact with English at present and in the foreseeable future, opening a possibility to reconsider Chinese speakers' linguistic outcomes in relation to NES norms, which they are currently expected to follow, and thus the legitimacy of Chinese speakers' English in its own right. English has long been used by Chinese speakers to the extent that different labels have been given to describe Chinese speakers' linguistic output, such as Chinglish, Chinese learner English, Chinese English, China English and others. Although researchers have adopted different perspectives on Chinese speakers' English (see Chapter 2), Chinese speakers have been deemed to follow NESs' norms (Wen 2012), and their performance is often evaluated negatively due to its un-nativeness resulted from various reasons such as L1 Chinese “interference”, lack of interest in English, insufficient exposure to native Englishes, insufficient teaching and learning resources, insufficient learning time, to name a few. An ELF perspective fundamentally challenges the native/non-native dichotomy (e.g. Jenkins 2015a, Seidlhofer 2011), which apparently provides new possibilities for the unthinking of “un-nativeness” and the rethinking of Chinese speakers' linguistic outcomes. Importantly, the growing prominence of ELF for Chinese speakers at the individual level and for China at the policy level calls for a perspective that proceeds from ELF to examine English in terms of its role, its nature, and its ideological meanings in China.

While China and Chinese speakers are examples of participants in the phenomenon of ELF, the legitimacy of ELF used by Chinese speakers cannot be taken for granted, despite the legitimacy of ELF in theoretical terms and with the empirical support in general. This argument is based on four points. First, legitimacy is a complicated issue, invoking language ideologies, which connect language conventions and power relations in macro-social contexts (see Fairclough 1989). Second, it would be contradictory to acknowledge the agentive role of language users in the development of language and simultaneously overlook their perspective on their own language use. Third, it would be contradictory to ignore language users' perspective on the one hand and to support their linguistic right on the other hand. Last but not least, Chinese speakers' perceptions of their own

English would offer insights into their linguistic behaviours in the future and thus the development of English following their own initiatives.

From an ELF perspective, I would like to use the label of Chinese English as a lingua franca or Chinese ELF (ChELF) to refer to the English used by Chinese speakers in international communication, though the legitimacy of ChELF is yet to be established due to the lack of work in this respect. Considering the legitimacy of ChELF inevitably demands enormous effort. This monograph, however, can only focus on one of many tasks in this direction, seeking to invite more colleagues to join the research on Chinese speakers' ELF. Given the value of language ideologies in defining a language, the monograph undertakes the task of investigating language ideologies in China to explore how the phenomenon that Chinese speakers use English for and in intercultural communication under the label of ChELF can be justified as an autonomous language with endonormativity and distinguished from a learner variety of StEs that is defined in a traditional sense. While language ideology is a complicated concept, which will be discussed extensively in Chapter 3, the monograph addresses language ideologies revolving around ChELF with the focus on Chinese speakers' perceptions and identities associated with their use of ELF.

1.4 Chinese English as a lingua franca (ChELF): An ideological focus

I use the acronym of ChELF to refer to the phenomenon that Chinese speakers use ELF to communicate with non-Chinese speakers for international communication. The phenomenon can trigger three interpretations. In the first place, ELF has a role to play in Chinese speakers' and China's engagements in international projects, activities and networking. This interpretation can point to the description or linguistic analysis of how ELF plays such a role and how Chinese speakers use ELF in relevant activities. Much work has been done in ELF research in general to offer references and lend experiences to the investigation into Chinese speakers' use of ELF. Admittedly, the ELF-oriented analysis of Chinese speakers' ELF is still rare. Sporadic insights into how Chinese speakers engage in intercultural communication, however, can be obtained in ELF research focusing on multilingual users of ELF among whom Chinese speakers are interlocutors. Batziakas (2016), for example, analyses how international students in a university setting use ELF to communicate. Although his focus is on international students, the data involve a Chinese student's participation in the communication to disclose that the Chinese student exploits various ELF strategies that are identified and discussed in a body of ELF studies to communicate with other multilingual students. The following

extract is drawn from Batziakas (2016: 138–139) data, through which we can see the Chinese participant’s employment of various strategies to get her meaning across and achieve the purpose of the discussion, that is, to decide how to select a representative for a student society in the university that the participants all attend.

Extract 1-1

The participants

Arvin – Mauritian Creole, Breno – Portuguese, Jose – Spanish, Linlin – Mandarin Chinese

Transcription key

=	Latching
?	Question
(.)	Brief pause
(time in seconds)	Longer pause
BOLD text	Focal expression (for analysis)
↑	Speaker expressed enthusiasm
Underlining	Speaker emphasis

1	Linlin	=so I wouldn’t like someone who is who is (.)
2		ah in china we say ah haha diaosi
3		(.)
4	Breno	hm?
5	Jose	what?
6	Linlin	oh i mean you know diaosi (1.4)
7		ah ah in English i think perhaps
8		if there is this word=
9	Arvin	=so what’s this word? what do you mean?
10	Linlin	diaosi (.) someone who is average and normal (1.3)
11		who can’t do anything can’t manage anything (.)
12		like good for nothing (.)
13	Arvin	is he someone loser then?= 14 Linlin =a loser? diaosi is not a lose it’s not a loser definitely not 15 Jose is he in Spanish we say haha perdedor? 16 like someone who can’t manage things and people 17 (.) 18 Linlin i don’t know this word this language i mean 19 but nuh it’s not what you said (0.2) 20 you know it’s just diaosi 21 diaosi and nothing else 22 (.) 23 Arvin ok↑ i get you↑ 24 no diaosi will be selected 25 and do we all agree no diaosi will ever represent the society?= 26 Breno =[ok] 27 Jose [yes]= 28 Linlin =thanks↑ 29 yeah it’s better this way no= 30 Arvin =no diaosi 31 Linlin thanks↑

Batziakas (2016: 138–139)

In the above extract, Linlin draws on her Chinese resource where *diaosi* comes from to disqualify a particular kind of potential representatives. She keeps using

diaosi instead of switching to a different word, showing her belief that this word can convey what she intends to express. While her interlocutors are confused with the word *diaosi* and ask her for clarification, she clarifies her point by explaining the meaning of *diaosi* (line 10) and collaborates with other multilingual users in the same conversation to negotiate the meaning of *diaosi* (lines 13–31). She expresses her appreciation (line 31) when her point is taken by others (lines 23–27) that no *diaosi* should be considered as a potential representative of the student society, showing her gesture of maintaining solidarity with others in the conversation and closing the conversation with an agreement. The extract thus shows some strategies that the Chinese speaker uses, such as code-switching, clarification, solidarity-building, which are found in other corpus studies on ELF, such as Cogo and Dewey (2012), Mauranen (2012), to name just a few. Though more work needs to be done to study Chinese speakers' use of English in systemic ways and in more details, the existence of the sociolinguistic fact should be acknowledged that Chinese speakers use ELF in intercultural communication. The acronym of ChELF serves to acknowledge such an existence.

The phenomenon that Chinese speakers use ELF tends to trigger interests in Chinese speakers' "errors", "gaps" and "low" proficiencies in English together with the assumption that Chinese speakers need help to improve their English. Some examples were presented at the beginning of the monograph and a body of studies on Chinese learners' "errors" (e.g. Lu 2017, Xiao and Dai 2010, Zhao 2009) – those who are interested in identifying errors and patronising Chinese speakers tend to make Chinese speakers equivalents to Chinese learners. The "error"-oriented interpretation sits well within the discourse of EFL that upholds the modelling of native Englishes. Unfortunately, the negative views of Chinese speakers' English and the patronising manner to Chinese speakers do not help to understand Chinese speakers' use of English but reinforce their disadvantages. From an ELF perspective, NNEs have right to English and linguistic creativity. However, the modelling on native Englishes is irrelevant to the use of ELF but constraining NNEs' roles in the development of English. It follows that Chinese speakers' use of English should be studied in terms of how it works in their real-life encounters with non-Chinese speakers. The acronym of ChELF thus implies the treatment of Chinese speakers' English from an ELF perspective and opposes that from an EFL perspective, acknowledging Chinese speakers' role in English change.

Further, the phenomenon can be interpreted as Chinese speakers' use of ELF as differentiated from other L1 speakers' use of ELF. This interpretation seems to suggest a boundary drawn around Chinese speakers of ELF and make other L1 speakers of ELF backgrounded in contrast with Chinese speakers being foregrounded. This interpretation is yet to be interrogated, which is the focus of the monograph. Necessarily, the interpretation is not without any ground.

Current research on ELF has explored ELF as a natural language in communities of practice (CoPs) that multilingual speakers form. As the concept of CoPs lays a prominent focus on commonalities and sharedness among multilingual speakers of ELF (e.g. Jenkins 2000, Hynninen and Solin 2018), a few researchers have expressed their concern that CoPs do not sufficiently address identities and cultures that are relevant for ELF speakers. In Vettorel's (2014) study, Italian bloggers use ELF to address the CoP at the global level that ELF researchers see as relevant for ELF practice, but their code-switching strategies reveal their engagement with a local or regional community, which is essentially connected with their L1s and home cultures. Redefining the culture to address ELF users' transculturality, Baker (2015: 94) sees CoPs as narrow-scoped: CoPs offer little space for the understanding of "nebulous values of cultures", and the complicated interaction between cultures involved in the "in-betweenness" and cultures in "the larger 'imagined' communities cultures are associated with". With the focus on Chinese speakers, other researchers (e.g. Sung 2014a, 2014b, Wang 2012, 2018) have reported the relevance of multiple identities and communities at different scales for Chinese speakers' engagement with ELF. Chinese speakers are found to adopt L1-defined national/local identities and simultaneously ELF-based intercultural identities (Sung 2014a, 2014b, Wang 2012, 2018). It is fair to say that ELF users' experience and perception go beyond what CoPs can explain. Correspondingly, researchers interested in ELF users' multiple identities inevitably go beyond the concept of CoPs and constructively consider ELF speakers' connections with L1-related communities, "imagined" communities, and social communities to which ELF users feel like to attach. The acronym of ChELF thus emphasises the connection between Chinese speakers (but not other L1 speakers) and ELF, although what the link is like is a question to be explored in the monograph.

In my earlier discussion of the concept of ChELF (Wang 2012, 2018), I make it clear that ChELF is not a linguistic construct but an ideological construct, which deals with Chinese speakers' acknowledgement of their own use of ELF as legitimate and as indexical of both Chinese and international affiliations. Though the examination of Chinese speakers' ELF as differentiated from other L1 speakers' ELF can benefit from linguistic analysis, I would like to adopt an approach focusing on language ideologies. Basically, language is more than a linguistic issue. While linguistic viability does not suffice the legitimacy of language, it is seen in the case of ELF that language assessment and policies continue to be NES-oriented to attract ELF scholars' attention to ideological issues (e.g. Jenkins 2014, Jenkins and Leung 2019). Despite the complexity of language ideologies, how community members perceive their language as a language is a defining issue for the legitimacy of language (Bonacina-Pugh 2020, Proshina 2016). Thus, this

monograph explores language ideologies centring on Chinese speakers' use of ELF in order to probe into the extent to which the legitimacy of ChELF can be established. In other words, the study of ChELF in the monograph does not focus on linguistic analysis but ideological processes through which the legitimacy of ChELF can be established.

Language ideologies, in this monograph, have a few meanings, which will be discussed in Chapter 3. Here, however, a brief overview is provided to inform the reader of my approach to the language ideologies in relation to ChELF. One, language ideologies relate to macro-social meanings of language, that deal with orders of indexicality. Two, language ideologies relate to micro-social meanings of language, that deal with language users' explanation and justification of the use of language. Third, language ideologies are not only outcomes but also processes, though which agents engage with power relations in a social structure. The investigation into language ideologies centring on Chinese speakers' use of ELF, thus, invokes the three aspects and the intricacy of the interactions between the three aspects. Consequently, the data not only support the discussion of ELF in relation to Chinese speakers but also reveal the ideological nature of Chinese speakers' use of ELF. The research participants perceive their use of ELF as ways of indexing their relations with China, Chinese culture, and Chinese speakers' collective identities, as well as ways of indexing their membership in international CoPs. The exploration into Chinese speakers' identities through the use of ELF will be conducted in Chapter 6 and the concept of "imagined communities" will be discussed in Chapter 2 to show how Chinese speakers draw a boundary around Chinese speakers of ELF while simultaneously aligning with international CoPs.

Along with the exploration into the legitimacy of Chinese speakers' ELF, the acronym of ChELF is developed to encompass meanings at four levels. First, it describes the sociolinguistic fact that Chinese speakers use ELF for international engagements. Second, it has the nature of ELF as opposed to EFL. This distinction implies Chinese speakers' right to English and correspondingly calls for the recognition of their own way of using ELF. Third, it is indexed to Chinese speakers' negotiation of identities through ELF between international CoPs and imagined Chinese community. Fourth, it connects ELF and China through its users, who makes "China" a conceptual factor of ChELF rather than a contextual factor. The current study, as will be reported later, shows a general willingness among research participants to let "China" – a notion that is associated with Chinese institutions in Chinese speakers' – decide the legitimacy of Chinese speakers' use of ELF. In this sense, they let "China" handle the issue of the ownership of English in their engagement with the power structure that centralising established NES norms. On the basis these findings, I argue that China is not a contextual factor but a conceptual factor that defines Chinese speakers' use of ELF as

ChELF, a label that shows the endonormativity of Chinese speakers' use of ELF, which abandons the reference to NESs' Englishes.

1.5 Legitimacy and ideology

The main purpose of the study is to explore the legitimacy of ChELF through language ideologies as an approach to meet the end. This section first discusses the construct of legitimacy from a critical perspective that has implications for the understanding of ChELF. It then reviews ELF researchers' work on the legitimacy of ELF in terms of the power struggle to explore what can be done to research the legitimacy of ChELF through language ideologies. The section concludes with the implications for the research on the ChELF legitimacy.

1.5.1 A critical perspective

The construct of legitimacy often evokes a critical perspective, informed by critical social theories that see power as central to social activities. Legitimacy is an ideological construct that deals with power relations in a social structure. It is a synonym to the acceptability that “requires an audience” to determine with reference to “some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions” (Suchman 1995: 574, Schoon 2016: 148). The scrutiny of legitimacy is often fruitful by investigating illegitimacy, as “legitimacy and illegitimacy are complementary terms that are defined in opposition to one another”. (Reagan 1997, 2016, Schoon 2016: 147). Illegitimacy, as “a relational construct” (Kramsch 2012: 113, Schoon 2016), is often defined with reference what is excluded from what is legitimate. The boundary between the legitimate and the illegitimate is socially defined. As Schoon (2016:143) notes, “what is legitimate to some people [...] may be fundamentally illegitimate to others” in various social systems. Apparently, who determines what is acceptable with reference to what socially constructed norms and beliefs is essentially an issue of power in a social structure.

Bourdieu (1977a) is a widely cited work on the conception of language legitimacy (see, e.g. Bonacina-Pugh 2020, Heller 1996, Kramsch 2012, Manoukian 2017, Søvik 2010). He has outlined four determining factors of a legitimate language on the basis of “tacit presuppositions” of linguistic “efficacy” (Bourdieu 1977a: 650). According to Bourdieu (1977a: 650), a legitimate language is used by an “appropriate” speaker in an “appropriate” situation to deliver to “legitimate receivers”, the form of which captures “grammaticalness”. The linguistic focus on linguistic efficacy in terms of the definition of language legitimacy, however, does not hold

true. Bourdieu (1977a: 648–650) reminds of the significance of “symbolic power relation between two speakers” in the establishment of language legitimacy in the “linguistic market”. This reminder drives home that language legitimacy is more than a linguistic issue but invokes the discussion of power and ideology, shared by many language researchers maintaining that language is more than an instrument of expression but an instrument of power (e.g. Heller 1996, Kramsch 2012, Martin-Jones and Heller 1996, Reagan 2016, Shohamy 2006). As Reagan (2016) observes, the linguistic focus is often visible in some linguists’ endeavours to seek evidence of linguistic adequacy or inadequacy of languages. Irvine (1998: 89) counters a hypothesis held among Saussurean linguists who tend to seek “‘pure’ denotation” of the presumably objective world that class stratification provides “necessary and sufficient conditions” of honorifics. As she points out, there are different kinds of social constructions, which have given rise to a diversity of ways of using language, which cannot be simply interpreted with reference to how language use is interpreted by linguists in their own culture and in their own perspective, as language users’ culture and perspectives might lead to a different way of how to use honorifics. It is therefore not right to say whether a language used by a group is superior or inferior to another language used by another group. Reagan (2016) has analysed linguistically-oriented assumptions about what makes a language not a language and concluded that linguistic differences do not “constitute evidence of greater or lesser communicative strength or ability”. While it has become an increasing consensus among linguists that “the legitimacy of a language has no linguistic foundations” (e.g. Bonacina-Pugh 2020: 434, Reagan 2016), – that is, a sheer focus on the linguistic dimension of a language in discussing its legitimacy is problematic, the notion of language legitimacy calls for an approach that takes the ideological dimension of language on board. This justifies a critical approach, which sees language legitimacy as “embedded in relations of dominance and power” (Reagan 2016: 1) and ubiquitous in the society.

1.5.2 Legitimacy as an ideological attribute

Legitimacy is primarily an ideological attribute. A subject is often associated with power when defined as legitimate but powerlessness when illegitimate. Language legitimacy is an issue of power in terms of the subject of language. According to Fairclough (1989), language ideology is the interface between social forms and language forms. Power and ideology are “central in defining and legitimising what constitutes a language” (McDermott 2019: 123). Reagan (1997: 5) has posed an interesting question: “when is a language not a language?” to note ideological

boundaries between the legitimate and the illegitimate. Reagan (2016) further argues that language legitimacy has a racist and classist nature and casts harm to linguistic human right. On the one hand, language legitimacy means a “rejection” to, “marginalisation” of some languages or varieties; on the other hand, it means a reference to designated languages (Reagan 2016), which surely invites the question who designate what languages to act as *the* references. The issue of legitimacy often co-exists with the issue of authenticity (e.g. Karrebæk, Stæhr and Varis 2015, Kramsch 2012, Kramsch and Zhang 2015, Schieffelin and Doucet 1998). The demarcation between the legitimate and the illegitimate is often based on assumptions about the “realness” of language. What is legitimate is often associated with what is authentic. By contrast, the legitimation demarcates the legitimate from the illegitimate by creating discourses about illegitimate languages like “bad”, “defective”, “primitive”, and so on (Reagan 2016). In this sense, language legitimacy means blindness to some language users’ identifications with and emotional attachment to marginalised languages. It follows that some language users are privileged, while others are disempowered.

The notion of language legitimacy has been adapted to suit different research interests. In Bourdieu’s (1977b) research, the legitimacy-illegitimacy boundary is drawn between grammatical and ungrammatical forms of language. For Bourdieu (1977b: 59), a “monopoly [of] the legitimate use of the legitimate language” results from the symbolic power relation between speakers of languages. That is, language legitimacy is given to a “correct language”, which differentiate native speakers of a language from non-native speakers. Heller (1996) adopts the concept of language legitimacy to language choice. In an educational setting where Heller’s study is conducted, some language practices (e.g. turn-taking) and language forms (e.g. monolingual French) are officially legitimate, while others (e.g. bilingual vernacular) are not. As legitimacy and illegitimacy point to power and powerlessness respectively, she investigates how the “others” (i.e. illegitimate language practices and forms) are adopted by some education participants to manifest a kind of “painful” and “serious struggle” for power (Heller 1996: 141). Søvik (2010) applies the notion of language legitimacy to multilingualism. In his study, the concept of legitimate language is expanded from the legitimacy of a single named language to the situation that multiple languages co-exist. That is, legitimacy is given to multilingualism as opposed to monolingualism. In Søvik’s work, the standard varieties of both Ukrainian and Russian are co-existing legitimate languages in the Eastern Ukrainian city of Kharkiv. To research the legitimacy of ChELF, it is necessary to expand the notion of language legitimacy to encompass Englishes and variations in English in global contexts, with the focus on variations in connect with Chinese speakers – as Section 1.5.4 will explain.

1.5.3 Legitimacy as an ideological process

Legitimacy is not a stable status but evokes a dynamic process. The legitimate can become illegitimate, and the illegitimate can become legitimate. In discussing legitimacy in political science, Jeffrey, McConnell and Wilson (2015: 177) point out that while states and institutions are “primary source of legitimacy”, legitimacy is also produced through “forms of agency and sites of contestation”. This applies to research on language legitimacy. As Swigart (2001: 90) observes, language legitimacy is often associated with “official recognition”. Van Leeuwen (2008) has summarised four aspects of legitimation including “authorization”, “moral evaluation”, rationalisation, and mythopoesis, each of which entails an ideological process through which legitimacy is established by reference to structural forces. Language legitimation is thus a top-down process through which language policies *grants* legitimate status to a language. Language policy has an important role to play in prescribing the status, the role, the acquisition and the norms of a language. Unfortunately, in heterogeneous communities, the valuations of legitimate languages and illegitimate languages are often different between policy level and practice level. Moreover, users of illegitimate languages are found in the power struggle through language practices and identities. In McDermott’s (2019) study, for example, “contested languages” have facilitated “devolved language planning” and caused “incremental change and evolving policy” which allow for minority vernaculars to be socially transformed from “ridicule” to “legitimacy”.

While language legitimation is traditionally associated with the role of nation-state and institutions, many studies have reflected the changing forces and variable factors in defining the legitimacy of a language. It is increasingly aware that language legitimacy owes substantially to language users’ identities and perceptions of languages. For instance, Proshina (2016: 205) claims that “full legitimacy of Russian English will become true only after we, its users, will admit that it is the means to express our self-identity in the intercultural setting and a creative linguistic tool for the domestic use”. This reflects the idea that language legitimacy needs to be explored with the focus on language users’ agentive role in the process of language legitimacy. In Craith’s (2000) study, although the EU and its participating nation-states are in favour of official languages designated by different nation-states, English and French are embraced in practice and are given *de facto* status by their users, which has caused the devaluation of official working languages in nation-states. Bonacina-Pugh (2020) argues that the study of language legitimacy from a critical perspective with the focus on top-down language policy needs to be compensated with the study of language legitimacy from a practical perspective with the focus on the level of language practice. By studying language classroom in a multilingual education setting, she argues that

local classroom offers a site where language legitimacy is granted by the teacher working with students in spite of the prescription regarding language legitimacy associated with the national language policy and language ideologies widespread in the wider social context outside classroom. That is, language legitimacy is not only tied up to national language policy and educational policy but also emerge on the site of education practice and language practice.

The dynamics of legitimacy offers significant implications for the study of the ChELF legitimacy. Basically, understanding the dynamics helps to understand the possibility for change and new opportunities. As the examples at the beginning of the monograph show, Chinese speakers are likely to be subject to prejudice and bias in terms of their use of English. Finding out if ChELF is legitimate or not would be far from enough to help Chinese speakers feel empowered. It is necessary to understand what can provide the source of legitimacy, how the legitimacy can be established, who can affect the legitimacy, and in what way. The answers to the questions will allow for the suggestions for practical work in China and for future research on ChELF and shed light on the research on ELF in a wider context.

1.5.4 Researching the legitimacy of ELF

Previous research on language legitimacy enriches the theories and the practice of linguistic forms, language choice and multilingualism, with the focus on societal communities within national or regional contexts (see, e.g. Bourdieu 1977a, Heller 1996, Søvik 2010). While the research on ELF addresses the issue of legitimacy, the focus is on the categorization of different Englishes – in specific terms, different linguistic forms and practices of English – between legitimacy and illegitimacy in global contexts. To some extent, previous research offers implications to the study of the legitimacy of different Englishes. While Bourdieu (1977a) focuses on “grammaticalness” as key to legitimacy within a power structure, a considerable body of research has focused on the legitimation of illegitimate linguistic forms, choices and language practices to show that users of contested and powerless languages struggle for power and identity (e.g. Bonacina-Pugh 2020, Craith 2000, Heller 1996, Proshina 2016, Søvik 2010). The complexity of the legitimation, however, increases due to the changing contexts from national to international scale. Playing a role at the international scale, ELF has given rise to different Englishes, which encompass variations in English and different practices of English. Nonetheless, testing, publishing and textbooks, which are key mechanisms of language policies across regional, national and international scales, tend to denote native Englishes or, even more narrowly sometimes, StEs as acceptable Englishes to suggest the legitimacy ascribed to a small number of Englishes and

the exclusion of other Englishes for legitimacy. That is, the legitimation of illegitimate variations and practices of English contests not only national language policies but also language policies that operate in international institutions.

ELF research plays a pioneering role in legitimizing variations and practices of English in the global context. In the first place, ELF researchers take issue with the default reference to native Englishes, which denies the legitimacy of NNESS' non-conformity to native Englishes and defines the non-conformity as "errors" or "learner English" forms. From an ELF perspective, treating native Englishes as the default reference means excluding other Englishes from legitimacy. Necessarily, the challenge to StE models and the criticism of the categorization of NESs and NNESSs between legitimate and illegitimate users of English are not original in ELF research. A research paradigm known as World Englishes has offered substantial references for the development of ELF research in terms of the "ideological positioning" on NNESS' norms and practices as well as the dismissal of reference to NES norms (Jenkins 2015b: 53, Seidlhofer 2004). However, ELF does not converge with WE. While ELF research seeks to legitimize variations and practices of English in intercultural settings, WE scholars focus on the legitimation of varieties used for intracultural communication.

Notably, a minority of WE scholars (e.g. Prodromou 2006, Rubdy and Saraceni 2006) appear to be sceptical about the ELF initiatives and exclude the possibility of variations to be legitimized, though in defence of WE varieties. For instance, Prodromou (2006: 412, original italics) regards ELF as "a *broken weapon*" to make ELF speakers "stuttering onto the world stage". Rubdy and Saraceni (2006: 11) claim that "intercultural communication and cultural identity are to be made a necessary casualty" through ELF. It is interesting to observe an analogy between those WE scholars' discourses about ELF users' language practice and Quirk's (1990) words about WE in his debate with Kachru (1991). In the famous Quirk-Kachru debate in *English Today*, Quirk (1990: 18, original bold) declares that "I **am not aware** of there being any **institutionalized** non-native varieties". While WE scholars encountered the resistance to WE varieties from those who endorse StE models, those WE scholars (in the minority) are resisting ELF to keep ELF at the bottom of the power structure of English. While Kachru's (2005: 12) distinction between functional nativeness and genetic nativeness has successfully overthrown the "genetic mapping of a language", those exemplified WE scholars (in the minority) are reluctant to accept the irrelevance of ELF speakers' biological categorizations for their ownership of English, eventually denying their right of agents in the development of English. As Jenkins (2009a: 203) comments, some WE scholars have "transferred their attention and derogatory comments to ELF" when WE varieties, which were judged as interlanguage varieties, have established their legitimacies. As she argues, ELF is not interlanguage but as legitimate

as WE varieties which WE scholars have strived to defend (Jenkins 2009a). It is disappointing that those WE scholars (though in the minority) call for the equal right to English between WE users and NESs but exclude ELF speakers from equal right to English. The legitimization of ELF thus not only deals with how nation-states, institutions, prescriptive linguists or laypersons valorize variations and practices of English but also counters the bias even existing among linguists, who argue for the equal right of Englishes (Jenkins 2019a).

Further, two major strands of ELF research contribute to the work towards the legitimacy of ELF-oriented variations. One strand corresponds with the linguistic analysis, making contributions to the linguistic adequacy of ELF-oriented variations and practices of English (e.g. Jenkins, Baker, and Dewey 2018, Mauranen and Ranta 2009). Another strand of research has engaged with the legitimacy of ELF in the ideological dimension. In one way, a body of research deals with ELF attitudes and identities. In Jenkins (2007), ELF attitudes are investigated to understand the extent to which ELF users claim their ownership of English. Wang (2012, 2013) reports that Chinese speakers struggle between the power associated with native Englishes and the desire for identities and communicative effects associated with their non-conformity, i.e. variations from native Englishes. Wang (2018) further argues that Chinese speakers regard their own use of ELF as a source of their identity construction. In Morán-Panero's (2019) work, Spanish speakers of English index their own variations in English as cool fashion to show their embrace of their own English. With the focus on ELF users, this body of research pinpoints the source of legitimacy in ELF users (Jenkins 2007, Morán-Panero 2019, Wang 2013, 2018). In another way, a body of work has engaged with the issue of power that ELF users are faced up to. Wang (2015a) has discussed the institutional power that Chinese users are subject to. Jenkins and Leung (2019) have discussed language assessment that ELF speakers are subject to when they pursue educational mobility at the international scale. Jenkins (2014) problematizes language policies oriented towards NES norms in an international university in the UK in terms of how ELF users are disempowered within the policy context. The critical approach to the power or the power structure which has impacts on ELF users' language behaviours invites the reflection on current policies and calls for a change in language policy at different levels.

To sum up, ELF researchers' initiatives in legitimizing variations and practices of English include a) the countering of perceptual bias, b) the linguistic analysis of variations, c) the focus on ELF users as a source of legitimacy, and d) the problematisation of power and policy that do not legitimise variations. The ELF initiatives in language legitimacy are thus significant for the investigation of the ChELF legitimacy. In general, language legitimacy is not a linguistic issue but requires the re-examination of the assumptions about Chinese speakers and

their English performance in ideological terms. It is constructive to be critically aware of the bias against Chinese speakers in relation to English, either the bias from non-linguists or from linguists. In this respect, the theorization of ChELF will help to counter linguistic bias in theoretical terms. Given the contribution of ELF research to the legitimation of variations and practices of English in global contexts, an ELF perspective suits the purpose of explaining Chinese speakers' English outcomes produced in intercultural communication. The exploration of the legitimacy of ChELF will be fruitful by understanding what legitimacy and illegitimacy mean for ChELF users in the ideological dimension. The study thus focuses on ChELF users' perceptions of ChELF, their identities through ChELF and their engagement with power relations that have impacts on their language practices. Specifically, the monograph discusses how ChELF is conceptualized to capture the use of ELF by Chinese speakers in theoretical terms and explores how ChELF users ideologically engage with the ChELF phenomenon in empirical terms. The empirical work thus answers three questions:

1. How do Chinese speakers perceive and evaluate their own English in intercultural communication?
2. How do Chinese speakers consider their identities in relation to their use of ELF?
3. How do Chinese speakers discursively engage with power relations that reproduce the predominance of native English norms in China?

The three questions are asked with an underlined approach that regards language users as the source of legitimacy and values their agentive role in the dynamic process of legitimacy and their voice in discussing power relations that they feel relevant for their language practice. It is hoped that the ideological inquiry into ChELF can join the theorization of ChELF to inform of the extent to which the legitimacy of ChELF is established and to provide implications for issues revolving around English in China.

1.6 The structure of the monograph

The monograph is structured into eight chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the research, foregrounding the complicated relations between English, China, Chinese speakers, language legitimacy and language ideologies in the context of the global spread of English, which explain the reasons, scope and significance of the research. The introduction reveals four aims of the research:

- to explore the legitimacy of Chinese speakers' use of ELF
- to explore Chinese speakers' language ideologies around their own use of ELF

- to establish the concept of ChELF, which has significance for the legitimization of Chinese speakers' creativity in English and the recognition of Chinese ownership of English
- to explore the L1-oriented groupings of ELF speakers to complement the multilingual composition of ELF speakers that form CoPs and make essentialist connections among language, nation and culture irrelevant.

Chapters 2 and 3 offer the theoretical foundations for the exploration of the legitimacy of ChELF. The former focuses on the conceptualisation of ChELF in the context that emphasises the interconnection between China and the globalisation of English. It opens with the concept of the globalisation of English, which is a metaphor for the global spread of English and simultaneously a construct that encapsulates the implications of globalisation for English and its users. In particular, the globalisation of English conceptually questions the boundary around English and the exclusive link between NESs and English. The implications of globalisation for the interconnection between the global and the local invite the thinking of local contributions to the global phenomenon of English, which gives spaces to NNEs' influences on English. This theoretically enables me to see China as a contributor to the sociolinguistics of English and to consider Chinese speakers' role in English change. The chapter then discusses the complicated relations among English, power and English users so as to establish the legitimacy of NNEs' creativity, which crystallises the ChELF issue as an issue of power struggle. The chapter then focuses on English in relation to China, which reveals how China contributes to English as both a context and a factor in the spread of English. It finally discusses the ChELF construct on the basis of ELF, which shows the contribution of ChELF to the ELF research in general.

Chapter 3 explores the concept of language ideologies and the implications of language ideologies for the study of English change, which in turn shed light on the legitimacy of ChELF, a manifestation of English change taking place among ChELF users. Given the widespread interest in language ideologies in various disciplines, the chapter proceeds by exploring an approach to language ideologies suitable for the project, which is committed to the legitimacy of ChELF. The exploration navigates among theoretical debates on power structures and language ideologies to define the approach to language ideologies in this book. Four aspects are considered to frame language ideologies in the book, namely, a social-theoretic inquiry, a focus on the interaction between structure and agency, a distinction between neutrality and criticality, and a shift from "level" to "scale" in analysing language ideologies. Following the four-dimension approach, I go further to review the literature to establish theoretical understandings of what language ideologies are in order to provide a framework for the analysis

of language ideologies in relation to the issue of the legitimacy of ChELF. After the establishment of theoretical infrastructure, I turn to explore the literature on English in the global spread and discuss language ideologies relevant to the globalisation of English. Previous research reveals a constellation of ideologies about English in different contexts and within different power structures, which are categorised in terms of the functions and roles of English for the ease of discussion. Finally, the discussion turns to focus on language ideologies in relation to global Englishes. The discussion aims to establish the link between language ideologies and English change in the process of the globalisation of English, which provides theoretical support for the legitimacy of ChELF. To this end, I begin by reviewing previous research on ELF attitudes and identities that shares an interest in and offers implications for language ideologies revolving English change and global Englishes. I then examine how issues of ideologies and institutions are taken up in current ELF research. The discussion of ELF attitudes, identities, ideologies and institutions forms a general picture of what has been done and what has yet to be done on the topic of language ideologies in relation to global Englishes, a term that describes various linguistic outcomes in the globalisation of English. The chapter finally addresses the interaction relations between language ideologies and English change to provide inspirations regarding how to deal with complicated power relations in understanding linguistic creativity and bring home the significance of researching language ideologies in understanding the legitimacy of ChELF.

Chapter 4 turns to introduce empirical work in terms of how language ideologies are researched to inform the legitimacy of ChELF. Following a mixed-methods research (MMR) approach, I designed the project that comprised of three stages, each of which focused on one research question, while the data retrieved in different stages triangulated each other. A questionnaire survey took place in the first stage, serving the objective to overview language perceptions among 769 respondents. After a preliminary analysis of questionnaire responses, some respondents were interviewed in the second stage of the project, where the focus was to examine how the interview participants consider identities in relation to language forms and especially Chinese speakers' use of ELF so as to understand the Chinese speakers' agencies in language practice. Focus groups were conducted in the third stage to offer opportunities to probe into the dynamics of the engagement with issues revolving around Chinese speakers' creativity in relation to the ownership of English. In addition, the chapter discusses the method of data analysis.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 form an organismic picture of language ideologies among Chinese speakers in different aspects at different levels, with the findings enhance, complement and explain each other and join together to highlight a few

overarching themes in Chinese speakers' language ideologies. While each of the three chapters focuses on one dataset and one research question, Chapter 8 offers a review of the whole picture and discusses overarching themes emerging across previous three chapters.

Chapter 5 addresses language orientations among Chinese speakers in general. It follows Silverstein's (1979) conception of language ideologies, looking at how the respondents perceive, evaluate, and comment on language practice as well as how they justify their views and decisions of language practice. In order to elicit views and comments, the questionnaire asks questions that are divided into four sections, which entail Chinese speakers' English experience, linguistic orientation, language self-labelling, and evaluations of creative usages of English together with justifications of evaluations. The findings contribute to an overall ambiguous position on the legitimacy of ChELF, thanks to the contradiction and conflicts between different bits of data. Underneath the ambiguity, contradictory data being pieced together to divulge Chinese speakers' intentions or expectations to break the boundaries between English and Chinese, between exonormative English and endonormative English, and between legitimacy and illegitimacy of Chinese speakers' own ELF.

Chapter 6 deepens the inquiry into Chinese speakers' language ideologies by analysing interview participants' discourses about identities in relation to English in general and ChELF in particular. As language ideologies are essentially ideologies about languages in relevant power structures (Fairclough 1989), I draw on Wodak's (2012) framework of power, language and identity, seeking to understand Chinese speakers' understandings of power relations that affect their choices of language forms and their reactions to the power relations, with the focus on Chinese speakers' identities. The chapter thus includes three main themes, namely, authority, identity and ideological process. While the themes of authority and identity focus on Chinese speakers' understanding of power relations, the theme of ideological process addresses Chinese speakers' reactions to power relations. The data uncover not only multiple authority centres that Chinese speakers defer to and but also Chinese speakers' attempts to seek authority gaps. Consistently, while some participants see native speaker English as an index of elite groups, no data ever suggest a linkage between ChELF and non-elites in China. The interview data support and explain the ambiguous attitude towards ChELF in the questionnaire best, revealing an acknowledgement of both Chinese speakers as legitimate users of ELF in their own right and Chinese speakers as learners of ENL. That is, what is contradictory in linguists' perspective is harmonious in the participants' perspective. The participants are generally positive towards ChELF in terms of its value for communication and its connection with Chinese, Chinese culture and China in the context of ELF communication where the use of English is increasingly relevant

for Chinese speakers. In a sense, ChELF links imagined Chinese communities with international CoPs in Chinese speakers' language ideologies. The data thus show complicated indexical meanings that the participants attach to ChELF. As for the ideological process, the data offer a sketch of signs of Chinese speakers' struggle to redefine power relations on English, presenting the processes experienced by different participants regarding how Chinese speakers mediate the tension between authoritative expectations and the agentive needs. The struggling processes converge to show challenges and possibilities for new power relations. While commonsense beliefs of English and educational constraints appear to be challenges, the participants show a strong aspiration for group identity that connects Chinese speakers of English together in their hope for new power relations.

Chapter 7 goes further to explore Chinese speakers' language ideologies, with the focus on how language issues in relation to norms are "debated" – a word borrowed from Blommaert's (1999) discussion of macro-social power relations – in focus groups, which form micro-social settings. Chapters 5 and 6 have presented multiple views and understandings of ChELF in relation to power relations, which elucidate the surfacing ambiguity of attitudes towards ChELF and hesitation on the issue of the legitimacy of ChELF. In Chapter 7, focus groups provide opportunities to examine the "debates" in terms of how some language ideologies win the ground while others lose, and how some language ideologies are reproduced, maintained, reinforced, or challenged. The data show the interactive processes that concentrate on four themes, namely, the approaching to ELF, the debating of "standard", the defining of variations, and the negotiating of "ownership". The tension between arguments for a fixed language standard and those for a flexible approach to language permeates in all focus groups and on all themes. While the voices of the former tend to win over, the voices of the latter tend to be side-lined. On one side of the debates, the factors that help to win over the debates tend to be associated with macro-social issues such as economic power, social bias, institutional constraints. On the other side, the voices support Chinese speakers' role in English change by calling attention to Chinese speakers' needs and wants, the communicative and cultural value of Chinese speakers' creativity, and the connection of Chinese speakers' creativity with China, Chinese language, Chinese culture and Chinese group identity. The interactive processes thus boil down to the negotiation of the agency with the existing power structure of English where Standard English norms predominate and bear out the struggle for new power relations.

Chapter 8 wraps up the project and reviews the research questions. The chapter also discusses overarching themes. Specifically, "China" appears to be a conceptual factor other than a contextual factor in defining ChELF. In terms of the legitimacy of ChELF, however, a term emerges as 'compromised linguistic

legitimacy', which explains the defence of the linguistic value of ChELF and simultaneously the uncertainty of the ideological power associated with ChELF. The book thus concludes with implications for an expansion of ELF research agendas and a rethinking of critical stance on language awareness and language policy in relation to ChELF speakers.

Now, the inquiry is afoot.

2 China and the globalisation of English

2.1 The globalisation of English

The term “globalisation” is often visible in the literature on the research of English. On the one hand, English is a principal language that enables and enhances globalisation due to its transactional function as a medium of international communication. On the other hand, researchers tend to seek inspirations from the social studies of globalisation, which has yielded fruitful results, to understand English as a global phenomenon. In general, the term “the globalisation of English” is used in three ways in studies of the English language. First, the term is a metaphor of the spread of English around the world, encapsulating the situation, process and outcomes of the spread. Second, the term provides a framework of local users’ responses to the global spread of English. Third, the term aligns with Blommaert’s (2010) notion of the sociolinguistics of globalisation to foreground the blurring boundary around English. What follows will take up each of the meanings and discuss different approaches to English to identify an appropriate approach to English in relation to China.

2.1.1 The spread of English

The globalisation of English is used as a metaphor to describe English as a global phenomenon. As evident in Murray’s (2006) discussion, the globalisation of English is used to describe the spread of English and its outcomes, which include linguistic imperialism and the diffusion of English varieties. She suggests three interpretations of the globalisation of English. In the first place, “it can refer to the increasing intrusion of the English language into the lives of town and city dwellers all over the world” (Murray 2006: 204). This interpretation resonates with Phillipson’s (1992) criticism of linguistic imperialism and shows a concern for multilingualism. In Murray’s (2006: 204) words, this – i.e. “the increasing intrusion” – is “worrying”. Next, “the globalization can also refer to the rapid spread of English as a second and foreign language” (Murray 2006: 204). This interpretation links to the use of English by NNEs and raises a question whether non-native speakers follow NES norms or develop their own norms. Finally, “the globalization of English can refer to changes taking place in all varieties of English due to contact with other varieties” (Murray 2006: 204). This interpretation links to the diffusion of English and resembles a WE perspective, which focuses on varieties. In

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501503702-002>

sum, the three reflections focus on the implications of the spread of English for NNEs. While the first interpretation focuses on multilingualism, the other two interpretations address the localisation of English in the context of language contact.

2.1.2 Global, local and glocal

According to Robertson (1992: 177–178), globalisation involves “the twofold process of the particularisation of the universal and the universalisation of the particular”. Researchers interested in globalization in relation to different subjects tend to focus on the global-local relationship and seek to study relevant subjects in three ways. One is focused on the “global” end in the global-local relationship; the second steers towards the “local” end in the global-local relationship; the third is interested in the two-way interaction between the “global” and the “local”, contributing to the term “glocalisation”. Kumaravadivelu (2008) sees three approaches to cultural globalization, which are cultural homogenisation, cultural heterogenisation, and cultural glocalisation. Wang (2012) analyses different approaches to English in the global-local relationship. According to her, a focus on how the “global” affects the “local” is visible in the theorisation of linguistic imperialism and the promotion of StEs, both of which show an interest – either critical or uncritical – in the conformity to the “centre” of power in the spread of English; a focus on how the “local” reacts to the “global” is evident in the WE paradigm, which supports the non-conformity to the “centre” and the ownership by the “periphery” of localized varieties of English; the term “glocalisation” applies to the phenomenon of ELF, which exists in international communities where NNEs, who are traditionally in the “periphery”, join together to challenge the norms prescribed by the traditionally defined “centre” of power in terms of how English should be used. The three approaches proposed by Wang (2012) can be readily mapped onto Kumaravadivelu’s three approaches. That is, the conformity corresponds with homogenisation; the emphasis on localized varieties resonates with heterogenisation; the glocalisation illustrates the two-way process where ELF users form shared communities and simultaneously maintain their differences from each other.

2.1.3 Blurring boundaries

The concept of globalisation is borrowed from social theory to reconsider the concept of language in general and English in particular. As observed by

researchers from different disciplines, globalisation is a complicated concept used “in both popular and academic literature to describe a process, a condition, a system, a force, and age” (e.g. Steger 2009: 8, Kumaravadivelu 2008). In general, researchers converge on the concept of globalisation as useful in describing a social phenomenon that features “interconnections and flows that make most of the currently existing borders and boundaries irrelevant” (e.g. Steger 2009: 8, Blommaert 2010). The implications of globalisation for languages are well reflected in Blommaert’s (2010) discussion of the sociolinguistics of globalisation. According to him, “globalisation forces sociolinguistics to unthink its classic distinctions and biases and to rethink itself as a sociolinguistics of mobile resources, frame in terms of trans-contextual networks, flows and movements” (Blommaert 2010: 1). That is, languages are not analysed in a traditional categorisation on the basis of national boundaries but as resources, which are not stable or fixed but transpire to join together for language users’ adaptation and accommodation in various contexts. The notion of unbounded language resembles Shohamy’s (2006: 5) statement that “language is open, dynamic, energetic, constantly evolving and personal”. By contrast, a bounded language is often related to a national or a collective identity, with its forms being treated as “a system that is finite, frozen, stagnate and rule bound” (Shohamy 2006: 23). “The sociolinguistics of globalisation” – in Blommaert’s (2010) words – thus suggests a new perception on language and, in turn, multilingualism, a perception that celebrates the irrelevance of boundaries between different languages systems. Apparently, the implications of globalisation for language sit in the conceptualisation of language.

Turning to English, the sociolinguistics of globalisation has a lot in common with the understanding of ELF, which is globally used as a language in international encounters that make geographical boundaries blurred (see Seidlhofer 2011, Mauranen 2018). Traditional concepts like language, community and culture are reconsidered to equip the explanation of ELF as natural phenomenon that is de-rooted from any particular speech community (e.g. Baker 2015, Dewey 2009, Seidlhofer 2011). A body of literature contributes to the nature of ELF as contingent, emergent, fluid, and multilingual (e.g. Baird, Baker, and Kitazawa 2014, Seidlhofer 2011, Mortensen 2013), dedicate to the study of translanguaging and accommodation as crucial strategies in intercultural communication through the medium of ELF together with other multilingual resources (Jenkins 2015b, Mauranen 2012). In addition, Dewey (2007) explicitly addresses the common ground between globalisation and ELF from an interconnection perspective, by paralleling globalisation and ELF in the role of transforming social activities and the use of English respectively. In this sense, the understanding of ELF as natural language in CoPs resemble the globalisation of English, which disparages

geopolitical boundaries but emphasises the “globality” – a word suggested by Steger (2009:8) to describe the situation of interconnectedness and mobility – of multilinguals.

ELF, by definition, is the means of communication between people who do not have shared L1s. The interpretation of ELF with reference to the socio-linguistics of globalisation focuses on multilingualism that blurs boundaries between languages which are defined in the traditional sense. Correspondingly, a considerable research on ELF identities tend to focus on multilinguals in deterritorialised CoPs, where ELF takes place, and people join each other. The interconnectedness is thus reflected in the solidarity among community members, which, as research shows, is certainly necessary to secure the success in intercultural communication (Jenkins 2007, Kappa 2016, Matsumoto 2014).

2.1.4 A case of similects

The “globality” does not explain the whole picture of the ELF phenomenon. I argue that the interconnectedness among multilinguals, which can be viewed as a “global” interconnectedness in ELF, is complemented by a “local” interconnectedness among ELF speakers who are from the same L1 backgrounds. An emerging interest is visible in the research of ELF in terms of the grouping of ELF users according to their shared L1s (e.g. Mauranen 2012, Wang 2018). Mauranen (2012) proposes to use the term “similect” to conceptualise the linguistic outcomes of ELF users who are from the same L1 backgrounds. Her example is Finnish users of ELF. According to her, Finish users of ELF have shared L1 repertoire that contributes to their use of ELF, though Finish users of ELF do not communicate with each other through ELF. Wang (2012, 2018) investigates Chinese speakers’ identities to find that Chinese speakers of ELF have an emotional attachment to ‘Chineseness’ and “Chinese culture”, while they simultaneously see themselves as co-members in the international community where ELF is used between them and those who do not share L1s with them. That is to say, the interconnectedness among multilingual ELF users co-exists with the solidarity among ELF users from the shared L1 backgrounds. In a sense, a link becomes established between the “globality” and the “locality”.

The focus on ELF speakers who are from the same L1 background invokes the notion of “glocalisation”, which denotes the interrelations between the “global” and the “local”. Nevertheless, it is necessary to reconsider the term “local” in a sense that is not geographically defined, as the “global” is deterritorialised in conceptualising ELF practice. For this sake, a useful construct is “imagined

communities”, a construct originally developed in Anderson (2006) and later used by researchers across different disciplines. Among linguists, Norton (2000) has used it to explain second language learners’ investment and identities. Researchers have also considered the relevance of “imagined communities” for ELF (e.g. Jenkins 2014, Mauranen 2012, Wang 2018). The main stake of the construct is “imagination”, which goes beyond physical places and establish various links or networks in psychological spaces. Thus, the conceptual condition to study ELF speakers who are from the same L1 background is satisfied by invoking the construct of “imagined communities”.

To sum up, the globalisation of English invokes different ways of linking globalisation and English together. While globalisation cannot be ignored as a contextual parameter in understanding the global phenomenon of English, globalisation offers conceptual implications for the understanding of power-relations in English and the reconceptualization of English.

2.2 English, power and English users

There are lots of power relations in the world of English. Among others, a predominant and controversial kind of power relation is known as the native/non-native hierarchy (hereafter the NS/NNS hierarchy). It is this kind of power relation that pre-defines NESs as norm providers of English and NNEs as norm followers (Jenkins 2015a). NNEs’ creativity, which has been a key feature of ELF, however, calls into question the power relation. While the tension over NNEs creativity manifests a power struggle between ELF and the NS/NNS hierarchy, the legitimacy of NNEs creativity inevitably invokes the redefinition of the power relation. This section discusses the complicated relations among English, power and English users, who are grouped as NESs or NNEs, in order to seek theoretical implications for the analysis of Chinese speakers’ power struggles centring on the legitimacy of ChELF.

2.2.1 A native/non-native divide

A considerable number of researchers take issue with the notion of native speaker and thus the native/non-native divide (e.g. Davies 2004, Ferguson 1983, Jenkins 2015a, Phillipson 1992, Rajagopalan 1997). For them, the concept of native speaker is “elusive”, with native speakers mystified (see, e.g. Davies 2004: 431, Ferguson 1983, Rajagopalan 1997, Seidlhofer 2011: 5). Native speakers, as Rajagopalan (1997: 227) analyses, are loaded with “all the supra-human attrib-

utes that the theoretical linguist has bestowed upon them” and assumed to be “*ideal language users, who know their language perfectly well*” (original italics). In Jenkins’ (2015a) and Seidlhofer’s (2011) view, non-native speakers seem to be those who lack the attributes that native speakers have, given the prefix “non-”, which suggests a negation.

The native/non-native dichotomy does not conceptualise the profile of English users properly. First, while native/non-native speakers are likely to be defined in terms of first language acquisition before puberty (Davies 2004), there are bilinguals and multilinguals whose first languages are difficult to be decided. Second, the dichotomy does not reflect the minority and majority categories properly. As Tajfel (1981: 317) states, “minorities are often defined on the basis of criteria originating from, and developed by, the majorities. They are different from something which, itself, need not be clearly defined”. However, this is not the case with the definition of English speakers. While non-natives of English are in the majority of English users, natives of English are in the minority of English users.

The NS/NNS dichotomy is not viable in explaining a linguistic phenomenon. While the dichotomy perpetuates a monolingual bias, multilingual competence is the norm of sociolinguistic landscape (Cook 2016, Seidlhofer 2011). In addition, the dichotomy suggests natives as the reference, against which non-natives are often evaluated as “deficient versions of natives” (Cook 2016: 186). Accepting this dichotomy not only denies the fact that many bilinguals have developed English proficiencies, but also leaves non-natives in devalued positions. The NS/NNS dichotomy has a few ideological implications, disadvantaging non-natives in various aspects. The notion of native speaker plays a “political role” in second language teaching (Cook 2016: 186). Holliday (2006) uses nativespeakerism to describe the advantage of natives over non-natives in second language teaching. Although there are abundant academic criticisms of the native/non-native dichotomy, the power relation between NESs and NNEs is still salient as the one between “the powerful” and the “humble foreign” in ELT practice (Cook 2016: 187). Brutt-Griffler (2002) argues that the dichotomy serves to overlook non-natives’ agentive role in the development of English and reinforces the power of natives in prescribing norms of English. Phillipson’s (1992) work on linguistic imperialism offers a comprehensive discussion of the political role of English in dividing natives and non-natives and reinforcing the centre-periphery relation in imperialism. Rajagopalan (1997: 229) sees “the concept of native speaker” as “a dangerous trope”, which “may harbour a potentially dangerous ideological agenda”. Canagarajah (1999a: 79) cautions that “continued use of the label native speaker will only serve to reinforce the spurious Chomskyan notion”. In short, the native/non-native dichotomy is by

no means innocuous. Given this, many researchers have suggested alternative concepts to replace the concept of native speakers. For instance, “expert users”, bilingual users, and so on (Jenkins 2015a).

The criticisms of the NS/NNS dichotomy and the suggestions of new labels, however, have not stopped researchers’ use of the terms “native” and “non-native speakers” (as seen in massive publications). Seidlhofer offers a justification behind the use of the terms in the field of ELF. As she notes, “it seems more constructive to discuss the shortcomings of existing and familiar terminology than simply to invent new labels and so leave untouched the issues thrown up by the existing terminology” (Seidlhofer 2011: 5). For her, the use of old terms helps to connect the readers with what they are familiar with. It is also a convenient practice to use old terms to connect with the existing research literature on issues relevant to the dichotomy. Thus, despite the terminological problems, the term “nativeness” is still often used to conceptualise the relationship between language and language users in the context of the spread of English around the world, though we should be aware of the limitations of the terms. Toward this end, we should pay attention to three distinctions.

A distinction needs to be made between denotation and connotation with regard to the NS/NNS divide. The denotation is stripped of ideological loadings and equalise the adjectives of *native* and *non-native* as premodifiers of the noun *speaker*, invoking no advantage or disadvantage between the two adjectives (Seidlhofer 2011). By contrast, the connotation often has an ideological dimension, entailing social meanings of nativity and non-nativity. Seidlhofer (2011) proposes to treat the divide with its denotative meaning and opens the investigation as to how the context, the purpose and the use of English are giving new connotation meanings to native and non-native speakers. As she notes, the global spread of English and the rise of the function of ELF are making nativity not “an asset” (Seidlhofer 2011: 6).

A distinction needs to be made between researcher awareness and professional practice. The use of the native/non-native dichotomy might serve to reify the ideological divide and othering. As Rajagopalan (1997: 230) comments, “I personally have some difficulty in coming to terms with the opinion of those linguists who concede on the one hand that the difference between the native and the non-native is difficult to make in actual practice, but is, all the same, worth clinging to, for theoretical reasons”. I assume his difficulty might lie in confusion between what researchers believe should be the norm and what is prescribed as the benchmark in various professions. It is not difficult to find examples of the operation of the native/non-native dichotomy in professional practices. For instance, the rhetoric “white native English speakers needed”

is predominant in ELT recruitment (Ruecker and Ives 2015). There are also instances that language assessments are based on native speaker models, which are criticised by researchers (e.g. Jenkins and Leung 2017) but have impacts on language test takers' orientations to English. Linguistic injustice based on the native/non-native dichotomy is fiercely debated with regard to international academic publishing (e.g. Hyland 2016, Politzer-Ahles et al. 2016). International academic journals require NESs' style in academic writings and often offer or recommend proofreading services oriented toward NNESs, while NESs' English does not seem to cause concern for those journals. I argue that the reality should be understood in the perspective that is relevant for those who participate in social lives in reality so as to complement the picture that we see from researchers' perspectives.

A distinction needs to be made between what should be achieved and what is yet in reality. As Holliday (2006: 385) states, "although some regard the terms 'native-' and 'non-native speaker' as unviable on linguistic grounds", the terms "have a very real currency within the popular discourse of ELT". Choi (2016: 72) has the same observation and states that "the native and non-native distinction is still widely used and circulated", although "the expanding body of research has criticised the prominence of native speakerism and its essentialist discourses". Scholarly criticism of the native/non-native dichotomy does not automatically invalidate the reality that native/non-native dichotomy is operative in language policies, language assessments, ELT markets, and so on. The operation of the native/non-native dichotomy needs to be explored in terms of its impacts on language users. Criticising the dichotomy without going further to investigate the dichotomy in operation could lead to the loss of opportunities to understand ideological issues based on the dichotomy which has impacts on language users in their social, cultural, political and economic lives.

Therefore, while it is necessary to be aware that the native/non-native dichotomy is problematic in theorising the sociolinguistic phenomenon of English, it is also necessary to be aware that the native/non-native dichotomy has caused social bias over non-natives and disadvantages over them, which need to be interrogated. Avoiding the dichotomy might serve to overlook the complexity of language ideologies among language users in the contexts where the dichotomy operates. Necessarily, I do not suggest that it is pointless to criticise the dichotomy. Rather, I argue that it is harmful to treat the dichotomy as unquestionable and that it is constructive to adopt a critical perspective on the dichotomy when investigating English in relation to power in particular local contexts.

2.2.2 Power relations in English

The power asymmetry between natives and non-natives has motivated a colossal body of work, strikingly evident on native-speakerism in ELT and linguistic inequality and injustice in international academic publishing (e.g. Ammon 2012, Ferguson and Pérez-Llantada 2011, Flowerdew 1999, 2001, Holliday 2006, Hyland 2016, Lillis and Curry 2006, 2010). I touched upon some ideological issues related to the native/non-native hierarchy in above sections discussing the terms “natives” and “non-natives”, which can offer some sketch of the status quo that is subject to scholarly challenges but continues to affect professional practice in real life. While the status quo presents itself evidently both in real life and in much literature, there is no need for me to offer much space to it. I am interested in what Holliday states as a precondition of “undoing” native-speakerism, which I believe offers implications for our response to the status quo of English communicative order that exceeds the area of ELT. As Holliday (2006: 286) maintains, “the undoing of native-speakerism requires a type of thinking that promotes new relationships”. In his further explanation, new relationships can be established in “the meanings and realities of students and colleagues from outside the English-speaking West” rather than “dominant professional discourses” that flag up the centrality of NESs. In this line, the pursuit of new relationships in a wider context where English is relevant lies in a shifting focus from the NESs to NNESs, namely, from how NESs inform the use of English to how NNESs perform their tasks by using English in their own ways.

The spread of English has triggered the change of power relations and channelled scholarly attention to NNESs as independent of NES norms. In this respect, the debates on the ownership of English invoke the reconsideration of NNESs as norm followers vs NESs as norm providers. As Widdowson (1994, 2003: 39) puts forward, English does not belong to NESs “exclusively”, and the spread of English does not maintain NESs’ role as the “custodians” of English to keep English “intact” as it is in its historic home. Brumfit (2006) states that the change of English lies in the hand of NNESs who are numerically in the majority of English users. Seidlhofer (2003, 2009) argues that English belongs to all those who use it and goes further to suggest that NESs should accommodate their English if hoping to cope with intercultural communications. Jenkins (2000) challenges the tradition of English language teaching based on NES norms and posits the teaching oriented to NNESs’ needs in English. Interested in how ELF users use English in their own way to suit their own purposes and react to the social environment that is relevant for them, ELF researchers argue that non-conformity to NES norms satisfies their communicative needs in international encounters and serves their identities (e.g. Jenkins et al. 2011). Taking other power relations into account, Mauranen

(2018: 110) argues that “asymmetrical social roles may assume more significance in regulating language use than (native) speaker status’ in ELF settings”.

Concurrently, empirical work has been conducted to offer evidence of new relations, as seen in WE research and ELF research respectively. While there are many comparative aspects between WE and ELF (see, e.g. Mauranen 2018, Seidlhofer 2009), the purpose here is to illustrate the ways the two schools interpret new power relations between natives and non-natives of English. The former strand focuses on the use of English by NNEs, which has given rise to localised varieties tied to geographical boundaries, for instance, Indian English and Singaporean English (e.g. Kachru 1986, 1992). Endorsed by the proposals for codification, localised varieties of English generated among NNEs flag up independence of NES norms. The latter school examines the use of English in international settings, where ELF users, who consist of far more NNEs than NESs, develop their own norms in international encounters rather than relying on pre-defined norms. For instance, Mauranen (2012) focuses on academic use of ELF to demonstrate the change of academic English induced among NNE academics. Hynninen’s (2016) work on “the regulation” in ELF manifests norms emerging in ELF users’ language practice, disparaging NES norms as established references and thus hinting new power relations between natives and non-natives. Apart from the study of language practice, research on ELF users’ identities counterproves the assumption that NNEs are oriented to NES communities and demonstrates that ELF users have complex identities and negotiate power relations within the social settings that they see as relevant (e.g. Baker 2015, Guido 2008, Gnutzmann, Jakisch and Rabe 2014, Kaur 2014, Virkkula and Nikula 2010).

In addition, researchers have suggested new ways of conceptualising new power relations. In discussing English as an Asian language, Kachru asks to redefine “nativeness”. He suggests making a distinction between genetic nativeness and functional nativeness in “multilingual linguistic repertoires” (Kachru 1998: 92). For him, the former conceptualises the relationship between language and its users with the focus on the historical trajectory through which the relationship becomes established, while the latter is “determined by the *range* and *depth* of a language in society: *Range* refers to the domains of function, and *depth* refers to the degree of social penetration of the language” (Kachru 1998: 92 original italics). Kachru’s proposal to redefine nativeness breaks the myth of an assumed link between nativeness and particular places, which are categorised as Inner Circle nations in Kachru (1992). The proposal also serves to conceptualise a change in power relations that non-natives are making English their own in their contact with English, resonating with the heated debates on the ownership of English.

Jenkins (2015a: 178) posits a new model to conceptualise the *de facto* communicative order in the world today,¹ on the basis of English users' advantages in the spread of English. The model ranks “Englishes for international use”, “‘standard’ Englishes for local use”, and “‘non-standard’ Englishes (for local use)” in order from high to low. In comparison with the traditional native/non-native hierarchy, the model reflects the changing sociolinguistic profile that international use of English is relevant for more English users than national use of English in the globalisation of English. In addition, the model accentuates the main advantage in the globalisation of English. That is, “the ability to communicate effectively with the specific interlocutor(s) in the specific interaction, an ability that has been found more in NNEs than in NESs” (Jenkins 2015a: 178). Notably, the model does not oppose the role of StEs and non-StEs, which are relevant in various local contexts due to various language policies.

In short, the native/non-native hierarchy has been a major type of power relation in the world of English, presenting a lot of ideological issues to be addressed. Nonetheless, new power relations are taking shape alongside the globalisation of English, as evidenced in various studies. Focusing on new power relations cannot only help to “undo” the native/non-native hierarchy but also reconsider the advantages and disadvantages in the use of English in current contexts of the globalisation of English.

2.2.3 Standard English ideology

Standard English ideology has a role to play in maintaining the native/non-native hierarchy. As Widdowson (2003) points out, a defence of the exclusive ownership of English by NESs sits well with a defence of “Standard English” (StE). In his ironic words, while it is not feasible to stop NNEs using English, NESs “can seek to preserve standards by implying that there is an exclusive quality in your [i.e. native speakers’] own brand of English, aptly called Standard English” (Widdowson 2003: 36). While the defence of StE has become world-wide through ELT as a major mechanism of promoting it, the notion of standard English ideology has entered scholarly discourse with regard to the diffusion of English around the world (e.g. Jenkins 2014, 2015a, Seidlhofer 2018).

Seidlhofer’s (2018) discussion of StE ideology in relation to ELF focuses on an ideology that centres on StE and overlooks other Englishes, resonating with

¹ Jenkins (2015a) compares the new model with an old model of linguistic hierarchy. I mentioned the old model in Chapter 1. To avoid repetition, I only note the new model here.

Widdowson's (2003) critique of the ownership of English in relation to StE. She points out two assumptions underpinning the ideology. One, StE is taken for granted as the whole of English and "what is not StE therefore is *not* English" (Seidlhofer 2018: 89, original italics). That is, English is misrepresented as StE, which is an idealised version of English (Lippi-Green 1994a, Milroy 2001) apart from many different Englishes. This misrepresentation is often institutionalised through the acceptance of StE and the rejection of other different ways of using English around the world by treating instances of the non-conformity to StE norms as errors. Two, StE is equated with NESs' Englishes in discourses about English in NNEs contexts. This assumption suggests that all NESs are using StE as a homogenous speech community, which is apparently problematic given the fact that NES communities are heterogeneous societies where the promotion of StE has long been criticised for its negative effects on non-StE users (see Milroy and Milroy 2012).

According to Seidlhofer (2018), StE and NESs' English are often considered as the same thing when NESs play the role of instructors in NNEs' English education settings. While StEs (e.g. British StE and American StE) are generally accepted as ideal models for education in NNEs contexts, NESs are often deemed as the ideal presenters of English models. Despite the fact that StE is only used by a few NESs in NES communities (Milroy 2001, Widdowson 2003), English education in NNEs contexts tends to highlight the dichotomy between NESs and NNEs, paying little attention to the heterogeneity of NES communities. StE ideology thus poses challenges to the establishment of new power relations revolving around English.

Exploring various reactions to StE ideology among NNEs is constructive for understanding the possibility of new power relations. Given the focus of the study on English in international encounters, I would like to focus on some evidence drawn from ELF research. On the one hand, there is evidence of negative effects of StE ideology on ELF users' language choices and attitudes (Jenkins 2007). On the other hand, evidence of ELF users' contestation to StE ideology is visible in ELF users' creative use of English, that is, the use of English that does not follow established norms of English, that is, StE norms. While the evidence suggests the changing power relations available to ELF users, it would be simplistic to consider StE ideology as the only ideology affecting NNEs in the social environment where the native/non-native hierarchy exists. As Chapter 3 will discuss, language ideologies are often multiple in a community and compete with each other both in general (see also Woolard and Schieffelin 1994, Kroskrity 2004) and in particular contexts where English is a global language (see also Park 2009, Seargeant 2009). The investigation into language ideologies among ELF users, which is rare in previous research on ELF communities, would help to uncover the multiplicity

of language ideologies underlying the complexity of ELF users' attitudes and practices in more depth and with first-hand evidence.

2.2.4 Agency and new power relations

The treatment of NNEs as agents in the development of new power relations rather than passive receivers of power relations imposed upon them opens up new possibilities of the legitimation of “errors”, a term often used to conceptualise NNEs' linguistic outcomes as a result of the globalization of English.

Agency is a crucial factor in establishing new power relations and reacting to predominant power relations in currency. Duff (2012: 417) defines agency as “people's ability to make choices, take control, self-regulate, and thereby pursue their goals as individuals leading, potentially, to personal or social transformation”. An understanding of agency, however, cannot be isolated from power structures where individuals are situated. In Giddens' (1984) theory, structuration and agency are co-existent and interdependent. While agency has a role to play in structuration, structuration simultaneously exerts impacts on agency. The two-way interaction between structure and agency thus leads to agents' behaviours as the outcomes of negotiation with the power structure. In Ahearn's (2001: 112) words, agency is “the socioculturally mediated capacity to act”. The study of agency thus invokes the examination of agents' reactions to predominant power relations and, in particular, their perceptions of their “capacity to act” within the social environment that they conceive of as “constraining and enabling” – in Giddens's (1984) words – them (see Chapter 3 for the discussion of Giddens' theory on structuration).

The power-laden native/non-native hierarchy ideologically posits NNEs as “inherently deficient” while advantaging NESs as superior (e.g. Choi 2016; 73, Jenkins 2007). In that framework, NNEs' non-conformity to established norms, which result from the standardisation based on the corpora of a small number of elite NESs' use of English, is inevitably judged as “errors”, a term which could be escalated to be indicators of English decay (see Ammon 2000). By contrast, a focus on NNEs' agency serves an understanding of NNEs' role in the development of English and the diffusion of global Englishes. Admittedly, this view is not innovative. The consideration of non-native speakers' agency has long been a scholarly interest with regard to the study of languages. For instance, SLA researchers see the focus on NNEs' agency as important to explore L2 speakers' control on their own development of English and their self-positioning in the social contexts where English is relevant (e.g. Davies 2008, Pavlenko 2003). NNEs' agency is also acknowledged by contact linguists to have contributions to

the development of English as a sociolinguistic phenomenon (e.g. Brutt-Griffler 2002). In language ideology scholarship, non-native speakers' agency is believed to empower non-native speakers in their resistance of and negotiation with mainstream language ideologies (e.g. Kroskrity and Field 2009). It might be fair to borrow Canagarajah's (1999b: 211) words to summarise the significance of NNEs' agency that it is a way to "earned salvation".

2.2.5 Summary

The globalisation of English has brought to fore a native/non-native hierarchy in the use of English together with various conflicting factors within the hierarchy. It has also opened up new possibilities for NNEs' variations from long-established NES norms to be reconsidered. The reconsideration lies in the examination of the structure-agency relationship and the reaction of language users as agents to power relations that have been traditionally imposed upon them. With ideology as a site of power struggle, language ideology appears to be a promising area to examine language users' reactions to power relations and their orientations with regard to the tension between structure and agency (Kroskrity 2000). On the one hand, language ideology is the understanding of language conventions in relation to power relations (Fairclough 1989). On the other hand, language ideologies become explicit in language users' justification and elaboration of their language choices and preferences (Silverstein 1998). With the focus on agency, we can explore how individuals as social actors resist, negotiate, reproduce and/or reinforce power structures that they see as relevant for them, and understand the possibility of new power relations in the globalisation of English. This is the motivation behind the monograph, which explores Chinese speakers' language ideologies in relation to the phenomenon of ELF so as to understand Chinese speakers' process of negotiating the legitimacy of their own use of ELF.

2.3 English and China

The coordinating conjunction *and* in the heading of the section suggests the connection between English and China. While China needs English and Chinese speakers use English, China and Chinese speakers not only contribute to the global sociolinguistic profile of English but also join other users of English in shaping the development of English. This section explores the relations between English and China, contextualising the study on language ideologies centring on

the legitimacy of Chinese speakers' creativity in their response to the global spread of ELF. The section overviews the use of English in China, which highlights two themes, i.e. English for national agendas and English for individual interactions and expressions. Subsequently, the discussion will move on to Chinese speakers' perceptions of English in China with reference to previous research. The review of English in relation to each other in terms of national agendas, individual expressions and Chinese reactions to their own English leads to an argument that English and China have implications for each other's change and development.

2.3.1 English for national agendas

A constellation of works devoted to the topic of English in China offers various descriptions of the phenomenon (e.g. Adamson 2004, Bolton 2003, Bolton and Graddol 2012, Hu and Adamson 2012, Pan 2014, Zheng and Davison 2008), which help me to piece together an intriguing picture of English in China.

The approach to English for national agendas focuses on the use of English for the state's re/production of power relations within the nation-state and with other nation-states. As Bolton (2003) points out, the like or dislike of English in China is often motivated by different political, economic and cultural reasons. Adamson and his colleague's work (Adamson 2004, Hu and Adamson 2012) offers a snapshot of the need for English in national agendas, with the focus on English education in contemporary China. In their work, English has gone through ups and downs in China, which can be described in five stages of English education policy in response to the state's agendas across different time frames. In the first stage, English was not favoured, while Russian was, because of the Soviet influence from 1949 to 1960. In the second stage, English education gained popularity because of the re-establishment of the US-China diplomatic relation, seeing initiatives to seek quality in English education from 1961 to 1966. In the third stage, English was negatively treated in the context of the Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976. In the fourth stage, English regained popularity to suit the national agenda for modernisation from 1977 to 1993. In the fifth stage, English has been welcomed for the purpose of globalisation ever since the end of the previous stage.

Pan (2014: 54) views China as situated in the world system and examines "the changes of the state ideology towards English" during the span from the time before the Late Nineteenth Century to current times in the context of globalisation in the 2010s. She divides the historical development of English into seven stages. The status of English is examined in each stage, reflecting different state ideologies. Specifically, 1) before the late 19th century, English was related to "Sino-centric world empire and its Confucian ideologies"; 2) the period between

the 1840s and 1911 witnessed the Opium Wars during which the state government encouraged the learning of English for “self-strengthening”; 3) the period between 1912 and 1949 fell into the historical time of the Republic of China when language learning was associated with the new culture movements; 4) since the birth of the People’s Republic of China in 1949 until 1976, English language education had gone through “changing fortunes” due to the state’s concerns for diplomatic relations and domestic politics; 5) 1979–1990s experienced “the English boom” in response to the state’s Opening and Reform policy; 6) the 1990s–2010s period saw the state fully embrace English along with a growing connection between China and globalisation; 7) since the 2010s, a “post-Olympic China” is marked with “the state’s de-emphasis of English” in company with the state’s increasing emphasis on Chinese. Through a macro-historical perspective, Pan (2014) provides a comprehensive analysis of how ideological agendas decide the state’s approaches to English in different historical phases. Further, Pan’s (2014) work provides insights into the use of English as an apparatus for power reproduction in China. In her analysis, the phenomenon of English mania in contemporary China that Chinese people keenly embrace English and lavishly invest in English education can be an outcome of the state’s promotion of English driven by national agendas. That Chinese grassroots need English for social mobility sometimes manifests the state’s coercive power that makes Chinese grassroots believe that English brings benefits. Indeed, it is common that Chinese grassroots take all sorts of national English exams to receive language certificates, which are hooked to some education credentials and job promotions.

From a perspective informed by the ELF research, a few studies contribute to the insights into English education as a key site of ideological reproduction for the state. Among others, Wang, Weng and Li (2019) investigate language ideologies and English in Chinese primary education through textbook analysis and teacher interviews. In the textbook analysis, English education is found to be associated with standard British English in terms of linguistic representation of English. In respect of cultural representation, English education is found to focus on NESs’ cultural practice and traditional Chinese cultural practice, with no space given to other cultures in the textbooks being analysed. English users depicted in the textbooks include NESs and Chinese speakers of English. The textbook study is thus telling that English is represented as a language that is used for the communication between NESs and Chinese speakers and is modelled on standard British English. The interviews with teachers further suggest that teachers tend to refer to English textbooks in terms of English representation, showing the reproduction of ideologies promoted through English textbooks, which are centrally managed by the Ministry of Education, an institution that works for the state. The study thus has two implications. First, the study reveals an essentialist

language ideology that ties English to NESs. Second, the study suggests the role of English for the communication between NESs and Chinese speakers. Third, the presence of NESs' cultural practice and traditional Chinese cultural practice in contrast with the absence of other cultural representation echo the state's agendas of promoting patriotism among Chinese people and introducing Chinese culture to non-Chinese speakers. Wang and Wang (2020) report a study of language policy in Chinese higher education to examine how English is approached in recent years. The study shows a strong ideology in language policy and among university teachers that English can be represented by native Englishes and NES cultures. Meanwhile, reflections among some university teachers are found to question the exclusive representation of English as NESs' language. Wang and Wang's (2020) work thus reiterates the reproduction of an essentialist language ideology in language policy that sees a language as a property or a symbol of a nation. Their work, however, also reveals an emergence of university teachers' reflection on the exclusive ownership of English by NESs to show the struggle experienced by university teachers in reacting to the reproduction of language ideologies promoted through language policy.

In short, English is treated as a language that supports national agendas in China, although the state's reproduction of language ideologies has impacts on Chinese grassroots, which has different reactions to the state's ideological reproduction and thus contributes to the dynamics of ideological reproduction.

2.3.2 English for individual expressions

The need for English in interactions and expressions has driven the increase of the number of Chinese users and learners of English since the start of Chinese contact with English in 1637 when Chinese speakers had to learn English to trade with the first British merchants arriving in Canton and Macau (Bolton 2003). Currently, China has the largest population of users and learners of English in the world (Crystal 2008, Graddol 1997). The use of English for interactions and expressions in China has given rise to some linguistic phenomena that have attracted scholarly attention. Those linguistic phenomena are known as Chinese Pidgin English, Chinese learner English, Chinese variety of English, and New Chinglish, joining together to make a dynamic profile of English created by Chinese speakers in China.

The emergence of Chinese Pidgin English was seen in the context of China's close-door policy, where the then Qing government prohibited the exchange between Chinese speakers and non-Chinese speakers. While the Qing government banned teaching Chinese to the English (William 1836), the English found it

extremely difficult to learn Chinese. Correspondingly, Chinese speakers learning English became the only and best solution in order to communicate for business and services, although formal English education was not available until the end of the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, Chinese Pidgin English became a “distaste” when formal education of English was brought in by missionaries and subsequently developed by the Chinese government (Bolton 2003). As the origin of Chinese Pidgin English resulted from little education, Chinese Pidgin English is often associated with “illiteracy”, “a stylistics of caricature” and low-class social groups of Chinese speakers, triggering “contempt” (Bolton and Lim 2000: 437). From a linguist perspective, Hall (1944: 95) refers to Chinese Pidgin English as “the ‘minimum language’ in use since the early eighteenth century in the Treaty Ports and in central and southern China, as a medium of intercourse between Chinese and foreigners (chiefly native speakers of standard English [British and American])” (Hall 1944: 95). In linguists’ analysis, hybridisation and simplification are defining features of Chinese Pidgin English (e.g. Bolton 2000, Hall 1944, Reinecke 1964). In short, Chinese Pidgin English provides a window on the historical development of English in China.

The notion of Chinese learner English describes English produced by Chinese speakers in “unsuccessful” attempts to reach native speaker competence. The concept of Chinese learner English has become established along with the development of corpus projects in applied linguistics that motivates Chinese educators of English to promote the application of corpus-informed education. Xu and Xu (2017) provide a comprehensive review of the corpus-based application in English language teaching over the past 40 years in China. As they summarise, China has witnessed the development of various corpora in supporting Chinese learners at different levels of proficiency. A few major corpus projects include *Chinese learner English Corpus*, *Spoken and written English corpus of Chinese learners*, and *College learners’ spoken English corpus* (Xu and Xu 2017). The study on Chinese learner English emphasises two points. One is L1 Chinese transfer; the other is the orientation towards NES norms. The issue of learner identity is rarely addressed in English education research in China. Gao (2007) has particularly published an article to discuss the legitimacy of including the consideration of learner identity in English education. Overlooking the issue of learner identity might suggest that Chinese learner identity is a default identity ascribed to Chinese speakers who perform the practice of English. The learner identity leaves no space for the right to change English, despite the sociolinguistic reality that a great number of English users come from China and conduct intercultural communication through forms of English that do not follow NES norms. While L1 Chinese transfer is regarded as an index of learners, Chinese performance of English is judged as secondary to NESs’ performance. Researchers show no interest in the context

and purpose of Chinese contact with English, defining Chinese learner identity by considering the distance between Chinese use of English and native speaker competence. Such an approach to English would have an effect of disempowering those who use English in real-life communication in a way that does not conform to NES norms.

Chinese variety of English, which has been labelled as Chinese English and China English by different researchers (e.g. Bolton 2003, Deterding 2006, Ge 1980, Hu 2016, Kirkpatrick and Xu 2002, Xu 2008, Xu, Deterding, and He 2018, Xu and Sharifian 2017), is associated with lots of controversies. While some scholars question the existence of Chinese variety of English (e.g. Zhang 1995, Chen 1999, Qiu and Ning 2002; c.f. Li 1993, Wang 1991), some researchers have compiled corpora to investigate some Chinese speakers' use of English and identifies some linguistic features (e.g. Deterding 2006, Xu 2008). Chinese variety of English aligns with the theory of World Englishes and the study on the Chinese variety seeks to contribute to World Englishes (Xu 2010, Xu, Deterding, and He 2018). In Xu, Deterding and He's (2018: 2) state-of-the-art collections of research on Chinese variety of English, the authors use Chinese English as an umbrella concept of "the newly emergent varieties of English that occur in China". They accept Jenkins' (2015a) discussion of "the limitations of territorial varieties" (Xu, Deterding, and He 2018: 2) and thus, suggest that Chinese English refers to "phenomena regarding how English is actually used in China and in Chinese diasporas and beyond" (Xu, Deterding, and He 2018: 3). In the same vein, Xu and Sharifian (2018: 590) explore "cultural conceptualisations of Chinese zodiac animals in Chinese English", emphasising the root of Chinese English in Chinese culture instead of drawing a link between China's territory and Chinese English. In predicting the future of Chinese English, Xu, Deterding, and He (2018:12) expect the codification of Chinese English and the adoption of the variety by Chinese speakers around the world:

Chinese English is a developing variety of English. It will become more widely used in China and therefore nativized in different aspects of the Chinese society. In 50 years or even less than 50 years, Chinese English will be duly codified, and it will be differentiated within the variety itself. In addition, Chinese English will be widely acknowledged and used across the Chinese diasporas around the world.

New Chinglish is a concept proposed by Li Wei (2016), who studies translanguaging practices, which involves the playing with English, among Chinese speakers for the purpose of expressing their views and negotiating their socio-political spaces. Li Wei's (2016) study provides many examples for Chinese speakers' translanguaging practice, such as "You ask me, me ask who" (meaning "Don't look at me. I have no idea.") and "We two who and who?" (meaning "We are the

best buddies.”). Apart from such neutral expressions, Li Wei (2016) argues that Chinese speakers treat the use of English as a practice that they can tactically show their attitudes toward some socio-political phenomena. He gives examples such as Chinese creation of *smilence*, a word to show “silent resistance” of “the imposition of government policies” with “a stereotypically Chinese smile on one’s face” (Li Wei 2016: 15). The translanguaging practice challenges the assumption that StE norms are the reference for Chinese speakers to follow.

The scholarly work on the use of English for communicative needs presented above has explained various phenomena of Chinese speakers’ language practice that reveals a discrepancy from prevailing norms of StEs, with the focus on linguistic features that motivate the linguists to draw links between Chinese speakers and English. While the research on Chinese learner English tends to defer to an idealised abstraction of exonormative English, other above-mentioned research perspectives share an approach that views Chinese speakers’ linguistic outcomes in their own right. Admittedly, the work, though shedding light on the understanding of English used by Chinese speakers in intercultural interactions, has limitations in explaining the phenomenon of ELF arising between Chinese speakers and non-Chinese speakers in current times. Chinese Pidgin English addresses “minimum English” associated with limited education in a given time-space frame, while the use of ELF in current times applies to Chinese speakers who have various educational backgrounds. Chinese learner English focuses on the gap in native speaker competence, while the use of ELF challenges the reference to native speaker competence. Chinese variety of English emphasises linguistic codes to be stabilised, while the use of ELF features the fluidity and flexibility of language as social practice. New Chinglish focuses on Chinese speakers’ expressions of their meanings but gives little explanation to the interactive dynamics that Chinese speakers need to cope in international communication via the medium of ELF. I thus argue the need to analyse the use of ELF by Chinese speakers in a new perspective that can be conceptualised as ChELF, which is to be discussed in Section 2.4.

2.3.3 Chinese speakers’ perceptions

Language ideology is basically the study of ideas of language in its social environment and in relation to social practices. In a broad sense, the research on Chinese speakers’ perceptions of English in the context of ELF offers insights into language ideologies in relation to English in China. Previous research has focused on three interconnected themes, namely, 1) language attitudes and perceptions, 2) ELF identities, and 3) ELF awareness. What follows will review research on each of the themes respectively.

With the focus on the first theme, researchers tend to explore Chinese users' language preferences and motivations underneath. Inspired by Jenkins' (2007) research into ELF attitudes in a general sense, Wang (2012) explores Chinese speakers' perceptions of English in intercultural communication and finds an ambivalence in the participants' attitudes towards ELF, namely, a co-existence of an ELF orientation and an EFL orientation. She goes further to examine the factors contributing to the ambivalence of Chinese speakers' attitudes towards their own English and reports that Chinese speakers struggle between exonormative authority and endonormative needs (Wang 2013). In her study, exonormative orientations not only align with an essentialist view of English as a fixed and geographically defined language tied to the NES communities, but also are rooted in the participants' aspiration for the social capital in StE. On the other hand, endonormative orientations are motivated by Chinese speakers' valuation of their own English in terms of their needs and wants for identification and communication. Fang (2019) adopts an ELF perspective and examines Chinese students' and teachers' attitudes towards English accents. In his research, Chinese students aspire for native-like accents themselves but are willing to tolerate others speaking accented Englishes, while Chinese teachers are divided into two groups. One group acknowledges the global spread of English and the importance of non-native-likeness in expressing their own identities, while the other insists on the importance of approximating native speaker English accents in acting as role models to their students. Ren, Chen and Lin (2015) compare Chinese students and Taiwanese students' attitudes towards English accents and lexico-grammatical features. While their study reveals a profile of ELF attitudes similarly to Wang (2012) and Fang (2016), they find that the participants' ELF perceptions vary between local contexts, despite the fact that those participants have shared linguistic backgrounds. With the focus on pedagogy, Si (2018, 2019) has explored the acceptability of ELF-oriented teaching to business students in the Chinese context. With the focus on students, Si (2018) reports that Chinese students regard power and authenticity as major criteria for the acceptability. That is, the acceptability of a type of English depends on the power of the speakers of the type of English; the acceptability depends on the authenticity of English. With the focus on teachers, Si (2019) reports the conflicts between teachers' awareness of ELF and their insisted preference for ENL models.

In terms of the second theme, researchers are interested in Chinese speakers' identities in relation to English in the context of ELF. In this respect, Wang (2012) explores Chinese speakers' identity projection through their use of ELF to reveal a generic description of identity options available to Chinese speakers, which include learner identity vs user identity, L1 Chinese identity

vs near-NES identity, and multi-level identity in a global community. In Gao (2012) and her colleagues' research, Chinese university students identify and re-identify themselves throughout four years of working as voluntary helpers for the 2008 Olympic Games hosted in Beijing. While those Chinese university students sought to learn from NESs and positioned themselves as learners at the beginning of their work experience, they tended to see themselves as legitimate speakers of their own English that is different from rather than presumably inferior to native Englishes. Zheng (2013) adopts an ELF perspective and investigates whether Chinese learners of English are motivated to become a legitimate ELF user or an idealised near-NES. The data retrieved through interviews with Chinese university students reveal a general tendency to opt for an idealised near-native competence but the motivation to become an idealised near-NES is often frustrated when the students encounter the real-life use of English. Sung (2014b) explores Hong Kong university students' identities in relation to their accent preferences in ELF communication. The study reveals that the preference for local accented English is not necessarily connected with a purpose of identity projection, while aspirations for native-like accents are often driven by aspirations for a positive image of bilingual speakers of English. Sung (2014a) looks into L2 learners' identities in ELF communications by interviewing nine students from a Hong Kong university with a focus on the participants' identification with local and global communities. The study shows a myriad of identity options among the participants, which include preferred alignments with local communities, with global communities, and with both local and global communities simultaneously. Wang (2018) addresses Chinese speakers' identities through their use of ELF in intercultural communications and considers their identities as key to the legitimacy of Chinese speakers' own ELF. In her study, Chinese ELF speakers align with an imagined community through their use of ELF, which echoes Mauranen's (2012) concept of *similect*. According to Wang (2012, 2018), Chinese ELF speakers are situated in global communities where they see themselves as different from ELF users with other first language backgrounds and, thus, an imagined Chinese ELF community takes into shape.

The theme of ELF awareness arises with the momentum of considering pedagogical implications of ELF (e.g. Sifakis et al. 2018). In this line, Wang (2015a) identifies ways of English education to influence Chinese students' ELF awareness, which include language choice, learner identity and dis/connection with the sociolinguistic phenomenon. Wang (2015b) explores the dynamics of Chinese university students' language attitudes in a focus group setting and proposes ways of increasing Chinese university students' ELF awareness. According to her, ELF awareness can be promoted through explicit

classroom discussions of how ELF works and deliberate exposures to various Englishes. Wang and Jenkins (2016) go further to explore the impacts of ELF experience on the understanding of the relationship between nativeness and intelligibility and thus the problematizing of the assumption that non-conformity to StE forms would cause a communication breakdown. Fang and Ren (2018) conduct an experimental study on ELF awareness-raising – though they use the term “Global Englishes (GE) awareness” – by teaching students the content ideas of ELF and GE and examine the outcome of the teaching. Their findings converge with Wang’s (2015b) study in terms of positive influences of introducing the ideas of ELF and GE to students on raising students’ GE awareness. They conclude that GE-oriented critical pedagogy should be integrated into Chinese ELT.

In sum, previous research offers a holistic view of Chinese speakers’ language choices and struggles as well as ways of empowering Chinese speakers in using their own English in response to the global spread of English. Nonetheless, more needs to be done to deepen the understanding of Chinese speakers’ language choices by uncovering the process in which Chinese speakers make sense of their own English, in order to understand Chinese speakers’ creativity in relation to language change.

2.3.4 Summary

The spread of English into China has taken different shapes in different tempo-spatial frames within the national boundary of China. English is conceived of as an instrument by the state to support national agendas from time to time. Scholarly treatment of English tends to resemble an essentialist perspective that ties China, Chinese culture, Chinese history, and Chinese speakers’ English together, with linguists’ interest in English within China focusing on linguistic features of English used by Chinese speakers. The globalization of English, however, does not only mean the spread of English into different localities but also give birth to various relations via English between the global and the local. The fact that China has a great number of Chinese speakers and learners of English makes China an indispensable factor in the development of English around the world and the shaping of the sociolinguistic profile of global Englishes. In this respect, what follows will explore further the relations between English and China, with the focus on the reciprocal effects between ELF, which is the conspicuous feature of the globalization of English, and China, which offers numerically significant support to NNESS’ role in the development of English in the era of globalisation.

2.4 From ELF to ChELF

The phenomenon of ELF has become increasingly conspicuous around the globe, along with the deepening of globalisation. The research on ELF has been fruitful, interrogating the linguistic, sociolinguistic, discursive, and pragmatic dimensions of ELF practice in interactions. While Chinese speakers are increasingly engaging in the communications through ELF with those who do not speak L1 Chinese, the ELF research undoubtedly shed light on Chinese speakers' use of English in intercultural encounters and offers conceptual support to the interpretation of Chinese speakers' linguistic outcomes as evidence of their own way of using ELF. However, it is yet to understand how Chinese speakers' own ELF establish itself as legitimate. This brings to fore Chinese speakers as a parameter in ELF communication. That is, Chinese speakers are not only interactants in intercultural communications at micro-social scale but also contributors to English change at the macro-social scale.

A focus on the 'Chinese speaker' parameter, however, appears to have four conceptual challenges to meet, each of which is to be discussed in the rest of the section.

2.4.1 The position of L1

The notion of L1 is often backgrounded in the research on ELF. ELF researchers' attention is often paid to the commonality between speakers who are from different first language backgrounds. As Jenkins (2000: 11) puts forward, ELF emphasises that people from different first language backgrounds "have something in common rather than their differences". Seidlhofer's (2011: 7, original italics) makes it explicit that English is often "*the only option*" of communicative medium between ELF users. While emphasising the equal footing between speakers from different L1 backgrounds (Jenkins 2006), the ELF research tends to focus on the transcultural and translanguaging practices that highlight the emergent outcomes co-constructed in encounters between speakers from different L1 backgrounds (Baker 2015, Baird, Baker, and Kitazawa 2014). The notion of community in ELF research focuses on what is shared between multilingual ELF users and how multilingual ELF users adapt or accommodate to achieve commonality between them in ELF settings. ELF researchers have explored how different L1 speakers of ELF establish solidarity and achieve shared understanding of communicative resources in intercultural communication.

An emerging interest in the notion of L1 in relation to ELF research is seen in a few works on ELF. Mauranen (2012) proposes the concept of "similect", which

centralises L1s in defining ELF users' linguistic behaviours. Kim and Billington (2018: 152) report that "L1-influenced pronunciation is one of the critical factors in international communication contexts where English is spoken as a *lingua franca*", on the basis of a study on international aviation communication. Wang (2018: 151) argues that it is necessary to "understand the connection between NNEs who have shared L1 backgrounds and participate in respective intercultural communication where ELF is relevant for them". The focus on ELF speakers who share L1 backgrounds does not conflict the focus on ELF speakers in multilingual CoPs. Rather, the former complements the latter to form a better picture of ELF users in relation to ELF.

Specifically, a focus on ELF users who share L1 backgrounds offers a few implications that a focus on ELF users who do not share L1 backgrounds does not. First, the grouping of ELF users on the basis of their L1s draws attention to the parameter of L1 in ELF users' identities. While poststructuralists accept the multiplicity and fluidity of identities (Baker 2015, Jenkins 2007, Omoniyi 2006), ELF users are not exclusively tied to the relations with CoPs where multilinguals engage with each other. It is certainly true that multilingual users of ELF contribute to CoPs, which constitute a source of multilingual users' identities. Nevertheless, ELF users establish connections with CoPs, which should not be treated as isolated from other communities to which ELF users might have senses of belonging.

Second, while L1s are parts of resources available to ELF users, it is problematic to overlook the impacts of L1s on ELF users' performance, which opens up the possibility of L1s as ELF users' resources of identities. The impacts of L1s on ELF users are well discussed in Mauranen's (2012, 2018) notion of "similect". According to Mauranen (2012, 2018), ELF speakers from the same L1 background do not need to communicate with each other through ELF but they parallelly engage with speakers who have not shared L1s with them through the medium of ELF. Given L1 transfer, which has been evidenced in many empirical studies on L1 transfer to L2 English, the paralleling engagements in ELF interactions could bear influences of shared L1 repertoires and lead to the linguistic phenomenon which can be conceptualised as similect (Mauranen 2012, 2018). The phenomenon of similect suggests the value of the differentiation between ELF users from different L1 backgrounds in understanding the complexity of ELF phenomenon. Third, the irrelevance of national boundaries for the conceptualisation of ELF should not be over-generated to justify the irrelevance of national boundaries for ELF users in real-life situations who are affected by socio-political factors within national boundaries. Research has shown the impacts of socio-political and policy factors on language users' choice and preference. It would be simplistic to ignore their impacts when ELF users engage with ELF communication. At least, the impacts

need to be explored rather than simply overlooked. In a word, the grouping of ELF users on the basis of their L1s offer a complementary picture to the understanding of ELF on the basis of multilingual communities that emphasise the common ground between ELF users.

This monograph thus foregrounds the role of L1 in grouping ELF users, which leads to the focus on Chinese speakers of ELF. As to be discussed with the empirical data later, the study reveals the significance of L1 for Chinese speakers in their experience of ELF. L1 Chinese is not only a parameter that defines Chinese speakers' use of ELF as ChELF but also a resource that Chinese speakers draw on in making connections with an imagined Chinese community that is core to language ideologies underpinning the legitimacy of ChELF.

2.4.2 An issue of community

The conceptualisation of ELF evokes the reconceptualisation of community as a defining factor of English. While the notion of speech community does not capture the phenomenon of ELF, the concept of community of practice is brought in the research on ELF (Seidlhofer 2011). The grouping of ELF users is often based on the joint ventures that brings ELF users together to communicate, that is, the “practice” in CoPs. For example, some groups are labelled as academic users of ELF and business users of ELF, corresponding to the practices of academic ELF and business ELF respectively (e.g. Björkman 2011, Kankaanranta and Louhiala-Salminen 2013, Mauranen, Hynninen and Ranta 2010, Wolfartsberger 2011). The adoption of CoP aligns with the focus on the commonalities among different L1 speakers of ELF (e.g. Björkman 2014, Jenkins 2000).

With the focus on CoP, it is constructive to explore ChELF speakers' common ground with other multilingual speakers in ELF scenarios. A body of research interested in Chinese speakers' engagement with intercultural communication shows how Chinese speakers perform in CoPs by using ELF as a shared repertoire with other multilingual speakers. For example, Fang and Baker (2018) investigate Chinese speakers' sense of global citizenship in academic settings. With the focus on Chinese speakers, the study shows the relevance to CoPs by treating overseas Chinese university students as members of multilingual communities where ELF is used as a shared resource for communication in academic settings. Some other studies investigate multilingual speakers' use of ELF in CoPs, where Chinese speakers are co-participants of communications. For instance, Batziakas' (2016) data offer a vivid picture of how a Chinese speaker negotiates with other multilingual speakers by using *diaosi*, a word sourced from her first language repertoire, although his focus is on all participants including the Chinese speaker

(see Section 1.4). The Asian Corpus of English (ACE) project investigates the use of ELF in Asia, collecting data from ASEAN member nations plus China, Japan and Korea (Kirkpatrick 2010a, 2010b). As seen in these projects, Chinese speakers engage with other Asian speakers through the use of ELF and contribute the data showing shared features and patterns of the use of ELF among speakers from the investigated contexts in Asia (e.g. Gardiner and Deterding 2018, Kirkpatrick 2010b). In short, ChELF speakers join other multilingual speakers of ELF to form CoPs when they engage in intercultural communication.

However, the grouping of ELF speakers who share L1s cannot be explained by using the concept of CoP. As Mauranen (2012: 29) notes, “there is no community of similect speakers”. Notably, the argument is based on the conception of CoP. That is, the similect speakers neither interact with each other nor work towards a joint goal through the medium of a similect. The grouping of similect users cannot be explained by using CoPs. Indeed, ELF researchers have considered a few candidates to conceptualise the grouping of ELF users. Mauranen (2012) provides a comparative analysis of different conceptions of community in terms of their relevance for the grouping of ELF users. Those conceptions include imagined communities, CoPs, discourse communities, and networks of speakers. Jenkins (2014: 37) considers the concept of imagined communities as relevant for ELF practice. Borrowing the concept of “imagined communities” from Anderson (2006), both Jenkins (2014) and Mauranen (2012) focus on the imaginedness of “imagination of communities” and endorse the concept of imagined communities in explaining ELF speakers’ virtual engagement with communities with which they seek solidarity.

Wang (2018) goes further to explore the relevance of the concept of “imagined communities” for the understanding of ELF users who are grouped together on the basis of L1 Chinese. She exploits the concept of “imagined communities” by tracing back how Anderson (2006) defines imagined communities in relation to nation-state. In her work, she discusses four aspects of Anderson’s conception of “imagined communities”. First, imagined communities are formed on the basis of imagination. Second, imagined communities are based on communion instead of communication. Third, members of imagined communities draw “limited” or “finite” boundaries around them to form communities. Fourth, independence and autonomy are integral feature of imagined communities. By analysing both quantitative and qualitative data in a questionnaire survey, Wang (2018) finds that the four aspects help to group Chinese users of ELF together. Thus, the concept of imagined communities is constructive to broaden our understanding of community in ELF research. While ELF speakers who are from the same L1 backgrounds do not share memberships in ELF-based CoPs, ELF speakers who are from the same L1 backgrounds share memberships in L1-based imagined communities.

Necessarily, “imagined communities” are not incompatible with CoPs in explaining ELF but complement the latter in addressing the issue of grouping ELF users. That is, while CoPs bring together ELF speakers who are from different L1 backgrounds, imagined communities explain solidarities among that ELF speakers who are from the same L1 backgrounds. The compatibility of the two types of communities in ELF finds the support in the sociolinguistics of identities, that is, identities are multiple and fluid (Omoniyi and White 2006, Pennycook 2010). That is, ELF users have the choices between different identities and the freedom to perform the identities that they aspire.

2.4.3 An issue of boundary

The conceptualisation of ELF takes issue with the view of nation, language, and culture as bounded entities and takes up a poststructuralist perspective that boundaries are blurred in language practice (e.g. Baker 2015, Dewey 2007, Jenkins 2015b, Seidlhofer 2011). It has become a consensus that ELF is not a “bounded” entity but a fluid practice, on the basis of a considerable body of literature that describes the nature of ELF in CoPs, which highlight the commonality among members but not their differences. The notion of nation appears to be an irrelevant factor in determining what is ELF and who are ELF users. Cogo (2012) offers good explanation of the superdiversity embedded in ELF users’ language practice. As she comments on the use of ELF by migrants and notes, “the country of birth alone would seem a rather partial and trivial piece of information, as people migrate various times and to different destinations in their lives, and they cannot be straightforwardly associated with particular national or ethnic groups and identities”.

Admittedly, linguists’ perspective might be different from non-linguists’ perspective, as seen in studies in folk linguistics (e.g. Niedzielski and Preston 2003). Seidlhofer (2011: 77) comments on the issue of boundaries in ELF speakers’ perspectives as follows:

Motivated by socio-political and other considerations, they [i.e. ELF speakers] mark out linguistic boundaries to define the communal space in which they can invest their group identity and in which they can feel socially secure. So in this case the representation of languages and varieties as bounded entities is not an expedient fiction for linguistic analysis but something experienced as a matter of social fact.

The discrepancy between linguists and non-linguists in making sense of language might suggest some need to increase non-linguists’ awareness of how ELF is actually used, which tends to be an interest in some ELF works, including my own previous work on ELF awareness (Wang 2015b). However, it is worthwhile

considering non-linguists' perspectives within social and power structures where non-linguists and language users are situated, in that attitudes and beliefs are socially learned and mediated to react to social and power structure that has impacts on them. That is, it would not be productive to only focus on what ELF researchers see as ELF users' blind spots. Rather, it would be helpful to think what ELF users' perspective can inform us of the world of English where they engage with different sorts of power relations that have impacts on their use of ELF. In this sense, ELF speakers' drawing of boundaries between languages on the basis of nations should be treated as valuable information on ELF phenomenon in understanding the legitimacy of ELF, which is essentially an issue of language ideology. True, the inclusion of ELF users' engagements with social and power relations outside ELF settings adds to the complexity of ELF research and analysis. Nonetheless, this should not be a reason to turn away from social and power relations that ELF users experience before they enter ELF interactions.

2.4.4 An issue of territoriality

In geopolitical studies, deterritorialisation and reterritorialization are recurring themes in the attempts to understand globalisation. Pringle (1998) regards deterritorialisation and reterritorialization as interdependent upon each other to form a reciprocal process of globalization. On the one hand, deterritorialisation refers to the process of “a significant decline in the importance of the traditional territorial [nation-]state” due to challenges to national governance, both from “below” and from the “above” (Pringle 1998: 2). This relates to what I have discussed the process of globalization. On the other hand, reterritorialization means “the redrawing of the boundaries between territorial states, usually to give recognition to cultural diversity expressed as a demand for national self-determination” (Pringle 1998: 2–3). This relates to what I have discussed the process of localization. Tomlinson (2007) borrows the two concepts into cultural studies to explain the dynamic relationships between culture and place. In the process of deterritorialisation, a culture becomes freed from the physical constraints of the local environment; in the process of reterritorialization, a culture develops along with the development of localities in the process of globalisation. Mapping Pringle's concepts onto the globalization theory that I discussed at the beginning of the chapter, we can see the concept of territorialisation invoke the two-way process of the blurring of boundaries and, simultaneously, the reappearance of boundaries, to illustrate the process of glocalisation.

The globalisation of English resembles the process of “deterritorialisation”, during which English becomes freed from the confinement of its physical

communities where monolingual English speakers are regarded as autonomous owners of English who defend the norms of English through standardisation. The communities relevant to ELF speakers are not tied to geographical boundaries. Rather, those communities, together with cultures, have gone through radical changes to disconnect from geographical territories, due to the technological transformation and people mobility in the context of globalisation. It is common that “ELF speakers usually do not live in immediate physical proximity with each other” but constitute CoPs based on their shared enterprises (Seidlhofer 2011). In this sense, ELF illustrates a process of deterritorialisation of English.

Deterritorialisation and reterritorialization are two sides of the same coin. Pringle’s (1998) theory of territorialisation implies that the reterritorialization might be a hidden aspect in current ELF research, which tends to focus on deterritorialisation explicitly. I propose to use Anderson’s (2006) concept of “imagined communities” to study the under-researched groupings on the basis of L1s in ELF research. Through imagination, ChELF users establish links with whoever and wherever they would like to connect, drawing boundaries that satisfy their identity needs. Imagined communities thus open the possibility to redraw boundaries that would not be possible in deterritorialisation.

In addition, the categorization of ELF users on the basis of their L1s offers implications to the understanding of ELF users’ identities. Such a way of categorizing, to some extent, suggests a scenario of the reappearance of boundaries related to L1s. Admittedly, it is yet to be investigated whether such a scenario is meaningful for ELF users and whether they conceive of their connections with L1s as local languages and their connection with local relations. While it is yet to be investigated with regard to whether and/or how ELF users establish connections with each other on the basis of L1 backgrounds, the theory of territoriality sheds light on the understanding of ELF communities – that is, the deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation suggest complementary ways of categorizing ELF users.

2.5 Conclusion

The discussion of the relations between Chinese speakers and ELF provides a theoretical foundation for the exploration of the legitimacy of ChELF, which features non-conformity to StE norms. To understand the value of the new typology on the basis of L1 Chinese, it is necessary to appreciate the challenge in the discussion of the legitimacy in Chinese speakers’ own ELF. The phenomenon of ELF is often grappled with the StE ideology (Seidlhofer 2011). In line with StE ideology, linguistic outcomes produced in Chinese speakers’ use of ELF in international communication, which tends to be different from NES norms, are often criticised

as “errors”. By contrast, a focus on Chinese speakers’ agentive role could lead to an interpretation of Chinese speakers’ non-conformity to StE norms as creativity and thus instances of the change of English. The agentive role, however, needs to be investigated rather than assumed.

While linguistic analysis often helps to justify the viability of linguistic forms, language legitimacy is often established through language ideologies. The conceptualization of ChELF is not defined on the basis of linguistic features but identities that Chinese speakers establish through their use of ELF. As identity and language are mutually constitutive, identity is key to the determination of linguistic legitimacy (Kroskrity 2000). As Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015) point out, “sociopolitical identity” is “the defining factor” of a language. That is, whether language speakers regard themselves as speakers of language X or Y tells us whether language X is language X rather than variations from language Y. While Wardhaugh and Fuller’s notion relates to language in a bounded society, it is constructive to borrow the notion for the investigation of the legitimacy of ChELF. That is, the legitimacy of ChELF depends on if and how ChELF speakers perceive ChELF as an indexical means by which they construct their identities and position themselves in relations to power relations that they see as relevant for them.

The concept of CoPs can explain the deterritorialisation, a process during which Chinese speakers engage with non-Chinese speakers in CoPs where national boundaries are irrelevant. To understand this process, it is necessary to understand the role of English for Chinese speakers in contemporary China. Although China ascribes English as the major foreign language in the country (see Pan 2014), English plays a *de facto* role of a global lingua franca for Chinese speakers, who use English to communicate with non-Chinese speakers, either NESs or other NNEs. The changing role of English since China’s opening-up policy has made Chinese speakers engage with multilingual CoPs where national boundaries are blurred. The concept of imagined communities can explain the reterritorialization, a process during which Chinese speakers draw boundaries of communities with which Chinese speakers intend to align. While the boundary-drawing is crucial to imagined communities, it is necessary to understand how Chinese speakers relate the imagined boundary to their practice of English and their identities. Wang (2018) reports that ChELF users tend to imagine ChELF speakers as a sub-group in a multilingual community where ELF is the common practice. In this sense, ChELF users self-categorise themselves by imagining a borderline between them and other L1 speakers of ELF.

I argue that CoPs where Chinese speakers have borderless contact with other ELF speakers and imagined communities where Chinese speakers draw boundaries between them and other ELF speakers should not be viewed as conflicting with each other. Instead, they should be viewed as complementary to

each other and existing in different processes of the glocalisation of English in the Chinese context. While the deterritorialisation parallels with the reterritorialization in the glocalisation, CoPs and imagined communities coexist to contribute to ChELF speakers' multiple identities. That is, ChELF speakers communicate with other ELF speakers to form CoPs; ChELF speakers connect with each other through imagination. In Anderson's (2006) conception, imagined identities are projected onto national identities. In terms of ChELF speakers' imagined connection with each other, I am interested to know whether their imagined identities are relevant to their English attitudes and, if relevant, how. An empirical investigation is needed to provide evidence as to how Chinese ELF speakers identify themselves through the practice of ELF. This is the main focus of the current study, with the data presented in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

3 Language ideologies: From languages to Englishes

The term “ideology” was coined by Destutt de Tracy to refer to the study of “mental phenomena” that deals with “consciousness, subjective representations, beliefs, ideas” in a “mentalist” sense that does not engage with the social, cultural and political contexts where human as research subjects are situated (Silverstein 1998, Woolard 1998: 23). The “mentalist” interest is not widely accepted in terms of the study of language, given various approaches to language as a concept. For instance, where Chomskian researchers are interested in the cognitive knowledge of language, which tends to focus on native speaker competence, researchers with macro-social interests tend to focus on representations of language as social, cultural, economic and political resources – such as language as a way of identification and language as a commodity. Admittedly, however, the notion of ideology has gone beyond a mentalist interest to find its way to the study of cultural phenomena, social relations, discourse, power and politics (e.g. Woolard 1998, Woolard and Schieffelin 1994 provide comprehensive reviews of scholarly engagement with ideology in various contextual dimensions). In the same vein, the “consciousness, subjective representations, beliefs, ideas” of language has entered different research disciplines where language is treated as the subject of study and language ideologies have become a concept with different dimensions that serves investigations into human activities on the basis of different approaches. In this sense, it is not difficult to understand that researchers offer different definitions to language ideologies. For instance, Silverstein’s (1979) definition of language ideologies focuses on community members’ awareness of language structures and their interpretations of language use in social settings, while Fairclough (1989) posits that language ideologies are interfaces between language forms and power structures.

The conception of language ideologies in this monograph follows the widely accepted notion that language ideology is the cultural representation of the linkage between social forms and linguistic behaviours (e.g. Fairclough 1989, Gal 1998, Woolard 1998, Kroskrity 2004). While language ideologies are “the situated, partial, and interested character of conceptions and uses of language” (Errington 2001: 110), the “partial” conceptualisations of language are “necessarily constructed from the sociocultural experience” of language users (Kroskrity 2004: 496). In this line, the study of language ideologies in this book focuses on language users’ interpretations of social relations that are relevant to them in the world of ELF, which comprises both NESs and NNEs. Their interpretations

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501503702-003>

entail their views of established norms and linguistic variations, thus suggesting how language users perceive the tension between prescriptive norms and descriptive practices and how they react to power relations when the tension emerges.

This chapter explores language ideologies in relation to the establishment of language legitimacy, which invokes the understanding of language ideologies as representations of languages in power structures which promote language norms for language users to follow. On the one hand, the legitimacy of language change and variation concerns the interaction between structural forces that promote norms and language users who are social actors in reacting to mainstream norms. On the other hand, language ideologies are manifestations of and, simultaneously, factors in social and power relations. The complicated relations among language, language ideologies, language users, and structural forces underpin the establishment of the legitimacy of language variations led by language users. Thus, the rest of the chapter will proceed to explore various theoretical underpinnings of language ideologies for the purpose to explain the role of language users in renegotiating social and power relations in which they are situated. I will then take up the discussion of languages and language ideologies in order to establish theoretical understandings of what they are and provide a framework for my analysis of language ideologies in relation to Chinese speakers' use of ELF. Next, I will review studies informing of language ideologies centring on English in the global spread and explore their implications for the understanding of Chinese speakers' language practice from a perspective of language ideologies. After that, the discussion will crisscross language ideologies and global Englishes in order to pinpoint the approaches to language ideologies for the purpose of studying the legitimacy of Chinese speakers' ELF as a manifestation of global Englishes.

3.1 Theoretical departures

While language ideologies are widely studied in different disciplines, the term “language ideologies” in the power structure tends to have three types of use in general. First, language ideologies are used to suggest the link between languages and ideologies, with languages being treated as a site of studying social, cultural, and political ideologies of scholarly interest in social science. That is, the analysis of language in practice helps to explore social, cultural, economic and power relations associated with various disciplinary subjects. In this respect, the use of language – especially registers – is often analysed

to inform power relations between different social or cultural groups and to uncover the political interests behind certain political groups. For instance, language change from the generic use of *he* as the pronoun to refer to an anonymous person has resulted from the contention against the practice of downplaying the voice of females in a community and the indexicality of *he* in a community (e.g. Bendix 1979, Mucchi-Faina 2005). Carvalho (2007) examines how media discourses represent scientific knowledge and construct the authority of knowledge on climate change so as to reveal “ideological stand-points” of the prestigious British media. Second, language ideologies are used in a sense that ideologies are examined centring on language issues. Languages are socially distributed among community members and studied as symbols of groups, which leads to language ideologies serving as sites of struggle between different language groups. For this, language ideologies are widely studied in contact linguistics and serve the study of conflicts and contestations between different language groups in a societal community (e.g. Makiyara and Schieffelin 2007). Third, language ideologies are studied in relation to migration and examined to understand ideological issues in language practice in translocal and transnational spaces. In this respect, the interactions between migrants and members from host communities are examined to reveal power relations in operation and the process of power negotiation (e.g. Canagarajah 2013, Wodak 2012). Nevertheless, while the spread of English into every corner of the world brings about changes to power structures in different contexts, it is rare to see studies on language ideologies which look into ideological issues centring on languages in communities where national languages are used for intranational communication along with ELF used for international communication.

In order to benefit from rather than being overwhelmed by previous studies on language ideology, this section is committed to examining a few theoretical approaches that help to crisscross the current study on language ideologies in a substantial body of research on this topic.

3.1.1 A social-theoretic inquiry

Silverstein (1998: 181) comments on Woolard’s (1998) discussion of non-mentalist interests in ideology as “Woolard’s social-theoretic strands” of the conceptualization of ideology that reveal a history of shifting focuses between structure and agency. This drives me to read literature on social theory. The process is found to be rewarding and the understanding of language ideology on the basis of social theory productive.

I would like to draw on Giddens's (1984) theory of structuration to illuminate my understanding of language ideology, based on which the book is formed. The theory comprises a few key elements which I see as relevant to understanding language ideology, that is, structure, system, social actor and social action. The duality of structuration is the cornerstone of the theory, which has a few implications. First, structure is both constraining and enabling social actors. Second, structuration is both "medium and outcome" of social actions. Third, structure is both "external" and "internal" to social actors. Fourth, structure and social actors are interdependent and simultaneously independent. That is to say, structure can go beyond the control of social actors, while social actors can have their own theories of the social systems which they help to constitute and reconstitute in their activities to reify the systems. The notion of the duality of structure thus implies the possibility for social actors to variate from the mainstream social norms and reify the variation, which could lead to a change in social structure and helps to induce a change in communicative order. To support my understanding of language ideology on the basis of Giddens's theory of structuration, I have turned to Fairclough (1989) to consult his discussion of the relationship between language convention, social convention and language ideology. In Fairclough's discussion, social relations reveal social conventions and some variations from social conventions. That is, how language is used reflects how language speakers are positioned in social relations. The belief regarding how language should be used is associated with the belief regarding how speakers are positioned in social relations. Fairclough (1989) gives examples of doctor-patient consultation and police-witness conversation to illustrate how conversation participants choose to take initiatives or stay responsive according to their perceptions of each other's positions in power structures. In this sense, while language conventions are associated with social conventions, language variations appear to be inharmonious factors in a social structure. Taking Giddens's discussion of social actors' own theorisation of social forms into consideration leads to an argument that language ideologies can help to criticise linguistic variations or challenge social conventions when the dual factors of structuration clash and conflict.

I would like to apply Giddens's theory of structuration to the conception of language ideology. Overall, the "representation" of the linkage between social forms and linguistic behaviours reflects the structuration of social relations among speakers using different communicative codes in society. Specifically speaking, structuration, according to Giddens (1984: 376), means "the structuring of social relations across time and space, in virtue of the duality of structure". "Structure" in Giddens (1984) refers to rules and resources underpinning how social relations take shape, while social relations constitute what Giddens

defines as system. Language behaviours follow some rules, while social relations are governed by social conventions in a social system. Speakers using different communicative codes are social actors in Giddens' sense. Language ideology process involves the action of representing, which, in turn, invites the responsive actions, which could be the reproduction, transmission, contestation and rejection of the representation. All these actions are recursive of social actions in Giddens' theory. The notion of the duality of structuration thus implies the interrelationships between different elements in language ideology. First, linguistic rules and resources are both constraining and enabling language users' production and performance. Second, the representation of the linkage between language forms and social forms is both "medium and outcome" of language ideologies. Third, linguistic rules, resources and social conventions are both "external" and "internal" to language users. That is, language users have the knowledge as to how to produce linguistic forms to make sense in their cognition, and they simultaneously refer to social conventions, which exist as a priori, regarding how to speak. Fourth, linguistic rules and resources together with social conventions are integral for but independent of language users' decision of how to use language, and vice versa. That is, while language users have the knowledge or awareness of how to use language in certain social circumstances, they might use language in a way that goes beyond the knowledge because of their own understanding of how language should be used to suit their own purposes. In short, how language users interpret social conventions and relations is key to the understanding of the possibility of a change in an existing communicative order. That is, how language users interpret social conventions, which are reflected in language norms, offers opportunities to consider the legitimacy of linguistic variations.

3.1.2 Structure and agency

Language ideology scholarship diverges on two directions on the basis of the structure-agency relation, which has been an age-old dilemma among social scientists (e.g. Beck 1997, Bourdieu 1977b, Dawe 1979, Foucault 1973, Fuchs 2001, Giddens 1984) and, not surprisingly, among linguists seeking to understand language issues in social relations in the context of globalisation (Block 2013, Canagarajah 1999b). With the focus on power, researchers are interested in the top-down influences upon community members; with the focus on agency, researchers are interested in the role of community members as what Giddens (1984) describes as social actors. A focus on power often aligns with an interest in the promotion and reproduction of language ideologies among community members. With the focus

on power, language ideologies researchers are interested in how governance is achieved through the tool of language ideologies. For instance, Pan (2014) discusses how the Chinese government promotes the ideology that English benefits Chinese people both individually and nationally and argues that this is a way of making Chinese people follow the government. A focus on agency often aligns with an interest in contestation. Blommaert (1999: 8) proposes to frame the analysis of language ideologies with a model of “debates”, which offers the explanatory power for the understanding of “discursive struggle and contestation” in the study of politics. The model highlights the presence of “a variety of social actors” – namely, politicians and policy-makers themselves, academic and non-academic experts, interested members of the public, and the media – in the political process that language ideologies mirror. Social actors engage in debates as a way of participating in the process of policies, which leads to some impacts on social life and, in turn, social structure, and struggle for the power of defining and representing social reality (Blommaert 1999: 10). The model further calls for a critical analysis of successful ideologies vs unsuccessful ideologies in terms of the means towards the ends. Reproduction of (successful) language ideologies parallels with normalisation and institutionalisation (Blommaert 1999) to highlight the role of the authoritative in the discourse of hegemony. Nonetheless, Blommaert (1999: 11) cautions “Big Brother fantasies” and argues that the authoritative are not the only social actors in the process of reproduction, institutionalisation and normalisation. That is to say, social actors at the grassroots level should also be considered in terms of how they react to hegemonic ideologies and unsuccessful ideologies.

Agency is a construct central to the discussion of creativity, change and transformation. While structuralists tend to focus on the impacts of structure on agency, poststructuralists tend to emphasise free choices that agents pursue. Those who adopt a poststructuralist perspective on agency thus accept agency as a driving force behind social transformation. As Emirbayer and Mische (1998: 964) point out, however, the enduring approaches to “free will” vs “determinism” are simplistic and problematic, offering no explanation to the interplay between structure and agency. That is, while agency is shaped by and shaping structure, structure is both constraining and enabling agency. Indeed, a recent consensus tends to demonstrate a view of the dualism that accepts agents as participants rather than recipients in social actions who seek to negotiate with social relations to which they are tied in the historically contingent contexts where they are situated (e.g. Blommaert 2005, Canagarajah 2007). In this respect, researchers in language studies have contributed to the discussion of non-mainstream language users’ negotiation of identities in power structures where they are situated (e.g. Canagarajah 1999b, 2007, Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004).

Importantly, Emirbayer and Mische (1998: 963) remind that it would be problematic to treat agency as “a flat and impoverished conception” that overlooks multiple dimensions of agency and the interplay between different dimensions of agency. To consider the dynamics and complexity of agency as well as the interplay between agency and structure, Emirbayer and Mische (1998: 963) conceptualise agency as “a temporally embedded process of social engagement, informed by the past (in its habitual aspect), but also oriented toward the future (as a capacity to imagine alternative possibilities) and toward the present (as a capacity to contextualise past habits and future projects within the contingencies of the moment)”. The conception links the past, the present and the future together and focuses on social actors’ process of deliberating their responses to social structure, which has implications for them, on the basis of their knowledge of or experience in the past and their imagination for the future. This conception finds its way in Norton’s (2000) discussion of L2 English learners’ investment, which, she believes, manifests the operation of agency and depends on L2 learners’ orientations toward the past, the present and the future. According to Norton (2000: 5), L2 English learning is an investment in L2 learners’ identity, which evokes “how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is structured across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future”.

Emirbayer and Mische (1998) further dissect agency into three constitutive elements, that is, *iteration*, *projectivity* and *practical evaluation*, to allow for the analysis of the complexity of agency. Iteration entails “*the selective reactivation by actors of past patterns of thought and action, as routinely incorporated in practical activity, thereby giving stability and order to social universes and helping to sustain identities, interactions, and institutions over time*”; projectivity evokes “*the imaginative generation by actors of possible future trajectories of action, in which received structures of thought and action may be creatively reconfigured in relation to actors’ hopes, fears, and desires for the future*”; practical evaluation involves “*the capacity of actors to make practical and normative judgements among alternative possible trajectories of action, in response to the emerging demands, dilemmas, and ambiguities of presently evolving situations*” (Emirbayer and Mische 1998: 971, original italics). The dissection provides a detailed and comprehensive analysis of agency by emphasising the interconnection between agency and structure permeating into different temporal-relational contexts and the correspondingly resultant tensions between different orientations emerging in the reflexivity. While social actors’ understanding of the past and their expectation for the future are not entirely free from the conditioning of the structure, or what Bourdieu (1977b) has defined as “habitus” and “field”, there are spaces for social actors to rationalise what serves their purposes, creativity, and possibilities for power reconfiguration.

3.1.3 Neutrality versus criticality

As Woolard and Schieffelin (1994) observe, language ideologies scholarship tends to divide between a neutral approach and a critical one towards language ideologies. A neutral approach focuses on cultural representations of language in relation to language users who constitute a collective whole in a social context. Language ideologies research seeks to discover how linguistic signs are culturally coded and decoded in terms of its referential meanings among language users in aggregate. Linguistic ethnography tends to adopt this approach to uncover the link between language and culture in a given society. A critical approach tends to interrogate language representations by different interest groups in society and to understand how language ideologies are employed to shape the sociopolitical structure and the power structure in a contingent way. That is, language ideologies are considered as a means for political agendas such as manipulation, domination, and resistance.

Nonetheless, contemporary scholarship has established a common practice of treating a neutral approach and a critical approach in a continuum. It has been widely accepted that language is not a linguistic fact but an ideological construct (e.g. Wright 2004). As Blommaert (1999:6) notes, “every language fact is intrinsically historical”. The study of language thus cannot be conducted by isolating language from its historical and political settings. Language “not only is an instrument of communication but also carries symbolic values that condition social, political, and economic spheres” (Schieffelin and Doucet 1998: 411). Contemporary scholarship on language ideologies has reached a consensus that both language and language ideologies are by no means neutral (Rosa and Burdick 2015, Woolard and Schieffelin 1994). Language ideologies scholarship with a critical perspective tends to examine “the ways in which our common-sense notions about language are always situated, biased, and the result of historical and contemporary processes” (Rosa and Burdick 2015: 108). In a critical approach, the establishment of discursive authority and the achievement of legitimation should be studied rather than simply assumed.

The way of understanding language ideologies resembles the way of understanding languages. A neutral approach to language ideologies aligns with the view of language as a neutral object; a critical approach to language ideologies aligns with the view of language as an ideological tool. A neutral approach to language ideologies resides with foundational analytical categories based on which languages are associated with bounded nations and territories. A critical approach, however, addresses the diversity and the heterogeneity of community and asks questions into historical origins and ideological outcomes of languages. While a neutral approach takes existing communicative order as

given, a critical approach questions existing communicative orders and seeks to understand potential communicative orders. As a critical approach has the potential to understand change, this book takes this approach to explore language ideologies among Chinese speakers of ELF in order to understand Chinese speakers' role in what Mauranen (2012) describes as English change in the world today.

3.1.4 From level to scale

In Rosa and Burdick's (2017) review of works on language ideologies, they have summarized two orientations to language ideologies, that is, a micro-orientation and a macro-orientation. The former highlights Silverstein's (1979: 193) focus on individual language users' awareness of linguistic structure, while the latter gives space to moral and political loadings of language ideologies in a community, which resonates with Fairclough's (1989) view of language ideologies as interfaces between structures of power and forms of talk. The analysis of sociolinguistic phenomena on the basis of the split between micro- and macro- levels appears to be outdated, along with increasing awareness among scholars that sociolinguistic phenomena require the examination from a holistic perspective, which probes into different levels of sociolinguistic phenomena and the interactions between different levels.

As Wortham and Reyes (2015: 178) criticize, for example, the distinction between "micro-" and "macro-" analyses "leads discourse analysts and others to misperceive the heterogeneous nature of the social world". Consequently, an alternation appears to be the concept of scale to offer the explanative power of sociolinguistic phenomena through "the dissections of social life along different lines" (Blommaert 2007a, Briggs 1998, Collins 1998, Errington 1998, Gal 1998: 424, Rosa and Burdick 2015, Schieffelin and Doucet 1998). For instance, a body of literature has taken up the notion of scale in studying language ideologies that focus on the relationship between forms of talk and power structure. Agha (2007: 324, original italics) considers the relations between place, time and personhood by invoking "differences of *scales of relevance*" in small- and large- scale semiotic modes. Agha (2011: 172) discusses the rescaling of personhood through the "mediatization of semiotic mediation". According to him, personhood is re-scaled between large- and small- scale forms through the semiotic process that takes the forms of articulation and institutionalization. Wortham and Reyes (2015) focus on discourse analysis and argue that "contingent, heterogeneous networks" beyond single social event require attention to social processes across temporal, spatial and mediated scales. Canagarajah (2013) uses the notion of scale to address the mobility

of semiotic resources in the context of globalization. He examines how migrants negotiate with the orders of indexicality in the process of what Blommaert (2007a) describes as scale jump and reconstruct new orders of indexicality in interactions.

Blommaert (2007a) provides a comprehensive discussion of the concept of scales and its implications for the understanding of sociolinguistic phenomena in the changing sociolinguistic context that features globalisation. The inspiration admittedly comes from social geography and political economy (Blommaert 2007a, Canagarajah 2013). Blommaert (2007a:16) proposes to use scale as a metaphor to conceptualise “sociolinguistic phenomena and processes” that globalization has brought about. His idea aligns with Wallerstein’s (1983, 2001) discussion of the scales in the power hierarchy in the world Capitalist economy. For him, the metaphor invokes 1) “the reshuffling of value and function of linguistic resources” in social environments and 2) the hierarchical ordering of tempo-spatial frames within which linguistic resources operate (Blommaert 2007a: 16). He makes a distinction between horizontal and vertical distributions of linguistic resources, framing the concept of scale as the measure in vertical distribution. To be specific, while the horizontal distribution of linguistic forms is mapped to the spatio-temporal framework which juxtaposes the time and space of linguistic forms, the vertical distribution describes the differences in social value and power between different linguistic forms. In other words, different linguistic forms applicable to different spatiotemporal frames are valued unequally, with more powerful forms at higher scale levels and less powerful forms at lower scale levels. The notion of scale is thus not only relevant for the distribution of semiotic resources within the spatiotemporal frames but also the hierarchical orders of semiotic resources divided across time and space. The notion of scale thus is helpful in studying the heterogeneity of social world.

Nonetheless, Canagarajah (2013: 202) critiques an approach that tends to focus on “the power-ridden nature of social spaces and codes” and overlooks possibilities for the negotiation and change. He reminds of the need to consider agents’ role in negotiating and appropriating social spaces across different scales. In his study, migrants are not completely subject to the orders of indexicality in host communities that they move to and that devalue their usages of English. Rather, migrants attempt to negotiate the value of their own English in the practice of intercultural communication and rescale the status of their own English in the process of redefining a translocal space. While accepting the relevance of scales and orders of indexicality for the understanding of migrants’ language practice, Canagarajah (2013) emphasizes migrants’ agency in rescaling their semiotic resources and accommodating the power structure. The focus on agency thus offers implications for the understanding of the dynamics of scales and the possibilities for the change.

3.2 Languages and language ideologies

This monograph is about language ideologies. While basically language ideologies are ideologies of and about language, the relationship between language and language ideologies is more than the one between an objective phenomenon and a subjective representation. Language and language ideology relate to each other in three ways, which I summarise on the basis of a considerable body of literature on language ideologies. First, language ideology is a concept that describes the ideological dimension of language. It is in this sense that a language or a variation is often linguistically viable but not accepted as legitimate (see Chapter 1). Second, language ideologies are promoted, reproduced and resisted through discursive practices and language choices. Examples are seen in the promotion of some language ideologies in language policies, institutional regulations and public discourses regarding what is correct or incorrect (Shohamy 2006, Spolsky 2009). Simultaneously, while language users follow language norms and aspire higher scale language forms to reproduce mainstream language ideologies, discrepancies between language practices and language policies are visible in various contexts to reveal contentions of mainstream language ideologies that serve to draw boundaries between groups of people (e.g. Kroskrity 2009, Pan 2014, Park 2009). Third, language ideologies have roles to play in deciding, shaping and commenting on the use of language. This is particularly seen in the example of standard language ideology, which underpins the complaints of and devaluation of “incorrect” use of English both in English-speaking countries and in contexts where ELF is relevant (e.g. Lippi-Green 1994a, Milroy and Milroy 2012, Jenkins 2014, Seidlhofer 2018).

Given the complicated relations between language and language ideology, the exploration into language legitimacy, which is strongly relevant to the discussion of the legitimacy of ChELF, will benefit from the deconstruction of the complexity. For this reason, this section consists of the components including the nature of languages, the nature of language ideologies, the process through which ideological meanings are given to languages, the distribution of power through language forms across scales, and language users’ identities. The discussion of these components brings together a theoretical framework for the project looking into the legitimacy of ChELF.

3.2.1 Languages: What are they?

Shohamy (2006) sees two different ways of conceptualising language. One deals with the nature of language as a personal way of expression. That is, “language is

open, dynamic, energetic, constantly evolving and personal” (Shohamy 2006: 5). In this sense, languages are viewed as linguistic resources and repertoires for personal expression at individuals’ disposals. Another concept addresses the ideological power of language. As she notes, “language is a symbolic tool for the manipulation of political, social, educational and economic agendas” (Shohamy 2006: 1). In this sense, languages are viewed as ideological resources for manipulation and asymmetric interests. The two definitions of language given by Shohamy (2006) are overarching conflicts in various studies on language-centred issues. The view of language as resources seeks to understand individuals’ engagements with language and challenges deliberate divisions between languages. Blommaert (2010: 103) argues that no one can master the whole repertoire of a language but “truncated repertoires” that are accumulated in personal trajectories. He further questions the notion of native speaker competence, given that no one has the knowledge of all native speakers’ linguistic repertoires, with reference to which non-native speaker is defined. In the same vein, translinguaging and multi-modality are the norm of language users in the world that sees an increasing language contact and mobility (Blommaert 2010, Li Wei 2018, Shohamy 2006). This also makes the notion of native speaker competence, which is often used as a reference for NNEs, hard to be determined. On the other hand, the ideological nature of language often invokes orders of indexicality to make a language connect with its user, context, political environment, and social and power structure. This is seen in the social stratification of languages and varieties (e.g. Labov 1966) and the standardization of languages, which entails the selection of languages to be standardized and promoted to serve the purposes of unifying communities. In short, languages are equal in linguistic terms but not equal in ideological terms.

There are implications of the gap for ELF research between languages in linguistic terms and languages in ideological terms. The spread of English has given rise to different Englishes, which have been studied to serve different users’ purposes, such as communicative effects and identities (Jenkins et al. 2011). However, the distribution of Englishes in what Blommaert describes as a vertical scale has come to the scene, with NNEs’ competence as the idealized and default model to be followed by NNEs, regardless of NNEs’ needs to be creative. That is, ELF users’ language needs to be creative are in tension with the ideologies that tend to regulate English practices on the basis of StE models.

Given the ideological dimension of languages, how languages are treated, valued, understood and represented inevitably relates to power structures within which languages are situated. The ideological loadings of different languages or variations inevitably reflect power groups that categorise different language users (Fairclough 1989, Labov 1966). The study of global Englishes, an outcome of the

use of ELF across the globe, from a perspective of language ideologies thus opens possibilities to critically analyse Englishes with different ideological values – for example, some Englishes are more pleasant than others (Jenkins 2007), in the same way as the scholarship on language ideologies that addresses the socio-linguistic inequality that some languages are correct and pleasant, while others are not (e.g. Coupland and Bishop 2007). The investigation into language ideologies allows for the understanding of language users' engagement with the power structure through their use and justification of language forms and variations and thus the dynamics of power differences along with language change. It is in this sense that the study of Chinese speakers' use of ELF from a perspective of language ideologies is expected to help to understand the legitimacy of ChELF in the future. That is, the focus on how Chinese speakers engage with power relations where their use of ELF is relevant helps to understand the dynamics of power relations where Chinese speakers are situated and thus the possibility to reconsider the (il)legitimacy of ChELF.

3.2.2 The nature of language ideologies

Language ideologies are both outcomes and processes. This section will focus on language ideologies as outcomes in order to understand the nature of language ideologies, based on a body of literature which has contributed to a few themes, while the following section will turn to language ideologies as processes.

First, while ideology is a term often associated with “common sense” (Friedrich 1989: 300), language ideologies often invoke “commonsense convictions” and “self-evident ideas” about language (e.g. Fairclough 1989, Gal 1998: 423, Heath 1977: 53, Rosa and Burdick 2015, Rumsey 1990, Vessey 2017, Wortham 2008). The notion of common sense is evident in Wortham's (2008: 43) view of language ideologies as stereotypical links between language and language users. Eagleton (1991: 56–59) observes that successful ideologies are often equated with “natural”, “essential”, “universal”, “ahistorical” and “commonsensical” views. Fairclough (1989: 2) puts emphasis on commonsense “assumptions which are implicit in the conventions according to which people interact linguistically, and of which people are generally not consciously aware”. Nonetheless, critical sociolinguists often go beyond the uncovering of commonsense assumptions to explore how the consents have been achieved and to seek ways of countering the consent. For instance, Lippi-Green (1994a) points out a few mechanisms in the establishment of standard language ideology in the United States, which include the education system, news media, entertainment industry, corporate America as well as the judicial system. As Lippi-Green (1994a: 167) observes, lan-

guage is presented in the said channels as “thorough, consistent, and successful across social and economic boundaries” to appeal to a universal uniformity, which is nonetheless “factually incorrect” and misrepresents the heterogeneous profile of the society. While involving hidden agendas, language ideologies are often embedded in language users’ experiences underlined by the assumption of how things are done conventionally. However, resistance and change are also observed to counter commonsense notions and to attract scholarly attention (e.g. Fairclough 1989). The research on minority language users’ identities in multilingual communities (e.g. Kroskrity 2009) offers rich evidence to the agentive role of language users in negotiating their positions in social structures despite dominant language ideologies that attempt to marginalise, if not erase, the visibility of non-mainstream languages and their users.

Second, language ideologies consist of belief systems. Language ideologies scholars converge on the view of language ideologies as systems of beliefs. Kroskrity (2000) refers to language ideology as a “cluster concept”. Wortham (2008: 43) considers language ideologies as “models” of linkages between language and social groups. Irvine (1989: 255) explicates that language ideologies invoke “the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests” and act as “a crucial mediating factor” of social relations. Standard language ideology, for instance, is often associated with the beliefs regarding “authenticity”, “correctness”, “conformity”, “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” in the social structure which privileges native speakers but disadvantages non-native speakers. Monolingualism often invokes the debates on language right, equality, literacy, nationalism, bilingualism as resource or handicap, and so on. Language ideology is multi-scalar and multi-level. According to Kroskrity (2000: 12), “language ideologies are profitably conceived as multiple because of the multiplicity of meaningful social divisions (class, gender, clan, elites, generations, and so on) within sociocultural groups that have the potential to produce divergent perspectives expressed as indices of group membership”.

Third, language ideologies are shared conceptions of language among community members. Rumsey (1990: 346) refers to language ideologies as “shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world”. Community members tend to be subject to “agreed”, “consent”, and pre-given ideas about language to advantage and disadvantage different social groups in the community. Blommaert (2006) further points out that language ideologies are accumulated beliefs across time and space within a community. Language ideologies are therefore socio-culturally “situated”, bounded, and contingent (Blommaert 2006, Errington 2001: 110, Rosa and Burdick 2017). This lends support to an ethnographic approach to the analysis of language ideologies. Nonetheless,

“sharedness” does not mean a uniform cultural template. This is a point that Kroskrity (2004: 496) sees what is problematic in Rumsey’s (1990: 346) definition of language ideologies – that is, the definition “does not problematise language ideological variation (by age, gender, class, etc.) and therefore promotes an overly homogeneous view of language ideologies within a cultural group”. Necessarily, multiple ideologies often co-exist in a community. The same community can have different clusters of beliefs. Various ideologies thus compete to the extent that some ideologies win over other ideologies to become predominant ideologies. As reported in many studies, standard language ideology is the predominant ideology in many communities to align with the nationalist ideology of language that is one nation is represented through one language.

Fourth, there are multiple language ideologies in a community, which compete with each other and underlie different language groups’ interests and needs. It is widely accepted in language ideologies scholarship that ideology is not “a homogeneous cultural template” but “a process involving struggles among multiple conceptualisations” (e.g. Woolard and Schieffelin 1994: 71, Blommaert 1999, Gal 1998, Kroskrity 2004). Correspondingly, scholars call for the attention to the “variation and contestation within a community as well as contradictions within individuals” (e.g. Woolard and Schieffelin 1994: 71, Blommaert 1999). As Gal (1998: 426) points out, community members in “a single social formation” hold different ideologies, which construct different “realities”, “social positions” and “subjectivities”. Research shows that “linguistic ideologies within a social formation” are multiple and complex. While some research has focused on the identification of “dominant” language ideologies, a considerable body of research has evidently presented the multiplicity of language ideologies in society. First, “dominant” language ideologies co-exist with other language ideologies, which should not be overlooked. Second, “dominant” language ideologies are not uniformly agreed on among authoritative figures. The disagreement among authoritative figures before the promotion of language ideologies should not be overlooked, as the disagreement offers the picture of how the consent has been achieved within the same interest group. Third, community members at the grassroots level have different reactions to “dominant” language ideologies. Community members at the grassroots level have different awareness of “dominant” language ideologies (Kroskrity 2000). Among those who are aware, community members can resist “dominant” language ideologies or reinforce “dominant” language ideologies. As Gal (1998: 427) cautions, it is problematic to fall into “an assumption of ideological uniformity” and a “tendency to identify a single, monolithic, and firmly entrenched ‘dominant’ ideology”. Multiplicity of language ideologies needs to be addressed. By doing so, it is possible to see the dynamics of language ideologies and language users’ agentive roles in resisting and challenging language ideolo-

gies promoted by the authority. Other language ideologies are meaningful not only because they are part of the picture of language ideologies in society, but also offer insight into the process of ideological contention.

3.2.3 Semiotic process

Language ideologies invoke socially produced meanings about language and thus need to be understood in terms of semiotic processes through which social, moral, and political meanings are ascribed to language forms in different social settings to make links between social forms and linguistic forms (Irvine and Gal 2000, Woolard 1998, Woolard and Schieffelin 1994). Bourdieu's (1991) notion of "habitus" is a useful construct for the understanding of common sense. According to him, "habitus" is "a system of dispositions common to all products of the same conditionings" (Bourdieu 1991: 59). With the focus on social conditionings, Bourdieu sees ideologies as shared among people in the same society and "naturalized" through implicit modelling. That is, by prescribing what a good model is like, people in the society are implicitly instructed how things are done correctly.

Naturalisation is a crucial semiotic process through which some ideas about language are made to become commonsense beliefs. According to Woolard and Schieffelin (1994: 58), a "naturalising move" strips the representation of a language of "its historical content", "making it [the representation] seem universally and/or timelessly true". That is, ideas about languages "become so well-established that their origin is often forgotten by speakers" (Vessey 2017: 278). For instance, without an analysis of how the phenomenon of diglossia has come into being, "the concept of diglossia" enables "an ideological naturalisation of sociolinguistic arrangements" (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994: 69). Blommaert and Verschueren (1998) have uncovered the role of mass media in naturalising the nationalist ideology of language. As they found, a community's language being dismissed by the mainstream can disqualify the community's position as a nation. Pan (2014) argues that the state operates coercive power and employs education policy to make Chinese people believe that the project of English education is for their good in China. As Woolard (1998: 38) points out, "the equation of language and nation is not a natural fact but rather a historical, ideological construct". The equation of language and nation, however, is often taken for granted, which has even found its way into linguists' approach to language (e.g. Le Page 1988, Romaine 1989). The critical approach to language ideologies tends to counter the process of naturalisation by focusing on the search for "hidden agendas" behind explicit language policies among other "official and centralised channels" (e.g.

Shohamy 2006). A naturalising move overlaps with essentialism approach to language, that locks a social phenomenon in a given spatiotemporal frame. Blommaert (1999: 3) proposes to adopt “a historical perspective on language data” so as to counter essentialist approaches to language. According to him (Blommaert 1999), a historical perspective requires the understanding of the interlock between time and space of social context. A critical approach to language ideologies counters the process of naturalisation. Not only the origin and the causes of how commonsense notions become established but also the consequences of commonsense notions should be questioned to counter the naturalisation.

Irvine and Gal (2000) have identified three semiotic processes in establishing the relationship between the national language and national identity, namely, iconicity, recursivity, and erasure. Through iconisation, some linguistic features are posited as emblems of an aggregate of users in a community. Through recursivity, contrastive linguistic features are assumed to recur in language practices among contrastive social groups. Through erasure, variations of language practice are ignored and excluded from community members’ linguistic repertoires. Through these processes, a uniform code can be established on the basis of identifiable linguistic features to misrepresent the linguistic repertoire shared by the nation as a single homogeneous community. Understanding the semiotic processes thus allows for the understanding of how the view of languages as discrete and distinctive entities and the view of languages as indices of identities take into shape.

In light of the above discussion, it is not difficult to understand the omnipresence of StE ideology, a phenomenon criticized by Jenkins (2014) and Seidlhofer (2011). StE ideology is not only often uncritically associated by non-linguists with the need for StE models in NES nations for national identities but also currently found to be present in English education and language policies in different contexts around the world.

3.2.4 Orders of indexicality

The exploration of indexicality allows for the understanding of how ChELF users interpret the correspondence between language forms and the power structure that governs their exploitation of language forms. Different forms of language and variations have different indexical meanings in sociolinguistics. For sociolinguists, indexicality explains the correspondence between language forms and social groupings. Critical sociolinguists further emphasise that the correspondence is often power-loaded. From a perspective of language ideologies, the indexical meaning in the interactional context is necessarily linked with the indexical

meaning in the sociological context and draws on community members' ideological framework of their language use. In light of these, the concept of indexicality is key to the understanding of how ChELF users perceive language forms in terms of their right to English.

Indexicality, as a sociolinguistic dimension of language, is analysed in a way that it is “not unstructured but *ordered*” (Blommaert 2007b: 116, original italics). The order of indexicality, which is sometimes interchangeable with indexical order, evokes patterns and features of semiotic structuring that explain issues such as what are appropriate semiotic resources and forms in particular social groups and in given contexts (Blommaert 2007b, Silverstein 2003). That is, language forms are associated with not only discursal meanings in interactional contexts but also social meanings, which are patterned and organised in relation to social and power structures. Silverstein (2003) and Blommaert (2007b) offer contributions to the discussion of indexical order, though adopting different approaches. The rest of the section will review the two approaches in respect of ELF.

“Indexical orders” in Silverstein’s (2003) sense align with a sociolinguistic tradition that maps language forms to social groups. In this line, linguistic forms indexically point to gender, profession and social class. He further posits that the use of language contributes to first-order indexicality and the ideology of language constitutes second order indexicality. That is, how community members use language indexically point to social categorisations; the ideology of language shows how community members perceive the indexicality of language forms to social forms. As Blommaert (2007b: 117) observes, “indexical order” is often regarded as “the metapragmatic organising principle behind what is widely understood as the ‘pragmatics’ of language”. According to Silverstein (2003: 212), “For any indexical phenomenon at order n , an indexical phenomenon at order $n+1$ is always immanent, lurking in the potential of an ethno-metapragmatically driven native interpretation of the n -th-order paradigmatic contextual variation that it creates or constitutes as a register phenomenon”. In addition, Silverstein (2003) adopts a neutral approach, with the focus on the description of pragmatics between interlocutors in micro-social interactions and the explanation of the micro-social pragmatics in relation to macro-social groupings. As he notes, “indexical order is central to analysing how semiotic agents access macro-sociological plane categories and concepts as values in the indexable realm of the micro-contextual” (Silverstein 2003: 193). To put it differently, language forms are associated with not only discursal meanings in interactional contexts but also social meanings, which are patterned and organised in relation to social and power structures.

The limitations need to be noted when applying his discussion to ELF. One, Silverstein’s (2003) approach to indexical order shows an essentialist nature. As discussed earlier in the monograph, an essentialist approach does not provide

the explanatory power to ELF-related issues. The correspondence between language forms and social groupings has the danger of limiting ELF users' language choice and countering the need for flexibility and accommodation. Two, Silverstein's (2003: 212) discussion of indexicality focuses on "native interpretation". For him, indexical orders have been developed through the shared histories of community members, which suggests the recognition of social meanings among community members. As discussed earlier, the focus on native speakers is irrelevant to ELF. It follows that native interpretation is irrelevant, while ELF users' interpretation matters. Three, Silverstein (2003) focuses on indexical order as an interface between micro-social practices and macro-social power structures in the study of ideology. As discussed in Section 3.1.4, the distinction between micro- and macro- social practices can be misleading in interpreting the complexity of the nature of the social world (Rosa and Burdick 2017, Wortham and Reyes 2015).

In comparison, Blommaert's discussion of indexical orders is more relevant for the discussion of ELF. Blommaert (2007b) adopts a Foucauldian approach and sees "indexical orders" in a critical sociolinguistic way. He claims the need to consider "a stratified general repertoire, in which particular indexical orders relate to others in relations of mutual valuation – higher/lower, better/worse". For him, "systemic patterns of indexicality are also systemic patterns of authority, of control and evaluation, and hence of inclusion and exclusion by *real or perceived others*" (Blommaert 2007b: 117, original italics). In this line, linguistic forms indexically point to otherness and contribute to the discourse of superiority/inferiority, which is particularly of relevance to the discussion of power structure centred on the use of English. As Widdowson (2003: 39) observes, "when the custodians of Standard English complain about the ungrammatical usage of the populace, they are in effect indicating that the perpetrators are outsiders, non-members of the community, and bent perhaps on undermining it". The power structure appears to position StE. at the higher scale level and 'ungrammatical' Englishes at the lower scale level, with the non-conformity to StE. indexing outsiders and non-members.

Blommaert (2007b) further proposes to consider the concept of "polycentricity" in understanding indexical orders. Indexical orders are essentially a concept encapsulating the relationship between power asymmetry and semiotic forms. Power asymmetry can be viewed as an outcome of the competitions between multiple language ideologies. For Blommaert (2007b: 118), while a language ideology exerts impacts on community members, those members refer to or imagine "an evaluating authority" known as a "centre" underpinned by the language ideology. While an evaluating authority provides a set of norms, community members can react to the norms in different ways or orient towards other norms associated with other language ideologies in competition with the ideology

promoting the norms. This process overlaps with a semiotic process and features the multiplicity, both of which were discussed in previous sections. Various evaluating authorities in operation are encapsulated in Blommaert's (2007b: 120) notion of "pluricentricity" to explain indexical orders, which are "stratified" and display the power asymmetry between semiotic forms. It would be constructive to map the notion of indexical order onto Fairclough's (1989) discussion of language ideologies. That is, language users' understanding of indexical order is in the interplay with their language practice, which, in turn, relates to their evaluation of norms and authorities.

It is not difficult to see a strong resemblance between Blommaert's (2007a) discussion of sociolinguistic scales and that of indexical orders (Blommaert 2007b). Both emphasise the stratification of social structure, power asymmetry and inequality, and indexical trajectories across different "layers" of social structure. Differently, however, while the discussion of sociolinguistic scales focuses on the structure, the discussion of indexical order gives space to multiple authority centres, which are useful to understand the agentive role of community members. The concepts of scales and indexical orders thus can be used together in a complementary way to enhance the dialectic relationship between the agency and the structuration. This understanding forms the basis of my examination of Chinese speakers' language ideologies in respect of ELF (see Chapter 6). In light of this, the analysis of the data retrieved in the current study attends to not only power-ridden authorities but also variations that challenge or resist institutionalized authorities to suggest rescaling and reconstructing orders of indexicality.

3.2.5 Language users' identities

While identity biologically points to "the self" as distinguished from others, identity has social, cultural and ideological dimensions, each of which has given rise to research interests that flourish in humanities (e.g. Edwards 2009, Riley 2006, Wodak 2012). Adorno's statement that "identity is the prototype of ideology" (Adorno 1966: 151 in Wodak 2012: 215), from a philosophical perspective, drives home the strong relevance of identity for ideology. Wodak's (2012) discussion of identity in relation to power and language is constructively implicant for the understanding of identity in terms of language ideologies. He has summarized three points of the conception of identity (Wodak 2012: 216):

1. Identities are always re/created in specific contexts. They are "co-constructed" in interactive relationships. They are usually fragmented, dynamic and changeable – everyone has multiple identities.

2. Identity construction always implies inclusionary and exclusionary processes, i.e. the definition of ONESELF and OTHERS.
3. Identities that are individual and collective, national and transnational are also re/produced and manifested symbolically.

Indeed, Wodak's conception of identity shows some resemblance with a social constructionist perspective on identity, which accepts "fragmented, dynamic and changeable" and "multiple" identities as well as "co-constructed" social relationships (e.g. Block 2006, Omoniyi and White 2006). However, Wodak's work has a critical edge, addressing the interactive process where identities are re/created and manifested symbolically for inclusion and/or exclusion in power structures. This criticality pinpoints the interactions between agency and structure in the process of identification via languages as ideological resources. On the one hand, making identities manifested in symbolic inclusion and/or exclusion in power structures resembles a top-down process imposed by the authoritative, as represented in Bourdieu's model. For Bourdieu, predominant languages have symbolic power and dominate the allocation of indexical categories to different forms of languages. On the other hand, the process of identity creation and recreation invokes the interaction between language users and language ideologies. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) have mapped three types of identities, which include imposed identities, assumed identities, and negotiated identities. While mutually constitutive, "language and identities are embedded within the relations of power", although the power might be visible or invisible (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 15). In this sense, the three types of identities encapsulate three types of power relations between the authoritative and grassroots language users. "Imposed identities" relate to the power imposed by the authoritative upon community members. "Assumed identities" relate to the power that community members accept and follow. "Negotiated identities" relate to the power that community members negotiate with, which gives to new possibilities of power relations between the authoritative and community members. The three types of power relations thus relate to grassroots members' reactions- suffering, compliance, and negotiation to the power structures that influence them. With the focus on agency, negotiation of identities is common in multilingual communities where inequality is a scholarly concern as it offers opportunities to recreate power relations. In short, identities are representations of power relations and have roles to play in re/creating power relations.

While language ideologies are the interface between language and power relations, language ideologies make links between language and identity. As Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004: 2) point out, "negotiation is a logical outcome" of the inequality "between individuals, between majority and minority groups, and most

importantly, between institutions and those they are supposed to serve". In this sense, the negotiation of identities with dominant power relations results in the confrontation between competing language ideologies. On the one hand, mainstream language ideologies serve the purpose of reproducing power relations. As Kroskrity (2004: 509) points out, "language ideologies are productively used in the creation and representation of various social and cultural identities (e.g. nationality, ethnicity)". For instance, the nationalist ideology of language invokes the link between standard languages and the making of nations. In nationalist discourse, language ideologies serve the purpose of "naturalising the boundaries of social groups" (Kroskrity 2004: 509). On the other hand, language ideologies are "rooted in or responsive to the experience of a particular social position" (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994: 58). According to Heath (1977: 53), language ideologies invoke "self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning roles of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of the group". Looking into language ideologies prevailing among grassroots members can help to understand grassroots' reaction to mainstream language ideologies and thus their negotiation with the existing power structure. This approach gives space to grassroots members' agency in shaping the power structure.

The discussion of the complicated relations between language ideologies, languages, identities and power relations has implications for the understanding of ELF users' engagement with existing power relations. In the context of ELF, existing power relations reproduce NESs' ownership of English and NNESSs' role as norm followers. By looking into language ideologies that are "rooted" among ELF users, we can understand ELF users' agency in negotiating the power relations governing the norms of English. In a nutshell, the relationship between identity and language ideology is the one revolving around the agency of language users in power relations, which are sometimes complicated. How language users react to pre-defined orders of indexicality leads to the reproduction or the recreation of power relations, which offers the space to the consideration of the legitimacy of variations from norms endorsed by predominant orders of indexicality. In the context of ELF, the relationship between English and ELF speakers' identities is associated with the issue of the ownership of English. How ELF users identify themselves in terms of the ownership of English helps to negotiate the legitimacy of their creativity.

3.3 Language ideologies in the spread of English

Language ideology is a site of power struggle. The global spread of English since the first dispersal of English speakers (see Jenkins 2015a) has brought to fore

language ideologies, which foreground power struggles revolving around different roles of English, that is, as a national language, as a global language, as a localized language, and as a language in motion.

3.3.1 English as a national language

The role of English as a national language is often associated with the process of language standardisation and an idealised variety of English known as Standard English (StE). Concerning the role of English as a national language in Anglophone contexts, therefore, a considerable body of literature has been dedicated to the ideological foundations of standard English, the myth of standard English, and the detrimental effects of standard English ideology. As will be discussed later, however, standard English and Standard English ideology are not restricted to the contexts where English plays the role of a national language. The notion of standard English and the standard English ideology go beyond the Anglophone contexts to operate across the world. Given the relevance of standard English and standard English ideology for ELF (see Jenkins 2014, Seidlhofer 2018), I would like to explore the operation of standard English in the context where it originates as a result of language policy on English as a national language. Presumably, ideologies revolving English in different contexts would evoke different interpretations if we accept the contingencies and impacts of sociohistorical contexts.

A nationalist perspective on language sees a firm connection between language and nation, regarding language as a necessary means and emblem of national cohesion (Edwards 2009, Joseph 2004, Wright 2004). As Wright (2004: 13) notes, language is used as “an organising principle and mobilising force in nation building” to achieve and maintain “the congruence of cultural nation and political state”. A nation’s language management engages with the issues as to which language, where a nation-state is multilingual, is ascribed with the status of a national language, what forms are accepted as legitimate, and how the legitimate forms can be spread in a nation, or in Anderson’s (2006) notion, an imagined national community (Spolsky 2009, Ricento 2000). Through language standardisation, “many national elites achieved their goals of convergence and assimilation”, while “many citizens shifted to the national standard language” (Wright 2004: 13). However, the issue of a national standard language is often controversial. Where a nation-state is multilingual, the decision on which or whose language represents the nation-state is often not a linguistic issue but a political and ideological one. In Wright’s (2004: 7) words, “language can be a tool for inclusion and exclusion”. Critics of a nationalist perspective on language make visible the conflicts and dilemmas in nationalist language policy and draw

attention to underground languages that they believe relate to their speakers' rights and identities (e.g. Shohamy 2006). As Wright (2004: 13) points out, there is an inherent tension in nationalist language policy between "the very laudable aspiration" to unify and "the very destructive means" to unify.

English as a national language is backgrounded in the debates between nationalism and multilingualism. Where English is a mother tongue for many people, communities defined on the basis of English are not necessarily monolingual. This multilinguality explains why Labov's (1966: 355) claim has been widely criticised that New York City is "a single speech community, united by a common set of evaluative norms, though divergent in the application of these norms" of English. In this claim, awareness of the divergence in language practice gives way to the focus on the homogeneity. While normativity suits nationalists' aspiration for uniformity, cultural heterogeneity and language diversity are at critical risk in the discourse of normativity and standardisation, which finds its support in the standard language ideology that there must be one "correct" way of speaking.

Standard language ideology is seen as a crucial means to dominate and discriminate in the context of English as a national language (see Lippi-Green 2012). Lippi-Green (1994a: 167) points out five "proponents" of Standard Language ideology, which entail the educational system, the news media, the entertainment industry, corporate America, and the judicial system, all of which contribute to the "dominant bloc" in America. Simultaneously, researchers are concerned with the impacts of standard language ideology on bilingual or multilingual users' language rights in different domains and access to various resources, such as jobs and education (e.g. Wiley 2002). The way that language ideology helps to dominate and discriminate is often implicit and covert. As Woolard and Schiefelin (1994: 62) comment, language ideology "often makes discrimination on linguistic grounds publicly acceptable, whereas corresponding ethnic or racial discrimination is not". In Milroy and Milroy's (2012) view, standard language ideology is promoted and maintained through a few public channels, among which the prescription through the education system and the codification by linguists are the most effective. The foregrounding of intellectual contribution to standard language ideology seems to explain how "hidden agendas" – a phrase that Shohamy (2006) uses to refer to the manipulation and domination by the powerful group for political interests in a community – can be kept hidden and suggest that intellectuals should not see their work as ideologically free. On this point, studies – for examples, those on English-only movement and bilingual education in Anglophone contexts – have contributed to the uncovering of such agendas and the revealing of experiences of non-standard English users in coping with monolingual policy (e.g. Crawford 2000, Ovando and McLaren 2000, Ricento and Rumaby 1998, Wiley and Lukes 1996, Wiley 2002). While standard language

ideology is permeable, “language complaints” taking the form of asking to correct errors and asking for clarity in writing medium are important devices of maintaining standard language ideology (Milroy and Milroy 2012). These points are particularly interesting for the understanding of English-related ideologies in SLA where errors and clarity are major concerns, inviting a question whether SLA is an enterprise supporting the interest of elite groups whose English are learned and promoted.

Milroy and Milroy (2012) have summarised three areas of research showing unsuccessful promotion of StE in some contexts. One strand focuses on English variations within the British Isles. Milroy and Milroy (2012) give an example of a study on Belfast English. Not surprisingly, accent is found to be a major feature that has been kept in various regional groups’ use of English despite the promotion of standardisation. A second strand engages with the studies on variations in the use of English in mass media, which presumably plays a conventional role in maintaining language norms and corpus planning. Milroy and Milroy (2012) give an example of Bell’s (1982 in Milroy and Milroy 2012) study, in which broadcasters in a few New Zealand radio channels tend to follow their target audiences’ use of language, failing to lead the standardization. The third strand finds an emerging interest in variations in the general use of English in society, that is, the common people’s use of English as opposed to so-called elite-groups’ use of English. In a way, the unsuccessful cases of standardisation can be seen as indicators of resisting or even challenging standard language ideology, if we see language practice as a site of agency. That is to say, community members are not structured and completely subject to institutional power, and standard language ideology, though powerful, is still not predictive. The ideological tension on English as a national language thus illuminates between the intention to standardise and the practice to un-standardise.

It is well established that StE is a myth. First, the notion of StE is associated with an idealised variety of English that does not exist in real life. Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015: 34) make it explicit that “it is a mistake to think of a standard language as a demarcated variety which can be objectively determined”, with the standard as “an abstraction”. Inferably, StE is subjectively determined, which invites a question: whose subjectivity then? Milroy and Milroy’s (2012) discussion of the difference between StE in Britain and StE in America offers some thoughts on this respect. According to them, StE in Britain is based on the upper class’ use of English, while StE in American is a levelled variety sometimes called network American or mainstream United States English. Second, while the notion of StE often suggests an association with the written form of English but not a spoken form (Truggill 2002), a spoken form of English is often evaluated in terms of standardness and triggers attitudes (Lippi-Green

1994a). The process of language standardisation engages with the codification of lexis and grammar but not pronunciation. In Milroy and Milroy's (2012) comparison of StE in the U.K and the U.S. respectively, we can see diverging interpretations of the non-codification of pronunciation, both reflect discrimination, though in different ways. While the non-codification of pronunciation infers the acceptability of any accents, Received Pronunciation often operates as the 'standard' and, therefore, reference accent in the UK (Smith 1996). In this sense, RP accents divide speakers into elite and non-elite groups in the UK (Milroy and Milroy 2012). By contrast, Standard American English is widely accepted as "accentless" English (Preston 1996). In this context, accents often operate as triggers of attitudes and markedness of bad English (Lippi-Green 2012). Third, the notion of StE is associated with the codification, which gives no space to language change that takes place from time to time in real life situation. As Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015: 34) point out, StE has a negative effect in suggesting "a fixed end point" of language (Wardhaugh and Fuller 2015: 34). Widdowson (2003) states that change is a nature of living language, while dead languages are unchanging. Where language change is necessary to accommodate different interaction events, different social groups and different functions, the "fixing" of language codes restricts language users' rights of language. Standard language results from language standardisation and implies an imposition upon uniformity, which presumably serves the communicative function of language in multilingual communities (Lippi-Green 1994a, 2012, Milroy 2001, Wright 2004). The imposed link between uniformity and communicative effectiveness, however, often leads to "a direct link between 'non-standard' language and lack of logic and clarity", "one correct way to speak and write" and "overt authoritarianism" (Lippi-Green 1994a: 167–168). In a word, the notion of StE excludes other possible ways of using English and creates a relationship between authority and objects to authority.

3.3.2 English as a global language

English as a global language is a highlight in the discourse of globalization that accompanies the spread of English. Researchers seek to explain or critique historical, economic and political factors that purport to the spread of English and the outcomes of the rise of English as a global English in different contexts regarding monolingualism, multilingualism, diversity, in/equality, exploitation and dis/empowerment (e.g. Bailey 1991, Cameron 2005, Gaddol 1996, Holborow 1999, 2007, Phillipson 1992). Holborow (1999: 56–57), for example, argues that "the dominance of English today is the continuation of a process started in the

earliest days of capitalism, deepened by the expansion of the British Empire and given further impetus by the commanding position of American capitalism in this century". On the other hand, Crystal (1997) argues for the neutrality of English and celebrates the contribution of English to contemporary life around the globe. Recent studies allow for the examination of English as a global language in terms of its manifestations in different local contexts, which help to uncover how the force of English as a global language interacts with local elements around the world and add to the complexity of understanding English as either imperialist or altruistic. Other studies on English as a global language have explored multiple language ideologies centring on power relations between the authoritative and the grassroots in terms of local reactions to English as a global language. The belief of English as a beneficial language intertwines with the belief of English as a threatening language in various local contexts, with different social groups holding converging or diverging positions on the implications of English as a global language for them. To concretise the implications for the current study of previous studies, what follows will review a few studies in detail.

In the context of English as a global language, Albury (2016) has discussed language policies in Iceland, which inevitably invoke language ideologies in response to English as a global language. Similar to the case of China (see Pan 2014), Iceland has witnessed the acknowledgement of the benefit of English for Iceland in the international arena and the concern with the ideological and cultural impacts of English upon Icelandic and Iceland (Albury 2016). The ideology that treats English in competition with Icelandic takes shape in response to the phenomenon that Icelandic people have good proficiency in English and desire to communicate in English, a phenomenon that causes the state's worry that English might threaten the status of Icelandic as a national language and correspondingly, the national cohesion that is currently realised through traditional Icelandic purism and homogeneity (Albury 2016: 366). The protection of Icelandic from the threat of English as a global language, however, does not celebrate linguistic diversity and heterogeneity. As Albury (2016) further points out, language policies in Iceland highlight linguistic hegemony, assimilate minority language groups into the mainstream community of Icelandic users, and overlook a humanistic concern for minority language rights, which is what Spolsky's (2009) has stipulated as a key pillar of a state's language management.

Pan's (2014) study of language ideologies in China proceeds from an examination of language policies at the national level and situated within a world system. As she argues, "language policies are an apparatus for the state's political and cultural governance" and simultaneously are "usually formulated to guarantee

the state's competitiveness in the interstate system" (Pan 2014: 79). Language ideologies in Pan's study thus revolve around the purposes of internal governance and external coordination. Thus, the need for economic and national development drives the need for English, but the concern for the threat upon Chinese culture and value systems motivates the treatment of English as a neutral tool and dries it from culture value. As a result of the negotiation between the need and the concern, the belief of English as an instrument deprived of cultural value is promoted at the grassroots level. In one way, the state would need people to develop language proficiency. In another way, the state would be worried that people will be influenced in terms of culture and value. She (Pan 2014) further points out that the state's language education policy reveals adherence to NES models and rejection of China English to reveal the state's reluctance to accept English as a language of Chinese speakers' own, which would presumably conflict with Chinese speakers' loyalty to the Chinese language as the cornerstone of national cohesion. Pan (2014) follows a critical sociolinguistic perspective to consider how the state's language ideologies are reproduced at the grassroots level, representing Shohamy's (2006) point that language policy serves the manipulation of people by the state. In her examination of language ideologies reflected in Chinese teachers and students' discourse at the institutional level, Pan (2014) reports that the research participants resonate with the state's policy that ascribes English as an international language and the state's ideology that the English would yield economic benefit and make the nation strong in the world. The participants embrace what examinations require them to do regarding the learning of English, having no reflection on the impacts of English education policy on their freedom of choice. Notably, however, the participants' ideologies are not completely passed on from the state governance. Rather, the participants bring to debate the inequality that has been caused by the nationwide pursuit of English. In addition, while the state policies tend to treat English as apolitical and culture-free, the participants are willing to accept the view that language and culture are inseparable and believe that Chinese language and culture would be strong enough to resist the ideological corruption of English. Pan (2014) then finds similar ideologies and reactions to English as a global language in non-institutional sectors. For Pan, the general picture of language ideologies in China as unfolded in her examination at different levels and in different sectors supports the view that individuals are "products of power" and subject to the state ideology that the learning and the use of English suit their benefits.

Park (2009) has identified three language ideologies associated with English as a global language in South Korea that are reproduced through public discourses, which invoke necessitation, externalisation, and self-deprecation respectively. As Park (2009: 75) reports, "the ideology of necessitation reflects Koreans'

belief about the social and linguistic condition in which they are located: Koreans need to know English, and not knowing English has negative consequences". The ideology of externalisation "frequently took the form of highlighting the foreignness of English" (Park 2009: 77). That is, English is a language of an 'Other' but not a language of which South Korean could claim the ownership. The ideology described as "self-deprecation" is associated with "a shameful admittance" that South Koreans "lack legitimate competence in the language and therefore are subordinate to native speakers who have more power due to their linguistic capital" (Park 2009: 80).

In Seargeant's (2009: 154) study, Japan has been found to have "rival ideologies in applied linguistics". One pair of rivals is represented as a descriptive perspective vs a prescriptive perspective on language. On the one hand, there are understandings of "how language actually exists as both concept and resource in various and diverse settings". On the other hand, "preconceptions about what a global language should be" prevail in Japan. Another pair of rivals relates to the controversy regarding "what constitutes the authentic circumstances in which the language is used" (Seargeant 2009: 157). On one side of the debate, native speech communities are assumed to be "authentic circumstances" of language use. On the other side, global communities are believed to be "authentic circumstances" of language use. Seargeant (2009: 160), however, conceives neither as factual and argues that the authenticity of English is associated with "the negotiation of cultural identity within the society that is being recast by globalising forces". The third pair of rivals deal with perceptions of forms of non-native speech that does not conform to NES norms. One perception relates to an evaluation of linguistic forms that inevitably invokes pre-defined references and leads to the definition of non-native speech as "errors". Another perception relates to an interpretation of linguistic form that treats non-native speech on its own and points to the definition of non-native speech as innovations.

To recap, the research on language ideologies in contexts where English is viewed as a global language tends to adopt a critical sociolinguistic approach and discuss how mainstream language ideologies emphasise English as a necessary instrument for national development and people's welfare within different national boundaries and how people react to mainstream language ideologies at institutional and individual levels. Notably, the conflicts and issues centring on English are discussed from a perspective on English as a bounded monolithic entity, with researchers' interests in language ideologies represented at authoritative and/or grassroots levels. In addition, the research on English as a global language tends to focus on national or local reactions to English as a bounded subject that is originated in its historical homes in NES communities, offering little space to explain variations and English change.

It is rare to study language ideologies on the basis of English as a changing phenomenon and an unbounded practice. Among the very few studies in this respect, Seargeant (2009: 154) adopts a WE perspective and mainly focuses on “rival ideologies in applied linguistics” in Japan to reveal diverging ideologies on the ownership of English in Japan. While it offers some criticism on the myths about language, it reveals some new thinkings pointing to a Japanese variety of English, which, however, has not yet been established. All in all, language ideologies centred on English as a global language are still studied in the traditional sense of multilingualism, that ties bounded languages to bounded nations.

3.3.3 English as a localized language

The use of English as a localised language in communities where members use it in addition to national languages is a feature of the spread of English. In the Kachruvian model of the spread of English, English is used in post-colonialism contexts by 1,400 million people as a second language and enjoys the status of an official language (Graddol 1996). As a language providing access to various sorts of social resources and global markets (Holborow 1999), English is welcomed in WE contexts and, simultaneously, leads to various ideological concerns (Brutt-Griffler 2002, Phillipson 1992). While, admittedly, language ideologies related to English would not be fully understood without awareness of the macro-social and macro-historical factors at the global scale, the focus here is on language ideologies that manifest in complicated relations at the local scale in different communities where localised English is a result of the spread of English. In this regard, recent studies have developed two themes relevant to the understanding of language ideologies centring on English as a localised language. One theme deals with the multiplicity and hierarchy of different languages. Research shows complicated relations revolving around English as an official language, national languages and minority languages in WE contexts, such as Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, and Sri Lanka (e.g. Lim 2013, Talib 2013, Tinio 2013, Wee 2013). As Lim (2013: 61) observes, “the politics of English is inseparable from the politics of other languages in multicultural, multilingual (South and Southeast) Asia”. Another theme is dedicated to the discussion of orders of indexicality which invokes exonormative English and localised varieties of English. While the first theme also infiltrates the research on English as a global language – as seen in the previous section, the two themes are often intertwined in WE contexts to offer implications for the understanding of ideologies about English

as a localised language. I would refer to a few studies based on WE contexts to exemplify the two inter-related themes in what follows.

In the study of the politics of English as an official language in Sri Lanka, Lim (2013) finds that English is positioned through language policy as an official language but distinguished from Sinhala and Tamil, both of which are sanctioned as official mother tongues. While English is valued as a language for utility and promoted through education, only Sinhala and Tamil are associated with Sri Lankans' cultural values and identities. Such an instrumentalist ideology of English is expected by the state government to not only increase Sri Lankans' competitiveness at the global scale but also lessen the conflict and tension within Sri Lanka between ethnic communities which have different mother tongues. In line with the instrumentalism, Sri Lankans have shifted the focus from the correctness of English forms to the connection between English users, which provides the space for linguistic appropriation and negotiation. Thus, English serves as a language of empowerment in shifting the indexical order whereby Tamil was used by an elite minority, Sinhala by the majority, and English as an imperialist language.

Wee (2013) makes "a critical assessment of Singapore's language policy". As he observes, the government encourages Singaporeans to be "bilingual in English and a mother tongue that is officially assigned to them on the basis of their ethnicity" (Wee 2013: 107). The rationalisation resonates with what Lim (2013) reports on the situation in Sri Lanka. That is, English serves the purposes for Singaporeans to stay competitive at the global scale, while ethnicity-based mother tongues connect with Singaporeans' identities. While the Singaporean government discourse prioritises economic development, the tension arises between the pursuit of "good" and exonormative English at the policy level and the practice of "bad" and Singlish at the grassroots level (Wee 2013). Given the challenge to achieve competence in exonormative English among the general public and the pursuit of Singaporeans' identities, the government seeks to promote Standard Singaporean English but continues to see Singlish negatively. Wee (2013) argues that Singlish is a valuable resource for Singaporeans' identities and communication, which should not be biased. The claim thus leads to the proposal that Singapore's language policy needs to be reformed to incorporate Singaporeans' identity needs and given some space to Singlish.

Talib (2013) focuses on the role of English in Malaysian cultural expression, in the context that Malay is promoted as a national language in language policy. The nationalist discourse reflects an ideology of English as an imperialist language and regards the use of English as a threat upon the integrity of Malaysian culture. Talib (2013) shows the contribution of English to the expression of Malaysians' cultures and identities. The discussion shows a redefinition of

English as a language belonging to Malaysians and a language that is independent of the imperial language in the colonial history in Malaysia. The conflicts between English and Malay, and between English in the imperial form and English in the current sense, are well presented in the study to reveal language ideologies in Malaysia.

Tinio's (2013) work provides insights into language ideologies in the Philippines. While there are campaigns for a national language known as Filipino and other Philippine languages to be legitimised in language policies, the dominant discourse aligns with the promotion of English for Philippines' lives and their competitiveness in global labour markets (Tinio 2013). In the current Philippine, English is not framed as an imperialist language but a language that enables Philippines, positioned as a useful language to promote not only the national economy but also Philippines' employment abroad. In this context, Tinio (2013) discusses how English intersects with social and power differences in Philippine, with the focus on Philippine English as a socially stratified phenomenon. That is, English used by educated Philippine elites is different from English used by cheap labour forces. The hierarchy between different sub-varieties of Philippine English thus surfaces with the hierarchy between different labour forces. For instance, with females constituting a large group of cheap labour forces, non-standard Philippine English appears to be feminised. In a word, a hierarchy reveals between sub-varieties of Philippine English to intersect with social and power structure in Philippine.

The above studies on Sri Lanka, Singapore, Malaysia and Philippine thus demonstrate the complicated power relations intersected with English and different Englishes in different WE contexts. In general, English is framed by different national authorities as a localised language as opposed to an imperialist language, which drives home an overall appropriation of English in the discourse of independence at the national scale. While English tends to be associated with an instrumentalist ideology of English, nationalist ideology of English tends to prevail and promote the link between national identities and mother tongues other than English. Yet, discourses of English tend to relate to different Englishes and juxtapose with social and power relations in different spatiotemporal frames. Notably, those studies focus on language policies and power relations within communities which have impacts on language practice in communities and thus reveals institutional roles in appropriating English to different communities.

As criticised in Wee (2013), a pitfall of language policies that focus on the use of English for national economic development is the treatment of English as irrelevant to their language users' identities. A focus on the role of language users as social actors in the process of language ideologies in WE contexts can help to

understand a force countering the hegemonic power of English as an imperialist language and explain the role of English for language users' identification in relevant contexts. For instance, Gonzalez (1976) reports that the Philippines create new forms of English to express an independence of American influence and a way of self-identification. Canagarajah (2007) reports that language learners in English writing courses tend to resist the top-down forces of language policy and mainstream ideologies that promote the conformity to StE by appropriating the form of English to suit their local needs and purposes.

To sum up, the discourse of English as a localised language attends to varieties of English in power struggle and identity construction, shifting the focus from the influence of NESs at the global center to the claiming of the ownership of English by NNEs at the periphery. In terms of language users' agency and subjectivity, "varieties of English have empowered their speakers and consequently, have made English a language of resistance and empowerment" (Tupas and Ruanni 2008: 79).

3.3.4 English in motion

Blommaert (2010) makes a distinction between "language in motion" and "language in place". While traditional sociolinguistics is based on the latter and focuses on "static variation", "local distribution of varieties" and "stratified language contact", globalisation foregrounds "trans-contextual networks, flows and movements" to highlight a phenomenon that languages travel along with language users and go beyond national and regional boundaries (Blommaert 2010:1). For him, the new phenomenon requires the thinking of 'language in motion', which exists in the process where various spatiotemporal frames interact with each other to lead to a super-diversity of multilingual repertoires.

The notion of "language in motion" has at least two implications for the understanding of the ELF phenomenon. First, ELF is not like English as a national language or English as a localised language, either of which is locked in a geopolitical place. Rather, ELF is actualised in intercultural communication between ELF users wherever they can interact. Researchers have been interested in conceptualising the settings where ELF takes place, such as "contact zone" (Jenkins 2015a, Mauranen 2012), "transient encounters" (Jenkins 2015b), "communities of practice" (Seidlhofer 2011, Ehrenreich 2009, 2018). None of the suggested notions applies to geographically defined places where languages and people are territorialised. In particular, Baker (2015) conceptualises ELF as "translingual" and "transcultural" practice, which is de-territorialised, and focuses on momentary events of communication. He explains how ELF users create "in-between"

cultures, that is, cultures that are different from those which are essentially tied to traditionally defined geographical spaces but take into shape in the process of intercultural communication. Second, while ELF begs multilingual repertoires available to ELF users, ELF-centred communication invokes “second-order language contact” (Mauranen 2012: 29), which presents a superdiversity of lingual resources coming from different historical trajectories. Empirically, Cogo explores business professionals’ language practice in multilingual settings, which manifests a superdiversity in both linguistic and sociocultural dimensions. Those research participants draw on languaging and multimodal resources and show strong solidarity in carrying out the communication, which cannot be explained with traditional views on languages that are tied to particular nations or speech communities. The study lends support to the complicated relationships between ELF and multilingualism, which are subsequently discussed in Jenkins (2015b). According to Jenkins (2015b), not only multilingual resources are activated in ELF-medium intercultural communication, but also ELF works as part of resources under the frame of multilingualism. The deterritorialisation and the superdiversity of ELF users’ repertoires thus establish ELF as a language in motion. In this sense, the research on language ideologies centring on language in motion, which are to be reviewed in what follows, is implicant for the exploration into language ideologies centring ELF.

Blommaert (2010) uses three constructs, which include scales, orders of indexicality and polycentricity, to conceptualise the distribution of linguistic resources in globalisation. With the focus on structures and patterns of the distribution, he explains how linguistic resources are attributed with different values and statuses at different scales to form different orders of indexicality on the basis of plural authority centres. While he offers a comprehensive framework for the analysis of power-laden linguistic practices, the focus is on power structure and thus lacks the power to explain language users as social actors who work to shape the power structure. However, this does not mean that the framework is not useful in understanding language ideologies from language users’ perspective. Rather, the examination of language users’ reactions to linguistic resources available to them within power structures can benefit from the analysis of linguistic resources segmented on the basis of scales, orders of indexicality and multiple authority centres.

With the focus on migrants’ use of English, Canagarajah (2013) has investigated the relationship between agency and power in translocal spaces. His work is contextualised in the scholarly discourse about scales, a notion that Blommaert (2007a) uses to conceptualise the power-laden stratification of languages. That is, value and prestige of linguistic resources vary across social contexts. While migrants tend to form a minority group in a host community

and lead to their linguistic resources re-valued, an emphasis on power structure excludes possibilities to legitimise minority language forms brought by migrants to the host community. Canagarajah thus suggests focusing on migrants as agents who act in the power structure and examines how migrants react to norms that are established in communities where they join. His findings suggest that African migrants in NES contexts use English creatively, that is, in a way that does not follow NES norms, and negotiate the norms to retain some advantages of their own Englishes. Instead of fitting in NES communities, those migrants renegotiate with power relations between NESs in the mainstream and themselves in the minority in translocal spaces and “reconstruct new orders of indexicality” (Canagarajah 2013: 202). The study probes into the process of power negotiation where powerless language users challenge the roles as norm followers in communities and redefine their positions in power structures through the appropriation of their Englishes and the engagement with mainstream language users.

The power structure described in Canagarajah’s (2013) study, which features powerless language users, established norms and creative language practice, sheds light on the situation where ELF users are situated. While ELF users are the majority in the statistics of English users in the world, the established norms align with the English used by NESs who form the minority in the world of English. In the situation that the established norms align with the use of English by NESs, ELF is often associated with lower prestige and status than native speakers’ Englishes, despite the fact that the practice of ELF is a salient feature in the spread of English around the world. The tension between the practice of ELF together with ELF users as marginal in the authority of English and the norms of English in the custody of NESs invites the question of the legitimacy of ELF users’ creativity in English. While the research on ELF practice has provided evidence for the viability of ELF, it is yet to establish how ELF users react in the power structure where they are positioned as norm followers. In a sense that language users’ renegotiation with norms they are expected to follow plays an important role in reconstructing and shaping power structures (Canagarajah 2013), ELF users’ self-struggle in the power relations is crucial to the reconstruction of new orders of indexicality.

3.3.5 Summary

The spread of English has enriched the roles of English and given rise to different shapes of English in various contexts, which intersect with different power structures and lead to competing language ideologies and discourses. The interactions

through the uptake of linguistic resources between power structures and language users reflect different concerns and issues in language ideologies. The roles of English as a national language, a global language, a localised language and a language in motion are implicant for and influenced by individual language users as well as institutions, which, for instance, take the form of language policies, at different levels and scales.

This section has reviewed past research relevant to language ideologies in the process of the spread of English. While the dualism of structuration is important for the understanding of language ideologies in this monograph, previous studies have presented two focuses: one on structuration and the other on agency. The interaction between structuration and agency, however, varies from context to context, given the historical factors that feed into structuration and lead to the contingency of locality relevant to language use and language ideology (Pennycook 2010). This section thus serves the purposes of suggesting that language ideologies should be analysed in their contexts and laying the foundation for the exploration of language ideologies in the context of global Englishes.

3.4 Language ideologies and ELF

This section turns to the discussion of language ideologies in relation to ELF in order to determine the conceptual framework based on which Chinese speakers' perceptions and identities are investigated to consider the legitimacy of ChELF, English that serves as a lingua franca in Chinese speakers' intercultural communication with non-Chinese speakers. Indeed, my interest in language ideologies is not original. Previous ELF research on attitudes, identities, institutions, and policies provides valuable insights, references and inspirations for the present study of language ideologies in relation to ChELF. In addition, the discussion of language ideologies in relation to English change takes up some space here to unpack the complicated power relations that invoke English change, which sheds light on the legitimation of ChELF, a phenomenon that showcases English change initiated by Chinese speakers.

3.4.1 An overview: From attitudes to ideologies

As language ideologies are essentially representations and interpretations of language phenomena, the scientific study of language phenomena often preconditions the examination of language ideologies and issues revolving language ideologies. The interrogation of the ELF phenomenon has benefitted from

a body of corpus studies to reveal patterns, regularities and norms of ELF (e.g. Cogo and Dewey 2012, Hynninen 2016, Jenkins 2000, Kirkpatrick 2010, Mauranen 2003, Seidlhofer 2004). The phenomenon of ELF has evoked attitudes among linguists and non-linguists. Diverging attitudes are first exhibited in the debates on ELF among linguists. A group of linguists, known as ELF scholars led by Jennifer Jenkins, Anna Mauranen and Barbara Seidlhofer,² are in a firm position that the phenomenon of ELF should be respected in terms of its existence independent of established norms of native speaker Englishes. That is, ELF should be understood in its own terms rather than be reduced to a label of “learner English” or a collection of “errors” in comparison with a benchmark based on Englishes generated in NES communities. In contrast, linguists engaging in traditional SLA research or WE research safeguard their own paradigms against the phenomenon of ELF. While traditional SLA research centres on Chomsky’s (1965) notion of native speaker competence, WE researchers are interested in localised varieties of English within bounded societies. Both paradigms define the use of English by NNEs in intercultural communication as EFL and give no space to the legitimacy of English as such. The research on ELF questions the relevance of EFL for the global spread of English today and attracts criticisms from linguists upholding either of the paradigms.

For example, Berns (2009) questions Jenkins’ conception of ELF does not include NESs. Park and Wee (2011) criticise Jenkins’s conception of ELF as form-based and not taking into consideration of the dynamics of language practice. Swan (2012) poses the question if EFL and ELF are different at all and hints that ELF is problematic because it does not address errors. Clearly, it is difficult for error-oriented SLA followers to imagine a communicative order where “errors” are irrelevant. Whilst the debates have certainly contributed to the development of ELF conceptions, researchers from other research backgrounds than ELF are rarely committed to the reconsideration of variations made by NNEs who are from what Kachru defines as the Expanding Circle. The legitimacy of ELF remains to be an issue under criticism.

A few publications (e.g. Groom 2012, Kuo 2006, Timmis 2002) cluster around the focus on L2 English learners’ language preferences to question ELF researchers’ position on ELF. For instance, Timmis (2002) draws on small-scale research that reveals L2 English learners’ preference for NES models over other Englishes and argues that ELT practitioners should respect L2 English learners’ needs. The same position is found in Groom (2012), despite the gap of ten years between two

² In the 4th International Conference of English as a Lingua Franca, Professor Andy Kirkpatrick as the conference organiser introduced them as three mothers of ELF in the opening ceremony.

publications. Groom (2012: 55) argues that “ELF currently neither motivates nor meets the aspirations of L2 English users in Europe”. She further claims that “[p]erhaps in the future this will change; if not, it is our responsibility as linguists to respect that fact”. In addition, Kuo (2006: 215) adds to this group of publications and denounces the appropriateness of ELF corpora for the understanding of “the nature of language learning and second language acquisition”. Jenkins (2007) vigorously counterargues against SLA-oriented positions and the biased interpretation presented by the said authors (i.e. Groom 2012, Kuo 2006, Timmis 2002), by problematising Kuo’s SLA-oriented bias in the evaluation of ELF corpora and their selection of data, which reveals only learners’ desire for NES models but not how they said about their desire. Clearly, there is a body of research revealing “certain complexity of ELF speakers’ attitudes” (Wang 2013: 257), suggesting that aspiration for native Englishes is just one part of a big picture. In addition, the researchers’ own perspectives cannot be overlooked, which makes the interpretation of the data immanently SLA-oriented. As Wang (2013) argues, without a critical evaluation of aspirations for NES models, researchers and ELT practitioners could work to reinforce the status quo that centres NES norms and marginalises other possibilities of using English. Nonetheless, it is fair to say that ELF attitudes are changing towards more positivity among academics. Along with the growth of linguistic investigation, the linguistic facts of ELF have clarified some mythical assumptions about English used by NNEs. The notion of ELF has gradually entered an increasing body of literature across disciplines. While the mainstream SLA still focuses on native speaker competence, some researchers in SLA have shown interest in ELF in a positive way and other researchers have worked on the ways of integrating ELF in English education.

While the linguistic investigation into ELF is in place and an increasing number of researchers recognise ELF as a natural language phenomenon, Jenkins (2007) turns to examine ELF users’ attitudes and identities, on the basis of the premise that language users’ attitudes are crucial for their languages to become accepted and legitimate (Bamgbose 1998). Since then, ELF users’ attitudes have emerged as a research interest among researchers who accept ELF as an autonomous phenomenon rather than an outcome of the decline of English (e.g. Cogo 2010, Fang 2016, Kaur 2014, Ploywattanawong and Trakulkasemsuk 2014, Ren et al. 2016, Tsou and Chen 2014). Studies on ELF users’ attitudes towards the phenomenon of ELF or the practice of ELF converge on the findings of ambivalent and self-contradictory positions on ELF among its users. As Jenkins (2007) comments, it is hard to decide whether ELF users are positive or negative towards ELF practice, while ELF users tend to hedge around their positions or reveal inconsistent positions on language preferences. In addition, identity as a concept capturing social and cultural dimensions of language has widely been researched

to contribute to the knowledge of ELF. Proceeding from the premise that English belongs to all those who use it, researchers have investigated whether ELF users see themselves as legitimate ELF users or biased learners of English (e.g. Zheng 2013, Murata and Iino 2018), whether and how ELF users align with NES communities or ELF communities that are formed on the basis of the use of ELF (e.g. Jenkins 2007), whether ELF users align with cultural, national or international communities through their practice of ELF (e.g. Sung 2014a, Wang 2012), how ELF users establish solidarity and negotiate within the CoPs where ELF users engage with each other (e.g. Kappa 2016, Matsumoto 2014), and how ELF users construct intercultural identities as well as global citizenships in the practice of ELF (Baker 2015, Fang and Baker 2018). Those attitudinal and identity studies in the field of ELF research have shared a descriptive focus by presenting what ELF users' attitudes and identities are, offering solid evidence to the failure of NES norms in regulating ELF users' practice and identities. That NES norms fail, however, has caused complicated feelings and attitudes among NNESSs. Many studies on ELF attitudes and identities thus tend to conclude that ELF awareness is yet to be raised and developed in order to transform and empower ELF users and learners (e.g. Dewey 2012, Gimenez, Calvo, and Kadri 2015, Jenkins 2007, Wang 2013). In the same vein, a body of work has been conducted to explore ways of raising and developing ELF awareness in English education (e.g. Galloway 2017, Galloway and Rose 2014, Sifakis 2014, 2019, Sifakis et al. 2018, Wang 2015a, 2015b).

Previous studies on ELF awareness tend to focus on “ELF” in the notion of “ELF awareness”, pinpointing the belief that ELF researchers' findings of ELF should be delivered to open the minds of ELF users who, as reported in many studies, struggle in the dilemma caused by the myth about native speaker competence. Proceeding from a pedagogical concern, Sifakis (2014, 2019: 291) conceptualises ELF awareness as an umbrella term that has three components, which entail “awareness of language and language use”, “awareness of instructional practice” and “awareness of learning”. The first component invokes awareness of “normativity, appropriateness, comprehensibility and ownership of English by native and non-native users alike” (Sifakis 2019: 291). The second and the third components deal with the teaching and learning process where the subject matter of English aligns with ELF as opposed to the default version of English as a native language or English as a foreign language. Galloway and Rose (2014) propose to develop awareness of global Englishes in the classroom. For them, awareness of global Englishes (GE) serves the purpose of making English education reflect how English is used in real life situations. In particular, such awareness departs from “a focus on NES norms, towards a more GE-oriented view” (Galloway and Rose 2014: 387). In

Wang's (2015a, 2015b) discussion, ELF awareness entails awareness of how English is used in its social settings. Wang (2015a) identifies some gaps in English education in developing Chinese students' awareness of English in terms of the relevance of ELF instead of EFL for those students. Wang (2015b) explores ways of developing Chinese university students' awareness of ELF and their criticality towards ENL and letting them self-transform from a default ENL learner to a legitimate ELF user. Baker (2011, 2015) extends the study of ELF awareness to the study of intercultural awareness. In his work, intercultural awareness is one of many dimensions of ELF. By adding to the study of ELF awareness with the focus on the cultural dimension of ELF, Baker (2011, 2015) continues the endeavour to study the relationship between ELF and ELF users in the latter's social cognition. To sum up, previous research on ELF awareness underpins the pursuit of pedagogical implications of ELF and revolves around the premise that awareness of what English is in the global context would empower ELF users, who were traditionally biased on the basis of the myth of English.

The research on ELF is fundamentally concerned with the linguistic hierarchy among different Englishes and the superiority/inferiority embedded in the evaluation of users of different Englishes. Researchers are dedicated to promote linguistic diversity and challenge linguistic bias and unfairness. Thus, the issue of power is often backgrounded and embedded in various studies on ELF practices, attitudes, identities, and awareness. The scholarly reconstruction of English that has been developed along with the globalisation of English has lent theoretical and empirical support to new norms and creative forms emerging in the real-life practice of ELF, which inevitably poses challenges to existing power differences between NESs and NNEs. Thus, not surprisingly, the research on language practices, attitudes, identities and awareness all contribute to the understanding of power relations in the contemporary world of English. First, the studies converge on the findings that illuminate ELF users' ambivalent attitudes towards ELF associated with preference for native speaker English or StE on the one hand and relaxation with established norms on the other hand (e.g. Jenkins 2007, Ranta 2010, Wang 2013). Second, ELF users seem to be reluctant to align with NES communities but desire a sense of belonging to international groups consisted of heterogeneous culture and language repertoires (e.g. Kalocsai 2011, Pietikäinen 2018). Third, language policy research in the field of ELF points to the complex relationship between ELF and national languages in different policy contexts (e.g. Wang 2017, 2018, Baker and Jarunthawatchai 2017). In this respect, ideologies about ELF are intertwined with ideologies about national languages in different contexts, revealing the tension between English and multilingualism and between different Englishes. By adopting a

macro-social approach, it is possible to analyse the relationship between ELF and multilingualism, which drives home Jenkins's (2015b) concept of English as a multilingual franca.

Nonetheless, language ideologies as both a useful concept of understanding power relations and a crucial way of legitimising language variations and change have been a relatively new topic in the ELF research but often backgrounded to support researchers' interpretation of attitudes, identities and awareness of ELF. The need to foreground language ideologies lies in the critical edge that the construct offers in the exploration of and the engagement with power relations. The critical edge offers the opportunity to look into the process how particular views and usages of language forms are intertwined with power relations rather than merely treating ELF users' views and behaviours as outcomes of power relations. This approach thus offers the opportunity to explore ELF users' agentive role in English change. In light of these, the next section will review a few studies of language ideologies in relation to power relations to which ELF and ELF users are relevant.

3.4.2 Ideologies and institutions in current ELF research

ELF research has emerged as a new area where language ideologies have come to the spotlight in recent years. Jenkins (2014) considers Woolard's (2005) discussion of the ideologies of authenticity and anonymity as relevant to understanding NNEs' use of English. The ideology of "authenticity" emphasises "the value of a language in relation to a particular community" (Woolard 2005:2). This links the value of English with NES communities and underpins NESs' role as norm providers in the use of English. The ideology of anonymity, on the other hand, emphasises the use of "unmarked standard public language" of which nobody is believed to hold the authority (Woolard 2005: 2). In respect of English, the ideology of anonymity describes StEs as "unmarked and universal" Englishes that are equally available to everybody in NES communities (Jenkins 2014: 78). In this sense, NNEs are supposed to learn "unmarked and universal" StE models. That is, the ideologies of authenticity and anonymity designate not only the representativeness of native Englishes for English but also the representation of StEs for English used by all English speakers. Importantly, the ideologies emphasise the power of native Englishes and StEs. In light of these, the StE ideology closes off NNEs' creative repertoires.

Among a growing body of literature that intersects ELF and language ideologies, a common practice appears to focus on the influence of StE ideology in the world. Two themes have been taken up. One theme focuses on institutions.

Another theme focuses on ELF users. With the focus on institutions, Seidlhofer (2018) discusses StE ideology revealed in academic publication. Jenkins (2014) discusses the politics of English in an international university. Wang (2015a) questions how English education serves as an ideological mechanism to affect Chinese university students' language awareness. Jenkins and Leung (2019) explore language assessment as an ideological mechanism to promote StE ideology. With the focus on ELF users, Cogo and Yanaprasart (2018) investigate business professionals using ELF in terms of their language attitudes, which the researchers interpret as signs of (resistance to) StE ideology. Szundy and Tatlanne (2017) approaches academic ELF users' attitudes and examines whether their attitudes reflect, reinforce or challenge a standard language ideology. While previous studies on the two themes converge in terms of the approach to language ideologies as outcomes of power relations, little has been done to examine how ELF users engage with the power relations through the discourse process and make decisions regarding their language practice in the context of ELF. While understanding the engagement process helps to understand ELF users' agentive role in legitimising their variations and change in English, this study foregrounds language ideologies as a central issue in the legitimation of ELF and analyses the process of language ideologies with the focus on ELF users' discourses about ELF, variability and normativity.

The discussion of language ideologies in ELF makes itself different from the studies on language ideologies in other areas or from other perspectives. One major difference is in terms of scale. Multilingualism studies on language ideologies engage with the national scale. ELF work on language ideologies goes beyond national scale to focus on the international scale. Notably, ELF work on language ideologies involves the intersection of both scales. While traditional research as identified above tends to focus on the relations within the boundaries of nations, understanding language ideologies in the field of ELF would require the understanding of language ideologies in boundless contexts at the global scale. Another difference is in the "language" in the study of "language ideology". Multilingualism research on language ideologies focuses on languages in indigenous groups and within national boundaries, where dominant languages win over marginalised languages. ELF research on language ideology requires the understanding of ELF as additional language resources for ELF users. That is, ELF does not replace other speakers' L1s but adds to different L1 speakers' linguistic repertoires. Put differently, language ideologies in ELF and language ideologies in WE are situated in different policy environments. While the former is contextualised in the policy environment where national languages are prioritised, the latter is contextualised in the discourse that English is an official language.

3.4.3 Language ideologies and English change

The sociolinguistic tradition in the study of language change has paved the way for a focus on speakers rather than languages (Hickey 2003, Lippi-Green 1994b, Milroy 2003, cf. Lass 1980, 1990, 1997). While the latter is at the heart of the Neogrammarian sense of language change, the former draws scholarly attention to language users' agency in language change (Milroy 2003). It is clear that a considerable body of research on accommodation and languaging, which is relevant to the study of ELF, proceed from the same premise that speakers are agents of language change (e.g. Auer and Hinskens 2005, Callahan 2006, Giles et al. 1991, Jørgensen 2008, Swain 2009). It is in this perspective on language change that English change is discussed in this book. Put differently, this book sets out by accepting that NNEs are agents in both the spread of English and the change of English (see Brutt-Griffler 2002, Canagarajah 1999b, 2007, Mauranen 2012, c.f. Phillipson 1992). While previous work on language change offers a reference to understanding English change, it is necessary to acknowledge that English change has some particularities, given the unprecedented language spread in its kind and the rising role as a global language, which distinguishes English from traditionally bounded languages in general. For this reason, what follows will first discuss language change in general and, subsequently, turn to English change in particular.

As documented in a considerable body of works, language change takes place within and across various communities, contexts, domains, and spatiotemporal frames (e.g. Heath 1984, Parker 1976, Sankoff and Blondeau 2007, Wang 1979). Motivations behind language change led by language users can be explained in terms of linguistic and non-linguistic needs (Auer, Hinskens and Kerswill 2005, Hickey 2003, Lippi-Green 1994b). Linguistic needs are often associated with the need to find resources to fill in the gap in the knowledge of standardised codes or to address the lack of equivalent codes in communicating new concepts. Notably, however, despite scholarly insights into language users' linguistic motivations, language change often invites ideological reactions. Milroy and Milroy (2012) point out that public complaints about variations are a powerful mechanism of maintaining the standardness of English. Lippi-Green (1994a) lists five mechanisms of standardisation – that is, education, news media, entertainment industry, corporate America and the judicial system, all of which serve to promote the conformity to the standard variety of English. As a result, language users' linguistic needs are often overlooked in real-life ideological structures and language change led by language users tends to disadvantage them in certain power structures where mainstream ideologies align with monolingualism and uniformity. In this sense, the study of language change led by language users

requires a framework that goes beyond linguistic analysis to engage with the examination of power structure which is relevant for language users. In terms of non-linguistic needs, studies have shown language users' struggles for the representation of their identities, values and voices within the power structure that promotes mainstream ideologies that highlight unity and conformity (Kroskrity 2000). For instance, John (2015) examines the use of Malay language in English newspaper advertisement to argue that a Malay-Muslim ideology that links with the values and beliefs of the Malay ethnic group emerges in the mainstream ideology that promotes unity under the social and political governance. The ideological needs behind language change drive home the need to analyse language change in power structures that are relevant to language users. In light of these, it is fair to say that language change is an ideological issue, in a sense that it invites ideological debates and is treated as a site of ideological struggle. In a word, language change led by language users inevitably invokes a perspective that links language forms and power structure.

Language ideology is a concept that links language forms and power structure, for researchers who are interested in the study of language in its social, cultural and political contexts (e.g. Blommaert and Verschueren 1998, Lippi-Green 1994b, Pennycook 2013, Rosa and Burdick 2015, Woolard and Schieffelin 1994). As Lippi-Green (1994b: 8) acknowledges, "ideology is relevant to language change". In the first place, language ideology is the interface between language forms and power structure (Fairclough 1989, Lippi-Green 1994b). Essentially, language ideologies are interpretations and representations of languages in their social and political structures. The intertwined relations among language forms, language ideologies and power relations imply that language change is associated with the dynamics of language ideologies and power relations. Further, language ideologies serve as a means of legitimising or devaluing language forms in particular power structures. Indeed, the discussion of legitimation invokes two perspectives (see Chapter 1). One perspective focuses on the role of authority in legitimating and regards legitimation as a top-down process. A typical example is the role of standard language ideology in defining what are "correct" or "incorrect" language forms and what should be accepted or rejected in education systems. Admittedly, this view of legitimation has its limitation in that it offers no space for the consideration of language users' agencies in the legitimation process. By contrast, a view of legitimation as a bottom-up process focusing on language users is constructive. To this end, Silverstein's (1979) approach to language ideology is useful, with its focus on individual language users. That is, individual language users' interpretations and justifications of language forms help to understand language users' awareness of the function, meaning and value of language forms in relevant social relations (Silverstein 1979). In particular, language change sometimes

acts as a way of contestation in given power structures, enabling language users to identity and re-identity in the engagement in power structures (Irvine 1989, Kroskrity 2000, Woolard and Schiffelin 1994). That is, looking into language users' justifications of language change helps to understand their identifications in social and power relations. In this sense, language users' interpretations and evaluations of language change are in intricate relations with the dynamics of social relations and power differences that are relevant for language users, the examination of which helps to probe into the dynamics of legitimation of language change.

Necessarily, the investigation into language ideologies with the focus on language users does not deny the relevance of dominant language ideologies presenting the top-down forces that maintain established orders of indexicality. As various studies have shown, the multiplicity and contention among language ideologies exist in various community contexts (e.g. Briggs 1998, Collins 1998, Errington 1998, Schieffelin and Doucet 1998). Studies on language ideologies have focused on two ways that language users react to dominant language ideologies, which, in Fairclough's (1989) theory, are underpinned by naturalised power structures in relevant contexts. First, dominant language ideologies are reproduced in language policies and among language users. While powerful mechanisms such as education and civilian discourse might operate to force language users to follow established orders of indexicality, coercion and consent are the main means to manipulate (e.g. Pan 2014). Common sense is another powerful mechanism in operation, which makes language users accept what are pre-given and pre-defined (Fairclough 1989). However, the focus on common sense and coercive power offers little explanation of language users' agencies. For example, Pan's (2014) study on language ideologies in China emphasises the coercive power of the Chinese government exercised on Chinese speakers. While the work on the ideological reproduction helps to understand the complicated power differences revolving English, more needs to be done to probe into language users' agencies, which opens up possibilities for language change. Second, dominant language ideologies are contested by language users (e.g. Errington 1998). Errington (1998), for example, has presented that the Javanese Language Congress provides a space where language practice featuring individual and habitual usages negotiates with national and institutional language use symbolising new national order. In Schieffelin and Doucet's (1998) study, they present the debates on Haitian orthography which they argue serve as a way of negotiating with the environment stigmatising it. Importantly, the debates centre on the justifications of Haitian orthography and its value contributions to "Haitianness", making it explicit that Haitian orthography is linguistically legitimate (Schieffelin and Doucet 1998). In short, researchers interested in contention focus on

debates on and discussions of non-mainstream language forms, foregrounding voices that do not promote mainstream ideologies. As Fairclough (1989:2) maintains, ideologies are “a means of legitimising existing social relations and differences of power, simply through the recurrence of ordinary, familiar ways of behaving which take these relations and power differences for granted”. In this sense, questioning into taken-for-granted ideologies is a way of challenging and contesting power difference in the status quo. The critical voices constitute of forces countering dominant language ideologies and, in turn, the established order of communication and indexicality. This therefore provides space for the understanding of language change.

The discussion of language ideologies in relation to language change is readily applicable to the discussion of language ideologies in relation to English change in particular. The work on English change can be divided into three groups on the basis of the role of English. One group focuses on English change within speech communities where English is used as a national language. Not surprisingly, predominant ideologies centring on English tend to embrace the uniformity, “correctness” and “purity” of English through the channels of education and public discourses (Aitchison 2013, Lippi-Green 1994a, 1994b, Milroy and Milroy 2012). Studies have been conducted to document English change at various levels, presenting contentions of mainstream ideologies that seek to maintain existing orders of indexicality. A second group focuses on English change in postcolonialist contexts where English is used as a second language. In this strand of work, conflicts between StEs and non-StEs are the norm in postcolonialist contexts and present discrepancies between language policy and language practice (e.g. Lin and Martin 2005). Importantly, English change is often studied as a sign of “decolonisation” and resistance to homogenisation, bringing home the contention to StE ideology and English imperialism (e.g. Rubdy 2005, Tan 2017). Another group focuses on English change in a global context where the role of ELF is relevant for users of English. In this strand, researchers on ELF have documented English change led by NNEs (e.g. Cogo and Dewey 2012, Mauranen 2012). Researchers have also examined regularities and norms of English when used as a lingua franca (e.g. Hynninen 2016). Jenkins et al. (2011) argue that ELF users adapt their English for the purposes of communication, identity and humour. In Mauranen’s (2012) study, English change is found to be motivated by communicative needs. Wang (2013) reports on the study of Chinese speakers’ attitudes towards their own English to find that the participants are willing to use their own English for two reasons, i.e. communication and identification with Chinese culture. The participants are found to be reluctant to embrace their own English for three reasons, i.e. the social capital in native-like English, the myth about the relationship between intelligibility and nativelikeness, and the belief

that native Englishes represent *the* English. Wang (2013) reveals some struggle between an exonormative orientation and an endonormative orientation. While an exonormative orientation points to an orientation towards StE norms, an endonormative orientation reveals a kind of challenge to the mainstream ideology of StE. While the former can be viewed as a reproduction of mainstream StE ideology, the latter can be interpreted as a contention to it.

To sum up, language ideologies form a crucial dimension of English change. Despite the complexity of language ideologies and that of the relationship between language ideologies and language change, the study of language ideologies with the focus on language users offers opportunities to discerning language users' agencies in the process of English change. For this reason, the current study would focus on Chinese speakers and investigate language ideologies that are associated with their variations in English practice.

3.5 Conclusion

The chapter has established language ideologies as language users' understandings of social and power relations, which are key to the understanding of English change and the legitimacy of variations in the spread of English. I have explored different approaches to language ideologies to come to the decision that a critical social theory-informed orientation to language users as social actors in shaping social and power relations where they are situated helps to understand the possibility of new social and power relations. While English has been a prominent factor in language ideologies around the world, the research on English-related language ideologies tends to align with traditional multilingualism studies and offers little space for the understanding of English change and appropriation. The studies on the context where English is a localised language and English as a language in motion are implicant to the understanding of English change led by language users. Notably, however, language ideologies scholarship on English as a localised language tends to focus on structural and institutional forces, while language ideologies research on English in motion focuses on the analysis of language practices in micro-social interaction, which offers opportunities to understand agents' reaction to mainstream norms. An interesting gap thus emerges as to how language users as social actors engage with the structural and institutional forces or norms with their consciousness. That is, it is yet to understand how language users evaluate and justify their own language practices, based on which we can understand the legitimization of English change. In addition, I have reviewed literature and past studies which offer implications for the understanding of language ideologies centring on ELF as well as the

implications of language ideologies for English change. In short, the chapter has prepared theoretical and conceptual foundations for the exploration into Chinese speakers' use of ELF from a perspective of language ideologies. In the rest of the monograph, the focus will be turned to Chinese speakers in particular and the examination of their understandings of the complicated relations between normativity, creativity, power relations and agency, which offer insights into the legitimation of ChELF.

4 Researching Chinese speakers' language ideologies

4.1 Research questions

This chapter introduces the fieldwork that I undertook to research language ideologies that allow for the understanding of the legitimacy of Chinese speakers' ELF (ChELF). Previous chapters have established complicated relations among languages, language legitimacy, language ideologies, language users, identities, and power relations. It is useful to summarise the relations before the proposal of research questions:

1. A language's legitimacy not only relates to linguistic viability but also ideological acceptance.
2. Language ideologies are understandings and interpretations of power structures that interact with forms of language.
3. Language ideologies can be explored by investigating language users' elaborations and justifications of forms of language.
4. While identities are manifestations of power relations, language users' self-identification suggests their agentive roles in reacting to power structures that prescribe norms, explicitly or implicitly, for them to follow.

This project seeks to explore the legitimacy of ChELF, which is established on the basis of how ChELF users perceive ChELF in current power relations that define the default norms aligning with native speakers' Englishes. In light of this, research questions are asked as follows:

1. How do Chinese speakers perceive and evaluate their own English in intercultural communication?
2. How do Chinese speakers consider their identities in relation to their use of ELF?
3. How do Chinese speakers discursively engage with power relations that reproduce the predominance of native English norms in China?

In order to answer these questions, the project has employed mixed-methods which include questionnaires, interviews and focus groups to collect data, on the basis of which Chinese speakers' understandings and interpretations of ChELF within power structures that they see as relevant are explored. The rest of the chapter will give space to the presentation of research process so as to prepare for the discussion of research findings in the following three chapters, each of

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501503702-004>

which focuses on one set of data retrieved through one method and addresses one research question.

4.2 Methodology

This project adopts mixed-methods research (MMR) that combines quantitative and qualitative data. Many methodologists have discussed and proved the advantages of MMR (e.g. Bryman 2006, Dörnyei 2007, Greene, Caracelli, and Graham 1989, Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004, Klassen et al. 2008, Modell 2010, Moran-Ellis et al. 2006, Niglas 2004, Onwuegbuzie, and Leech 2005). For instance, Greene, Caracelli, and Graham (1989) have noted five advantages that MMR has, which include: triangulation, complementarity, development, initiation, and expansion. The concept of triangulation implies the use of multiple methods in order to avoid bias that is likely to emerge in single method-oriented research and increase the validity of data analysis (Creswell 2009, Fielding 2008, Mathison 1988). The concept is grounded on the assumption that different methods should lead to the same findings or otherwise there must be some “flawed” measurements (e.g. Mathison 1988, Moran-Ellis et al. 2006). Importantly, where triangulation does not lead to convergence on findings, conflicts and contradictions may be intriguing data deserving further investigation rather than evidence of errors with some measurements (Fielding and Fielding 1986). It is therefore necessary for the research to explore interpretations of different findings with reference to previous studies. In comparison with triangulation, other advantages appear to be rather obvious. Specifically, the notion of complementarity describes the potential that diversified datasets derived from different methods complement, enhance and explain each other (Greene, Caracelli, and Graham 1989). The notion of development deals with the feature that one method can be developed on the basis of the data retrieved through another method, while the notion of initiation implies the possibility that the researcher could obtain new insights from one method and follow up with another method. The notion of expansion refers to the situation where the researcher uses “different methods for different inquiry components” so as to broaden their inquiries (Greene, Caracelli, and Graham 1989: 259). Despite the advantages of MMR, it is necessary to be reasonable to decide whether to use MMR to avoid redundant data, reduce unnecessary cost on “research resources” and save research time (Bryman 2006: 111).

Based on the said considerations, I employed three methods, which include questionnaires, interviews and focus groups, each of which addresses one of the research questions set out in this project (see Section 4.1). Questionnaires were

used to address research question one; interviews were employed to answer research question two; and focus groups were conducted to tackle research question three. I am not suggesting that one question pairing with a given method could be treated in isolation from other pairs. While three datasets triangulate, each method was considered in terms of its appropriateness in dealing with a particular research question.

The questionnaire is a research instrument that presents “respondents with a series of questions or statements to which they are to react either by writing out their answers or selecting from among existing answers” (Brown 2001:6). According to Dörnyei (2007: 102), a questionnaire can elicit the data about respondents by asking “factual”, “behavioural” and “attitudinal” questions. Bearing this in mind, I constructed questionnaire items to retrieve the data about Chinese speakers’ demographic characteristics, experiences of and expectations about English contact, attitudes, beliefs, opinions and evaluations of English in respect of forms vs function, normativity vs creativity, and English change. I adopted closed questions, open questions and attitudinal scales. While closed questions offer the convenience to both the researcher and the respondents to categorise possible responses, open questions give the respondents space to interpret the “uniform” questions in diversified ways and offer responses suiting their own experiences and their own frames of making sense of the world (Gillham 2000). Attitudinal scales are a frequently used measure of attitudes in social psychology and contribute to many studies on language attitudes (Dörnyei 2007, e.g. Jenkins 2007). In my questionnaire study, attitudinal scales were designed to gauge respondents’ attitudes towards non-conformity to StEs and to work in conjunction with a follow-up open question that asked respondents to explain and rationalise their scoring on the scales. As part of the research project, the questionnaire study served three purposes. First, it offered an opportunity to overview respondents’ experiences and ideas of English in general and at the surface level; second, it helped to identify participants for following-up research instruments; third, it helped to prompt the respondents for following-up research activities. A wealth of literature (e.g. Foddy 1993, Gillham 2000, Jenkins 2007, Kachru 1986, 1992, Oppenheim 1992, Schuman and Presser 1981) has advised that the researcher should consider a few issues when designing a questionnaire. Those issues include the effects of question order and response order, the number of alternative answers, the limitation of closed questions in terms of restricting respondents’ choices, and research ethics. With those issues in mind, I designed the questionnaire.

The questionnaire included three elements, which were closed questions, open questions and attitudinal scales (see Appendix A). Closed questions were designed to give respondents a range of choices, which could be quantified for statistical analysis. Many closed questions included an option that respondents

could provide their own responses which were not listed in the questionnaire, in order to avoid limiting respondents within given choices. Open questions were designed to elicit the data for qualitative content analysis. Where the term “NESs” is used, explanation was offered that NESs were those who were from America, Britain, Australia, Canada and New Zealand. The order of response choices was considered, where applicable. The response choices related to native Englishes or NESs were often positioned after other options, given that the current status of native Englishes and NESs (as discussed in many publications, for example, Holliday 1994) might make respondents select the response related to native Englishes and NESs automatically if they see the position of native Englishes or NESs on the top of all other options. Attitudinal scales are useful tools for attitudinal research. I considered the numbers of positions on attitudinal scales and decided to design six points on an attitudinal scale, following Jenkins' (2007) questionnaire study of attitudes. As Jenkins (2007:152) argues, an even number of alternative answers can be helpful in urging respondents to demonstrate their attitudes, whether positive or negative, whereas respondents still retain the option of not answering the question if they are “genuinely unable” to decide their stances. Although I did not design a “no idea” category, space was given to respondents to make free comments following this task. I need to add one point here, regarding the weight given to different positions. I chose the highest score to be 5 and the lowest score to be 0. The rationale was that this agreed with the normal marking practice in the Chinese context, according to which, score “3” often means “pass”, whereas score “0” often indicates “nothing” or “none”. Coincidentally, score “3” indicates mildly positive attitudes towards the given expressions. This would make respondents feel easy and ensure that they would not forget what different numbers indicate during their undertaking. Attitudinal scales were designed to work together with open questions to elicit respondents' elaboration, evaluation and justification on issues related to their language perceptions and identities. Respondents were asked to mark on the attitudinal scales and explain or justify their markings on the scales.

Interviews that I used in the research had the qualitative nature. Qualitative research interview is different from quantitative interview, which often features a structured format by which the researcher asks interview participants a pre-prepared set of interview questions to elicit information in a way that is similar to questionnaire survey (Dörnyei 2007, Kvale 1994). According to Dörnyei (2007: 136), qualitative research interviews have two formats, i.e. unstructured and semi-structured interviews. While unstructured interviews follow interviewees' flow, semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to guide the development of the conversation with the interviewee with the

assistance of the pre-prepared interview guide. Dörnyei (2007: 136) further points out that semi-structured interviews are typically useful in retrieving qualitative data by letting interviewees “elaborate on the issues raised in an exploratory manner”. Indeed, semi-structured interviews are often found useful in studies on ELF attitudes, awareness and identities (e.g. Baker 2015, Dewey 2012, Jenkins 2007). In my research, I decided to use semi-structured interviews and prepared prompts to investigate interview participants’ attitudes and identities.

The motivation of using interviews was to explore Chinese speakers’ agency in relation to the power structure which centralises NES norms. Despite the complexity and elusiveness of the conception, agency is essentially an abstraction to encapsulate “human freedom” or social actors’ capacity to act freely (e.g. Emirbayer and Mische 1998: 964, Fuchs 2001). The tension between agency and structure provides the foundation for the competition between creativity and normativity. The exploration of agency (see Chapter 3) has implications for the understanding of the legitimacy of Chinese speakers’ own use of ELF, which evokes the treatment of Chinese speakers’ creativity within the current power structure that sets NNESS’ English as the norm for Chinese speakers to follow. It would be constructive to investigate research participants’ orientations towards the use of English within power structures in different temporal-relational contexts, with regard to their justifications, evaluations and rationalisations of linguistic behaviours vis-à-vis norms and institutions.

Concerning the issue of agency, interviews were designed to elicit the data with regard to interrelated factors, reasons, concerns, values and identities underlying surface-level attitudes and beliefs expressed in questionnaire responses. The prompt (see Appendix B) was designed to trigger comments on past experience, ideas about English in its social contexts which the participants regard as relevant, ideas about English in terms of its function, and imaginations of possible scenarios. In Jenkins’ (2007) study, ELF users are found to be tolerant of others’ variations in English but likely to be strict with their own use of English. This complexity is considered in the design of interviews. I particularly considered the prompts to probe into the participants’ views of the English used by people in general, by Chinese speakers, and by themselves. Necessarily, the prompts served the purpose of reminding me what issues were to be explored in the means of natural conversations, rather than functioning as prepared questions to invite answers. The use of the prompts was thus flexible rather than following particular forms of questions.

Focus groups (hereafter FGs) are sometimes treated as group interviews that feature a group of participants and an interviewer, who is often labelled as a moderator in FGs (e.g. Dörnyei 2007, Smithson 2008). However, I find it constructive

to treat FG as an independent research method so as to avoid confusion with group interviews. Importantly, I used FGs in order to investigate how group members interact with each other, with the researcher's engagement minimised, while group interviews present interactions between the researcher and the interviewees. The literature on the FG method converges on a few points that made me attend to it when considering research question three (e.g. Berg 2007, Dörnyei 2007, Fern 2001, Hennink 2007, Smithson 2008, Wilkinson 1998). First, FGs are conducted to enable focused discussion of "specific topics" (Beck, Trombetta, and Share 1986: 73). Being "focused" helped me to zoom in and collect in-depth data. The use of FGs allowed me to observe how research participants engaged with the topics of English as a lingua franca, Chinese speakers' creativity and ownership of English. Second, a stimulus is often used to provoke group discussion. The use of a stimulus enabled me to present ideas and materials that could be new or controversial to Chinese speakers in general and provoke reactions and thoughts revolving around the issues embedded in the materials. The concept of ELF was new to the participants when the research was conducted and continued to be controversial even until the present, given the predominance of NES norms. The stimulus in an FG provided the opportunity to expose the participants to the concept of ELF and invite debates revolving around ELF among participants. Third, a moderator is needed to make sure group interaction on track. A moderator's role is to encourage research participants to discuss, facilitate interactions and keep the discussion focused on and relevant to the issues being investigated. When participants actively interact with each other, it is possible to see issues raised by participants and issues which make participants excited or bored or reluctant to discuss. Fourth, FGs foreground the dynamics of group discussion and the stability or fluidity of views among group members. In this sense, FGs provided an opportunity for me to observe the process through which group agreement or controversy was reached, maintained or challenged. With FGs, I hoped to observe how participants reacted to each other's viewpoints and negotiated with each other before they concluded with an agreement or controversy. The observation of the interactive process was particularly important for the exploration of research question three, in that the process of debating could illuminate and foreground the factors in the tension between conformity and creativity in respect of the use of English and the ownership of English by Chinese speakers.

FGs were designed to follow interviews in the study to illuminate the process of Chinese speakers' negotiation for their ownership of English within the power structure where NES norms predominate. While interviews provide opportunities to examine research participants' views of norms and power relations, my role as the interviewer has limitations in retrieving unelicited ideas

and emotions. In comparison, FG provides opportunities for peer members to challenge and/or support each other as equal peers. In order to trigger the discussion of the tension between prescriptive norms and descriptive practice, stimuli were designed to include a brief introduction of the spread of English, a brief introduction of the concept of ELF on the basis of Jenkins (2009b), a few examples of Chinese speakers' use of English drawn from corpus studies (see Appendix C). Handouts were considered to include statistics of the spread of English (Jenkins 2009b) and examples drawn from Deterding's (2006) study on Chinese speakers' use of English. I acted as the moderator to make sure that FG discussions progress in a way that the discussion revolves around the research focus and that group members are comfortable with the content of discussion. I did not participate in the group discussion, except that I introduced group members to each other and, subsequently, used the stimuli to invite group discussions.

In a word, the decision on research methods was dependent upon research questions, driven by the purpose to triangulate different datasets to achieve appropriate understandings of Chinese speakers' perceptions, identities and agentive engagement in the power structure that dominates the use of English. The three methods were expected to help collect data that could inform of a broad picture of the attitudinal profile, the in-depth analysis of identity needs, and the dynamics of power negotiation. Details regarding how the methods were carried out to investigate the research questions will be reported later in sections of respective method-informed inspections.

4.3 Fieldwork

In order to collect appropriate data, all instruments were piloted before fieldwork and adjustments were made to ensure that questions were asked in a way that participants could sense the relevance to their real-life experience and their own theories of language so as to enable the collection of effective data. For instance, participants in pilot interviews tend to categorise Chinese speakers' linguistic outcomes into Chinese culture-loaded English and non-Chinese-culture-loaded English and offer examples like *good good study, day day up* and *I'll give you some colour to see see*. Some of such examples were confirmed in corpus studies and publications on Chinese speakers' use of English (e.g. Xu 2008, Li Wei 2016). Subsequently, a few examples offered by participants in pilot study and confirmed in publications were included in questionnaires to elicit attitudes and justifications. Simultaneously, the numbers of examples of Chinese-culture-loaded English and Chinese-culture-free English were kept to a

balance so as to offer participants space to explore possible reasons underlying Chinese speakers' creativity.

The participants were recruited from both students from a university in Yichang and professionals from different trades in a few cities in China (see Appendix D for the interview participants' information). The language used throughout the whole process was Chinese, an umbrella term that is used in a generic sense to include all different linguistic forms available to Chinese speakers as their first languages, for the purpose that my participants could express themselves freely. In addition, the shared language helps to build up the solidarity between the participants and me as the researcher so as to make the conversations personal rather than business-like, which helps to probe into the participants' inner world. For the same reasons, I specifically used Mandarin Chinese most of the time, as Mandarin Chinese is a lingua franca widely used between Chinese who are from different local areas. But sometimes I used my local dialect to boost the rapport and better relax my participants if some individual participants were from the same area that I am from. It is necessary to point out that the notions of "Chinese", "Mandarin Chinese" and "dialect" are used for convenience according to the socio-political context in China, rather than reflecting my understanding in linguistic terms. That is to say, local variations in China, whose speakers are even mutually unintelligible to each other, are considered as "dialects" rather than "languages". Including "Mandarin Chinese", which is promoted by the Chinese government as the official lingua franca used among Chinese in China, all dialects – i.e. local variations in linguistic terms, are simplified to be counted as *the* Chinese language for the ease of discussion.

The questionnaire survey was conducted via hard copies and electronic copies. Hard copies were used in order to get the best return rate. Electronic copies were used because of a realistic consideration: some participants were scattered in different locations and had tight schedules. I went to different venues to distribute the questionnaires by myself and made myself familiar with the participants in order to receive questionnaire responses as many as possible and to encourage respondents' future involvement in the follow-up interviews and FGs. The survey among the university students was conducted in class time in Three Gorges University. The survey among the professionals was conducted at different sites, which included different companies, organisations, and online questionnaires. Consequently, 365 questionnaires were returned from the professional respondents, 238 questionnaires from English majored university students, and 319 from non-English majored university students respectively.

Following the analysis of the questionnaire survey, I conducted semi-structured interviews. Before each interview session, an information sheet was presented to the interviewee to elicit their permissions to record and use

their data. Interviews were the second stage of the study. I tended to open the interviews by inviting comments on the survey. The purpose was to prepare my interviewees for the topic and to make the interviews a consecutive part continuing on from the questionnaires. Eleven professionals and twenty-four university students were interviewed. The longest interview lasted 1 hour and 40 minutes, whereas the shortest interview lasted 35 minutes, with the average interview at 1 hour.

For the student participants, most interviewees were interviewed in a teahouse located on the campus of China Three Gorges University. Interviews were conducted over cups of tea. The decision was made by myself but I consulted the interviewees regarding whether they were happy with the site. Two students were interviewed in the library of the university, because they could only spare time in early mornings when they had no class sessions, while the teahouse was still closed. Another two students were interviewed in a drinking bar on the campus of the university because they also chose a time when the teahouse was not open. The two sites (library and the drinking bar) were suggested by the interviewees and I agreed as these places were quiet enough for recording. For the professionals, the interviews took place in different places. Some interviews took place in company conference rooms, while others took place in coffee shops. One interview took place in a fast food outlet, and another was conducted in an interviewee's office. The decisions about the sites were jointly made by the interviewees and the interviewer. While I considered their convenience as important, I expressed my requirement that the setting should be quiet and my concern for not disturbing other people.

Based on a preliminary analysis of the interviews, the candidates for the FGs were then decided. Four FGs were planned: Group A consisted of participants who were English majors and who had been interviewed; Group B included participants who were non-English majors and who had been interviewed; group C mixed participants from English majors and non-English majors, both of whom had been interviewed; group D mixed participants from English majors and non-English majors both of whom had not been interviewed.

It is important to consider the recruitment and the possibility of “refusals and non-arrivals” when planning and preparing FGs (Bloor et al. 2001:91). Bloor et al. (2001:92) suggest that “particular attention needs to be devoted to means of ensuring maximum attendance” and that “it is prudent to compensate for non-arrivals by a degree of deliberate over-recruitment”. My input in the questionnaire survey helped to encourage maximum attendance. This was confirmed by their positive reaction to my invitation to join the FG discussions. In order to have enough participants for each group, I invited 52 candidates via telephone, informing them of different time arrangements. Thirty-eight candidates confirmed their

participation and 9 showed an interest but needed further confirmation. Finally, thirty-seven participants turned up. Four FGs included 8, 9, 9 and 11 participants respectively.

The venue for the FGs was a small classroom in a holiday school in the city centre. A few desks were moved together to form a large table, with juice, glasses, snacks and fruit set on it and seats around it. An audio recorder was placed in the centre of the table. The researcher was seated in the circle and a helper moved around outside the circle to conduct video-recording. FGs were both audio- and video-recorded. Before the start of each group, an information sheet was presented and ethical issues were explained. The permission for the audio- and video- recording was elicited.

4.4 The data

The data were collected in 2009. The analysis of the data, however, reveals some overarching issues that have been discussed in previous publications on the topic of English in China, among which some are recent (e.g. Fang 2019, Pan 2014, Ren et al. 2016, Wang, Weng and Li 2019, Wang and Wang 2020). The publications reviewed in Section 2.3 show a few themes that converge with the findings emerging in the data that I am reporting in this monograph. Those themes include aspirations for native Englishes among Chinese individuals, emerging awareness among Chinese individuals of Chinese speakers' identities of which native Englishes are not sources, the reproduction of essentialist language ideologies, the focus on NESs and native Englishes in language education policies in China, the treatment of English as an instrument for national agendas across different timeframes in China, the conceptualisation of English used by Chinese speakers as pidgin English, the conceptualisation as learner English and interlanguage, the idea of China English as an idealised model for Chinese speakers' own English, and so on. Moreover, some issues are also found applicable in studies on non-Chinese speakers of ELF. For example, the preference for native Englishes in Japan (Galloway and Rose 2013, Ishikawa 2017, Otsu 2019), the needs for NNESS' identities, which cannot be satisfied by imitating NESs in the case of Korean speakers of English (Park 2012, Ra 2019), the promotion of English for national agendas in Japan (Le-Ha 2013), the promotion of standard native Englishes in language policies in the Spanish military (Orna-Montesinos 2018), the treatment of NNESS' creativity as manifestations of learner English or interlanguage in the case of Spanish speakers of English (Morán-Panero 2019). While those issues are prominent for Chinese speakers and other NNESS of ELF, not much has been done to systematically

investigate the process of language ideologies through which the legitimacy of NNEs' creativity are (to be) established.

The current research is the first of its kind. With the focus on ChELF speakers, the current investigation serves to understand attitudes, identities and ideologies associated with the legitimacy of ChELF in terms of what they are, how they have developed, and how different underlying factors interact with each other, as well as how different processes enhance, offset and interact with each other, presenting us with the surfacing issues among ChELF users' and other ELF users' Englishes. For example, the preference for native Englishes is found to be required, supported and reproduced by and through different authority centres that work together in influencing Chinese users of English (see Chapter 6). Therefore, the use of the data, which seem to be a bit old, serves the purpose of uncovering the complexity of the overarching issues about the legitimacy of NNEs' creativity in using ELF. A possible explanation of the relevance of the seemingly old data for the current understanding of ELF users' legitimacy is that language ideologies associated with English are not easy to change in that the tension between factors having impacts on language ideologies is rather persistent over the years since the data collection, for example, power structure, social background, common sense, personal needs for mobility, personal needs for cultural group membership, and so on.

Necessarily, I am not suggesting that nothing could have changed since 2009. In my own research, I have identified intercultural experience and the knowledge of ELF as factors that can enhance Chinese speakers' reflection on the preference for native Englishes (Wang 2015a, 2015b). With the increasing engagement of Chinese speakers in intercultural activities such as studying abroad, Chinese speakers can develop more willingness to embrace their own way of using English. Due to the growing interest in ELF research, ELF-oriented teacher training and ELF-related publications, the notion of ELF can possibly enter the public discourse to increase some positive attitudes towards ELF. However, the change in attitude should be gradual, as the discourse on the websites shown at the beginning of the monograph continues to show bias against Chinese speakers and their use of English, with the examples retrieved in November 2019 when I nearly completed the monograph. What the participants in the current study talked about regarding Chinese experiences and thoughts of English still resembles the discourses about English in current China. Importantly, the current study provides qualitative analysis of ideological factors, identities and agentive negotiations with the power structure. A quantitative research-focused analysis of the gradual change in attitudes can be considered in future work, while the current research does not focus on quantitation. I am not suggesting that underlying factors associated with language ideologies are not changeable either. As the first

study of its kind, however, it is not possible to discern the change. Future work can be done to pursue in this direction.

While the data help to understand language ideologies associated with overarching issues in respect of ELF users' attitudes, identities and agentive engagements with the existing power structure, it is important to bear in mind that more work needs to be done in the future to compare with the current research so as to establish the validity of the research findings across a longer timeframe and in a wider context. In addition, the data were mainly collected in a second-tier city in China. Although the economic development has increased and widened Chinese speakers' access to English, thoughts and ideas as to how English should be used and evaluated, as will be discussed in this monograph, are influenced by more factors than encounters with English in the Chinese context. For this reason, the data were used for analysis to shed light on language ideologies underpinning the legitimacy of ChELF.

4.5 Analytical procedure

The data analysis was not a linear process but involved an iterative process. Methodologist literature offers guidance to me through the process, which mainly included Barbour (2014), Dörnyei (2007), Drisko and Maschi (2015), Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004), Morse and Maddox (2014), and Schreier (2014). A primary principle of analysing MMR data is “the analytic integration of the two types of data (textual and numerical), collected for different purposes and contributing different types of knowledge to the project” (Morse and Maddox 2014: 524). Following this, the MMR data collected in the current study were analysed in two types of integration, that is, the integration of data collected with different instruments and the integration of quantitative and qualitative data. In addition, qualitative data analysis inevitably involves the process of data interpretation (Dörnyei 2007, Willig 2014). In order to make sense of the data properly, it is necessary to pay attention to not only the content that the participants expressed but also the way that the participants expressed their ideas. For this reason, I drew on the literature on content analysis and the literature on discourse analysis, though the former was the primary analytical tool and the latter was used to support my interpretation of the participants' expressions when necessary.

The questionnaire data, interview data and FG data were not only analysed separately and sequentially but also interpreted with reference to each other. Themes drawn from different data sets were refined many times, with trial coding, coding and re-coding being repeated a few times. While

questionnaire data were analysed with the focus on “manifest level” meaning, interview data were analysed with the focus on “latent level” meaning. The former was motivated by a need to obtain an objective and descriptive picture of respondents’ language experience and expectations in general on the basis of respondents’ reports of their use of English, their referencing frames, their opinions of their own English, and their evaluations of non-native-like English usages. The latter served as a useful tool to understand the factors that fed into their language practice, views, opinions and evaluations as well as the interaction between those factors. FG data were qualitative in nature, the analysis of which, however, was concentrated on the pattern and the dynamics of meaning negotiation among group members. FGs helped to find out what caused changes, what maintained or reinforced arguments, what led to agreements, and what triggered controversies around the ownership of English by Chinese speakers. Data triangulation was employed to make sure that the interpretation across different data sets was valid and the findings across different datasets were compatible with each other and explaining each other.

The data included both quantitative and qualitative components. Nonetheless, it is not possible to treat the two sets separately. The large quantity of questionnaire data entailed both responses to closed and open questions. In order to make most of the integration of the two components, what Dörnyei (2007: 269) described as “data transformation” was adopted in the current study. Both quantitising and qualitising techniques were used for the questionnaire analysis. With the quantitising technique, responses to open questions in questionnaires were numerically represented in frequency counts. By examining frequencies, I was able to understand the general picture of questionnaire respondents’ language practice and perceptions, to find out the in/consistency, conflicts and gaps in their reports of language practice, reflections and perceptions. With the qualitising technique, responses to both closed and open questions in the questionnaire were categorised to draw themes relevant to language choices, attitudes, perceptions and identities. The approach to interview and FG data mainly focuses on qualitative data analysis, in order to find out rationales underlying the surface-level picture of attitudes, beliefs and perceptions and to explore the possibility for the legitimacy of ChELF.

Qualitative research data were mainly analysed through the process of content analysis. According to Schreier (2014: 170), qualitative content analysis is “done by assigning successive parts of the material to the categories of a coding frame”. I used what Schreier (2014: 178) described as “a thematic criterion” for data segmentation and categorised the themes into a coding frame, which was developed, evaluated and modified a few times. Being core to qualitative content

analysis (Dörnyei 2007, Schreier 2014), a coding frame was established by following Schreier's (2014) guidance of coding to integrate concept-driven and data-driven categories. With a concept-driven way of categorising data, I predefined a few codes on the basis of previous research on ELF attitudes, language legitimacy, everyday knowledge and research questions. With a data-driven way, I added new categories to predefined categories in order to codify the data which could not be grouped into predefined categories. After the drafting of all categories, I reviewed the frame of coding to make sure that categories were mutually exclusive to each other and showed the relations with each other in a systematic way. To ensure the validity and consistency of coding, I followed Schreier's (2014: 179) advice that one coder should code the data and re-code the data "within approximately 10 to 14 days". Necessarily, the coding frames for different data sets were piloted and changes were made to apply to the main analysis based on which findings were drawn and discussed for the purpose of the monograph.

Data interpretation is at the heart of qualitative content analysis. While the content contributed by the participants through different research methods was the key subject of analysis, the way that the participants framed their ideas had a role to play in meaning making. The concept of discourse lends support to the examination of how a person expresses his/her ideas in relation to what s/he really thinks. While discourse is studied in different disciplines with different approaches, it is beyond the scope of the monograph to discuss discourse analysis. Nonetheless, I would like to borrow some basic ideas from the literature on discourse analysis to inform my approach to the data interpretation. First, discourse goes beyond language to entail all sorts of semiotic resources, which can include "gestures, eye gaze, fluctuations in voice – rhythm, intonation, rate of speech, and spates of silence" (Strauss and Feiz 2014: 2). Second, discourse analysis centrally addresses "*how language is used in certain contexts*" to make meaning, with contexts ranging "from a specific moment in a conversation to a specific historical period" (Rapley and Flick 2007: 2, original italics). Third, insider's perspective on discourse is highly valued among researchers on discourse despite different disciplinary approaches (e.g. Blommaert 2005, Fairclough 1989, 1992, Gee 2014). In this sense, the researcher benefits from the knowledge of the participants' language and the sociolinguistic context where the participants are situated in order to engage in the meaning-making process appropriately.

In short, the data analysis was a complicated process. This section only explains the procedure of MMR data analysis in general and how the data retrieved across different methods triangulate. Detailed analysis of the data retrieved through different methods is to be reported in later chapters respectively, with findings being discussed appropriately.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter presents the methodology, introduces the data and explains overall data analysis of the project, proceeding from three research questions revolving around the consideration of the legitimacy of ChELF from a perspective of language ideologies. Necessarily, while each method focuses on one research question, not only the methods help to triangulate the data but also the answers to three research questions are better understood with reference to one another. The data, together with the research findings, will be discussed in the next three chapters, contributing to a holistic understanding of language ideologies underpinning the issue of the legitimacy of ChELF.

5 Orienting to Chinese speakers' ELF

This monograph takes an interest in the spread of English as a global lingua franca and China as a locus of the permeating spread. While the role of English does not limit to a global lingua franca – for example, English is used as a native language in the UK and a second language in Singapore, the role of ELF is particularly relevant for Chinese speakers in general, who increasingly need a global language to engage in international communication. On the basis of the premise that ELF users use English in their own right and in their own terms (e.g. Jenkins 2009a, Seidlhofer 2004), Chinese speakers' use of ELF as part of the phenomenon of the globalisation of English is investigated in terms of its legitimacy from a language ideologies perspective. The questionnaire data provide some insights into language ideologies centring on the legitimacy of Chinese speakers' own use of ELF.

5.1 Questionnaires

Through the questionnaire screening process, uncompleted questionnaires were omitted. Questionnaires completed by irrelevant respondents were also omitted – irrelevant respondents were those who have answered “never” to all of the questions 5,6,8 and 9 on questionnaires (see Appendix A), to imply that they had no experience of English. As a result, the questionnaire data were contributed by 769 respondents (see Table 1).

Table 1: Demographic characteristics of questionnaire respondents.

	N (%)		N (%)
Age		Profession	
18–22	252 (32.8%)	Student	502 (65.3%)
23–29	408 (53.1%)	professional	267 (34.7%)
30–35	77 (10.0%)	Education	
36–40	23 (3.0%)	background	
41+	9 (1.2%)	undergraduate	404 (52.5%)
Gender		master	363 (47.2%)
Male	310 (40.3%)	Phd	2 (0.3%)
Female	459 (59.7%)	Total	769 (100%)

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501503702-005>

The questionnaire evokes four major categories, including 1) English experience, 2) linguistic orientation, 3) self-labelling, and 4) evaluation and justification. The four major categories are treated as discrete for the sake of analysis, with each including completely exclusive questions. This does not suggest that the responses to different questions do not overlap. For example, respondents' comments on Englishes with different labels are likely to reflect their orientations towards native-likeness or Chineseness.

The order of the questions, however, is not arranged to correspond the said categories. For instance, questions 5, 6, 8 and 9 are grouped to retrieve information about the respondents' experience of English, while questions 7 and 10 are to let the respondents rank Englishes relevant to their experiences. The questions are ordered to suit the respondents' convenience and make them feel a natural flow in responding to the questions. That is to say, the questions arranged together on the same issue are not necessarily adjacent to each other on the questionnaire.

In the rest of the chapter, I will first analyse the responses in each of the four categories and discuss main themes emerging across the categories in terms of the respondents' perspectives on English. For the ease of data presentation, I will use "Q" to indicate "question" in what follows.

5.1.1 English experience

The respondents generally reported having experiences of English through different activities, such as reading, listening, speaking and writing, at different frequencies. As Table 2 shows, more than 70% of the whole group of respondents reported "often" or "sometimes" engaging in reading or listening activities. More than 60% of the respondents reported "often" or "sometimes" speaking English, and 49.7% of the respondents "often" or "sometimes" wrote in English. That is, the majority of the respondents "often" or "sometimes" has access to various English-medium activities, engaging in reading and listening activities more often than speaking and writing activities. The implication is that Chinese speakers have more experience of processing and understanding others' English than that of producing English to communicate with others. Put differently, Chinese speakers have more access to one-way communication than two-way communications. This is not surprising, since reading and listening activities, for instance, books and movies, do not necessarily require readers and listeners' input in communications.

The use of English between Chinese speakers and non-L1 Chinese speakers of L2 English, which fits the definition of ELF, seemed to be overshadowed in

Table 2: Self-reported experience of English (Q5, Q6, Q8, Q9).

	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	Total
Reading English medium materials	196 (25.5%)	391 (50.8%)	172 (22.4%)	10 (1.3%)	769 (100%)
Listening to English medium materials	206 (26.8%)	362 (47.1%)	183 (23.8%)	18 (2.8%)	769 (100%)
Speaking English	117 (15.2%)	373 (48.5%)	271 (35.2%)	8 (1.0%)	769 (100%)
Writing in English	89 (11.6%)	293 (38.1%)	345 (44.9%)	42 (5.5%)	769 (100%)

the respondents' experience by the time of the questionnaire survey, while the English-medium encounters between Chinese speakers and NESs prevail. The questionnaires asked the respondents to rank the groups of interlocutors whom they encountered in the past. As demonstrated by the statistics in Table 3, the majority of the respondents were "very likely" (62.9%) or "likely" (25.0%) to encounter Chinese speakers of English in their experience of English-medium activities, accounting for 87.9% of the whole group of respondents. The number of respondents who were "very likely" (32.0%) or "likely" (53.4%) to encounter NESs in their experience of English-medium activities is close to the number of the respondents who encountered Chinese speakers of English. By contrast, only a small number of respondents were "very likely" (5.2%) or "likely" (14.3%) to encounter other speakers of English, who were neither Chinese speakers nor NESs.

Nonetheless, the respondents seemed to foresee some changes in the future with regard to their experience of English. The statistics (in Table 3) illuminate

Table 3: Past encounters with speakers of English (Q7) vs future encounters with speakers of English (Q10).

	Chinese speakers of English		Native English speakers		Other speakers of English	
	past	future	past	future	past	future
Very likely	484 (62.9%)	253 (32.9%)	246 (32.0%)	447 (58.1%)	40 (5.2%)	76 (9.9%)
Likely	192 (25.0%)	144 (18.7%)	411 (53.4%)	241 (31.3%)	110 (14.3%)	296 (38.5%)
Less likely	71 (9.2%)	274 (35.6%)	66 (8.6%)	24 (3.1%)	501 (65.1%)	256 (33.3%)
Unlikely	22 (2.9%)	98 (12.7%)	46 (6.0%)	57 (7.4%)	118 (15.3%)	141 (18.3%)
Total	769 (100%)	769 (100%)	769 (100%)	769 (100%)	769 (100%)	769 (100%)

the respondents' predication of their English-medium encounters in the future. Slightly over half of the respondents assumed that they would encounter English used by other Chinese speakers likely (18.7%) or very likely (32.9%) in the future; the majority of the respondents assumed that they would likely (31.1%) or very likely (58.1%) use English in encounters with NESs in the future; nearly half of the respondents assumed that they would likely (38.5%) or very likely (9.9%) use English in encounters with non-L1 Chinese speakers of L2 English in the future. The changes in three categories of speakers of English in the respondents' imagination reveal a drop in English practice between Chinese speakers, an increase in English practice between Chinese speakers and NNEs, and an increase of English practice between Chinese speakers and non-L1 Chinese speakers of L2 English.

The prediction of the future scenario seems to suggest that the respondents foresee an increasing role of English between Chinese speakers and non-L1 Chinese speakers of English, who are either L1 English speakers or L2 English speakers. That is, the respondents could foresee increasing use of English in international scenarios in the future. While the use of English in encounters with NESs continues to prevail in the respondents' imagined scenarios, the use of English in imagined encounters with non-Chinese speakers of L2 English particularly suggests that awareness among the respondents of the trend of English becoming international lingua franca that is employed by people who do not share first languages.

Moving to the respondents' motivations behind their use of English, I was not surprised to find that a major type of motivations was associated with the communicative function of English, while a minor type associated with the indexical function of English. What surprised me was a wide gap between the two types of motivations, which begs the question: do Chinese speakers see an issue of identity in the use of English. Apparently, this is a half-closed question, with some given options and one option for the respondents' own content. While I will look further with interviews, the point here is that the given options do not seem to have gained endorsement by the majority of the respondents.

As Table 4 shows, 79.7% of the respondents considered the choice of English as preconditioned by the need for information exchange and 84.8% of the respondents considered the choice of English as preconditioned by the need to respect communication partners' choice of code. While respondents tend to focus on the role of English as a medium of communication, some responses to the question "for what reason would you choose to use English" converged on the view of English as an indicator of superiority- that is, English is a symbol of fashion, an indicator of education, and a way of differentiating one from ordinary Chinese people. In particular, the view of English as an indicator of education

seems to have attracted a group of believers, who accounted for 22.9% of the respondents – a number that cannot be simply overlooked.

Table 4: Motivations behind the use of English (Q12).

Information exchange	613 (79.7%)
Indicator of fashion	54 (7.0%)
Indicator of education	176 (22.9%)
A way of differentiating yourself from ordinary Chinese people	17 (2.2%)
Following the interlocutor's choice	652 (84.8%)
Other	134 (17.4%)

A linkage between English and education is a recurrent theme emerging in the entire data across different methods. The role of education in language ideology has been widely accepted (e.g. Shohamy 2006, Lippi-Green 1994a). The statistics offer evidence to the linkage between English and education in the Chinese context. That is, English is a compulsory subject in schools and universities as well as a popular subject in various training centres. The statistics provide evidence to the multiplicity of language ideologies in the Chinese context where all the respondents are situated.

Two open questions (Q13, Q14) elicited responses on perceived functions and roles of English for Chinese people at present and in the future respectively. Given the quantity of the responses, I analysed the data by using Nvivo 12 software. I started with the first 100 cases, which are randomly selected, and adopted a data-driven approach to investigate themes emerging in the responses provided by the given cases. Those cases were found to offer relevant, irrelevant or partially relevant information with regard to the function and the role of English for Chinese speakers. Irrelevant information did not give a clue to the function or the role of English. For example, one respondent commented that “it [i.e. English] is not useful for every Chinese”; another respondent noted that “it [i.e. the function of English] depends on the state policy”. Consequently, irrelevant information was excluded from further analysis. By contrast, relevant and partially relevant cases were categorised into four umbrella codes and then a few sub-codes. Partially relevant cases did not necessarily address the question of the function and the role of English for Chinese speakers but offered complementary insights into the respondents' views of the function of English in China. While the umbrella code labelled as “function of English” was predefined, other umbrella codes were drawn on the themes of the selected data, which included “target community” with which

Chinese speakers use English to align, “Chinese vs English” in considering the function of English, and “the popularity of English in China” as to the context where the function of English was considered (see Table 5). The analysis of the first 100 cases helped to decide keywords associated with the coded data. For example, “communication” was associated with keywords such as 交流 ‘communicate’, 交际 ‘socialise’, 沟通 ‘exchange views’, 表达 ‘express’ and 语言工具 ‘tool of language’. I was able to use the “query” function in Nvivo 12 to search keywords across the whole data set consisted of 769 cases and code relevant cases among them. Each case identified through the ‘query’ process was re-examined to make sure that irrelevant cases were excluded and only relevant cases were kept for coding. For example, in searching “the function of English”, the “query” function of the Nvivo 12 returned a list of cases which provided the data including the keyword “internationalisation”. The re-examination, however, reveals one case that indicates a hope that Chinese can become more important in the future to promote internationalization in China. This case was thus excluded from the data revealing the function of English in internationalization.

Table 5 presents primary codes and sub-codes out of the data reacting to the questions of the function and the role of English for Chinese speakers. The respondents listed the use of English for communication, jobs/education, going abroad, national development, internationalization, entertainment, Chinese culture going-out,³ and personal development. Some responses refer to the communities with which Chinese speakers use English to engage as 国外 ‘abroad’, 全球 ‘global’, 中国人 ‘Chinese’, 西方 ‘the West’, and 英美 ‘British and American’. A small number of respondents indicates a belief that English is necessary in China and a small part of data point to a belief that Chinese is more important than English in the future.

The two sets of statistics show some perceived or imagined changes in the function and role of English for the respondents. The use of English for the purposes of communication, jobs/education, going abroad, internationalization and entertainment is imagined to be declining among the respondents. The use of English with communities abroad, the West, as well as British and American communities, is also imagined to be declining. By contrast, the use of English for the purpose of national development is increasing; the use of English to engage in global communities is also assumed to be increasing. Strikingly, while

³ Chinese culture going-out is a term widely used in China to refer to the initiatives of promoting Chinese culture at international level.

Table 5: Function of English at present (Q13) vs function of English in the future (Q14).

Codes	Sub-codes	Function of English at present (Q13)	Function of English in the future (Q14)
Function of English	communication	609	517
	Job/education	304	143
	Going abroad	65	42
	National development	65	138
	internationalisation	37	30
	entertainment	24	9
	Chinese culture going-out	14	41
	Personal development	9	11
Target community	Abroad	280	190
	Global	205	261
	China	61	62
	The West	23	16
	British and American	6	2
English vs Chinese	English as necessary	21	25
	Chinese as more important	0	36
The popularity of English in China		4	39

no respondent considers Chinese as more important than English at present, 36 respondents explicitly imagine that Chinese would become more important than English in the future.

The statistics illuminate imagined changes in the function of English and the factor of Chinese in the future. On the one hand, the use of English is imagined to become more visible in national development, Chinese culture going-out and the engagement in global communities in the future. On the other hand, Chinese is imagined to become more important as a global language in the future. While the function and role of English as a global language continue to be perceived as prominent in the future, the data appear to highlight a sense of patriotism underpinning a concern for national, cultural and language development.

To sum up, the questionnaire respondents appeared to have expected some changes in English between the present and the future. The first change is the increasing use of ELF. The respondents' report of their experience by the time of the questionnaire survey reveals a focused use of English with Chinese speakers of English and NESs respectively. By contrast, the questionnaire

respondents' imagination of their experience in the future appears to show increasing use of ELF. This is shown in an imagined change that non-Chinese speakers become the dominant group of interlocutors with whom Chinese speakers use English and that the English-medium encounters with interlocutors who are neither Chinese speakers nor NESs are increasing. The second change is the role of ELF in the formation of communities. The respondents tend to see the role of ELF for China's development, Chinese culture promotion and Chinese speakers' identities. The respondents tend to demarcate between inside and outside China in considering the function and role of English at present, while they tend to see English as useful for aligning with "global" communities in the future. Simultaneously, a smaller number of respondents tend to see the use of English as a tool to align with "the West", "British and American" and "abroad" communities in the future. The third change lies in the status of Chinese in relation to English. While English is perceived as an important language in the context of globalisation, the respondents are expecting Chinese to rise as another global language parallel with English in the future.

5.1.2 Linguistic orientation

Linguistic forms and language users are central issues in language ideologies revolving around legitimacy. Namely, what are legitimate forms in a community? Whose language forms are represented as the legitimate language in a community? In terms of English-related language ideologies, English is often represented as NESs' English and tied to NES nations, despite the fact that English is transcending beyond the national boundaries around native Englishes to be used as a lingua franca at the international scale. On the other side of the same coin, variations from StE forms are often biased. ELF researchers have examined the phenomenon of ELF users' non-native-like use of English in terms of patterns, natures, and functions of ELF, to draw a conclusion that ELF is different from but not inferior to EFL and/or ENL (e.g. Cogo and Dewey 2012, Jenkins 2000, Mauranen 2012). ELF scholars have also theorised the phenomenon of ELF to problematise the taken-for-granted connection between English and NESs and call for the ownership of English by all users of English. The discussion of the legitimacy of ELF thus makes visible the tension between traditional orientation towards NESs and native Englishes on the one hand and ELF-informed orientation towards ELF users and ELF users' own way of using English on the other hand.

It is interesting to know how the respondents make a choice between the two orientations in tension, as their linguistic orientations are manifestations of their attitudes and identities, which have impacts on the development of the legitimacy of ChELF. Three questions (i.e. Q11, Q18, and Q22) were particularly designed to retain a statistical insight into the respondents' linguistic orientations. Q11 was designed to see if the respondents tend to orient themselves towards NESs or Chinese speakers by means of using English. Q18 was designed to see if the respondents prefer native Englishes or their own English. Q22 went further to see if the respondents aspire the legitimacy of Chinese speakers' own English, given the existing power structure that promotes the authority of NESs and native Englishes.

Q11 asked the respondents whether they would like to achieve the effect that their English could make them misrecognised as NESs or the effect that their English could make them easily recognised as Chinese speakers. 88.2% of the respondents indicated their option for native-like English competence, while 10.4% of the respondents indicated a willingness to align with Chinese speaker group identity (see Table 6). Another 1.4% of the respondents chose to be neutral by noting down that they did "not mind" instead of ticking one of the given options. The statistics show an overwhelming orientation towards NESs. A minority aligned with Chinese speakers and an even smaller group indicated a neutral stance. The co-existence of different orientations reflects the multiplicity of language ideologies that has been discussed in language ideology scholarship (see Chapter 3, e.g. Woolard and Schieffelin 1994, Gal 1998, Kroskrity 2004), suggesting a weak force supporting Chinese speakers' own ELF.

Table 6: Native-likeness or Chineseness (Q11).

Chineseness	80 (10.4%)
Native-likeness	678 (88.2%)
'I don't mind'	11 (1.4%)
Total	769 (100%)

Q18 asked the respondents to select their preferred Englishes among a few given options in three groups, namely, native-speaker Englishes (which include British English, American English, Australian English and Canadian English), Chineseness-embedded English (which include China English and Chinglish), and other Englishes (that is, Englishes which applied to neither of the previous two groups). As seen in Table 7, native-speaker Englishes enjoy

great popularity among the respondents, while only 4.8% indicated an alliance with Chineseness-embedded English. Some respondents added a few “other” Englishes, for instance, “African English” and “French English”, to the list of options, which tended to align with one of the said three categories and therefore were integrated into the appropriate categories. A number of respondents (19.0%) noted their comments as “I don’t mind”, which were categorised as an additional group. Notably, while respondents were allowed to choose multiple items among listed Englishes, the statistics do not show any overlap across the four categories, suggesting a clear demarcation in preferences between native-speaker Englishes and Chineseness-embedded Englishes.

Table 7: Preferred Englishes (Q18).

	You hope you can speak...
China English/Chinglish	37 (4.8%)
Native-like English	582 (75.7%)
Other Englishes	4 (0.5%)
I don't mind'	146 (19.0%)
Total	769 (100%)

Comparing the statistics of the responses to Q11 and Q18, I can see a consistent majority preference for native-speaker competence and NESs’ English in contrast with a minority voice for English associated with Chinese speakers’ group identity. Interestingly, however, while 88.2% of the respondents desire native-speaker competence, only 75.7% of the respondents indicated their preferences for native-speaker Englishes. This seems to suggest that some respondents might not match native-speaker competence with NESs. Similarly, while 10.4% of the respondents desire to attain Chinese speaker group identity, only 4.8% of the respondents are willing to speak China English or Chinglish. That is to say, some respondents might not match Chinese speaker group identity with China English or Chinglish either. The un-matching might suggest that some respondents do not make the indexical connections between English forms and speakers. This interpretation is supported by the instrumentalist orientation towards English widely observed in China (see Chapter 1).

Q22 draws the respondents’ attention to the endonormativity of Chinese speakers’ use of English and asks them to decide whether they hope to see a scenario of Chinese speakers’ own norms of English. 63.9% of the respondents were positive towards the scenario, while 35.6% were negative. The emotions

Table 8: A scenario for Chinese speakers' own norms of English (Q22).

		Cumulative Number (Percent)	
		Positive responses	Negative responses
I strongly anticipate.	211 (27.4%)	211 (27.4%)	
I anticipate.	205 (26.7%)	416 (54.1%)	
I slightly anticipate.	75 (9.8%)	491 (63.9%)	
I don't strongly anticipate.	58 (7.5%)		58 (7.5%)
I don't anticipate.	169 (22.0%)		227 (29.5%)
I don't anticipate at all.	47 (6.1%)		274 (35.6%)
I don't mind.	4 (0.5%)		
Total	769 (100%)		

associated with the responses divide between very positive respondents (27.4%) and very negative ones (6.1%).

The overwhelming positivity towards the endonormativity (see Table 8) seems to conflict with the prevailing preferences for exonormative Englishes (see Table 7). While this is yet to be investigated further with more in-depth data through interviews and FGs, a tentative analysis can be made by comparing the two stances. Common ground might lie in the issue of normativity, whereas the difference lies in the source of norms, that is, who provides norms. In the current situation, NESs are default norm providers to Chinese speakers. As described in Kachru's (1992) model of the spread of English, NESs are norm providers, while speakers who are from Expanding Circle countries, which include China, are norm followers. Where the global spread of English has transformed the world into an ELF-relevant context, the role of NESs as norm providers has continued to be operating in the context of China. This is evident in English language teaching practice, which often follows NESs' norms, as observed by Wen (2012). More evidently, various English language assessments in China adopt NES norms without exception. In this sense, where NESs provide norms to Chinese speakers of English in the current situation, the respondents "naturally"⁴ posit Chinese speakers as default norm followers in the current situation. By contrast, the scenario of endonormativity posits Chinese speakers as norm providers, which appears to have excited many respondents. The excitement, to some extent, can be interpreted as a

⁴ I use quotation marks here to imply that this is the outcome of the ideological process of naturalisation of NES norms in China. See chapter 3 for the discussion of language ideology process.

kind of willingness to conform to norms but simultaneously a kind of willingness to negotiate the ownership of English. It is possible to say that the respondents show a willingness to negotiate new power relations between Chinese speakers and NES through their attitudes towards Chinese speakers as new providers of norms.

5.1.3 Self-labelling

A useful theory in social studies on deviance is known as labelling theory (Becker 1963). While the labelling theory is admittedly complicated and involves various and debatable approaches (e.g. Lemert 1967, Schur 1971, Gibbs 1972, Warren and Johnson 1972, Rotenberg 1975), an overarching interest in studies drawing on the labelling theory lies in the connection between self-labelling and deviances with the focus on the role of social actors in the process of making deviances deviances. For example, Whitson et al.'s (2017) study shows that “individuals who self-labelled with a stigmatising group label” tend to identify with their group and “reduce the label’s perceived negativity”. In their view, social actors’ self-labelling offers and receives benefits to and from their group identification to enhance their acceptance of stigmatised behaviours that are socially tied to them as a social group. Put differently, when members of a group imposed with a stigmatised label treat the label as a way of categorising them, they have re-appropriated the label to make the stigma reduced. While a considerable body of research drawing on labelling theory is available for reference (e.g. Miriam and Erchull 2010, Galinsky et al. 2013, Wang et al. 2017), the discussion of the relationship between stigma, deviance and group identity can be readily borrowed to explore Chinese speakers’ linguistic outcomes which are “deviances” from NES norms, which has traditionally served as default references in China. Chinese speakers’ linguistic outcomes are often labelled as “Chinglish”, “Chinese English” or “China English” in a negative sense. While some researchers (e.g. Xu 2017, Hu 2004, 2005) have reconsidered the labels and connected the labels with justifiable sociolinguistic phenomena (see Chapter 2 for the discussion of English in China), the legitimacy of Chinese speakers’ own English – as discussed in Chapter 2- resides in how Chinese speakers of English perceive their own linguistic outcomes themselves and how they label those outcomes. In this sense, the questionnaire includes a few questions in this respect to elicit data as to how the respondents make sense of different labels given to describe their linguistic behaviours and how they would label their linguistic behaviours either individually or collectively.

Admittedly, an interest in labelling and self-labelling in the study of linguistic “deviance” has a long tradition. In folk linguistics (e.g. Preston 1989), people are asked to draw a “dialect map” of the USA and label different “dialect zones” on the map (Garrett 2010: 180, Coupland and Bishop 2001: 75). The labelling offers an opportunity to reveal a pure language ideology, as a dialect zone which is often multilingual is often represented as a monolingual zone with a given label (Preston 1989). Inspired by folk linguistics, Jenkins (2007) adapted the “dialect map” task to an accent map task and asked her research participants to label different accent zones in the world. Her research acknowledges the value of labelling in the field of ELF and Global Englishes. The role of labelling and self-labelling in investigating language users' attitudes towards socially biased language usages is also valued in World Englishes, for example, Kachru's (1986) research on Indian English. In his investigation of Indian users' attitudes towards Indian English, he found 55.64% of his research participants labelled their own English as “Indian English”, based on which he commented that such a high percentage (55.64%) implied the change in Indian users' attitudes towards their own English and a move forward to Indian English as an endonormative model. As he notes,

It is generally believed that only a generation ago the gap between linguistic behaviour and perceived norm, was much wider. At that time, one would have hesitated to label one's own English “Indian,” but by 1976 the picture was different, and it is still changing. (Kachru 1986: 23)

Hu's (2004, 2005) research proceeds from existing labels known to be relevant to Chinese speakers of English and investigate Chinese university students' views on the labels. In her research, Chinese university students are studied in terms of their familiarity with the terms “China English”, “Chinese English” and “Chinglish”. She makes a distinction between Chinese learner English and Chinese variety of English and investigates Chinese university students' awareness of the difference and their awareness of China variety of English as an alternative to native Englishes. The comparative findings from two studies (i.e. Hu 2004, 2005) reveal that an increased familiarity of the terms and the differences between the terms, providing an insight into Chinese university students' expectation to have a variety of English featuring Chinese speakers' culture and identity.

In light of the implications of self-labelling for the understanding “deviancies” in language use, I included self-labelling tasks in the questionnaire. Those tasks started with Q15 and Q16, both of which helped to understand the respondents' encounters with the labels. Necessarily, the labels are neither used uniformly among academics nor Chinese folks. Chapter 2 has discussed the terminological inconsistencies among researchers on English in China – even Chinese scholars do not have consistent usages of the terms. Hu's (2004, 2005) research reflects

that Chinese university students have varied views on the terms. Therefore it is helpful to look into how the respondents make sense of the labels. Q17 followed up as an open question to ask the respondents jot down free thoughts about the terms “Chinglish” and/or “China English”. After Q15, Q16 and Q17, which made the respondents reflect on the labels relevant to Chinese speakers’ English, the respondents were asked to self-label their (i.e. the respondents’) own English in Q19 and label the English used by Chinese speakers in general in Q20. Finally, the respondents were asked to jot down free thoughts in Q21 about English used by Chinese speakers. Q17 and Q21 complement each other, with Q17 focused on an abstract level and Q21 on the phenomena that Chinese speakers use English. The examination of the responses to Q17 and Q21 respectively will focus on not only the content of the responses but also the coherence in their discourses.

Table 9 shows the statistics of responses to the labels. While 546 respondents report having heard of “Chinglish”, 543 respondents report having heard of “China English”. Nearly half of the number of the respondents report having heard of both labels of “Chinglish” and “China English” (N=362), while only a small number (=42) of respondents neither heard of “Chinglish” nor “China English”. This adds to Hu’s (2004, 2005) findings to reflect the popularity of the terms in the discourse available in China about English relevant to Chinese speakers.

Table 9: Encounter of labels of English used by Chinese speakers (Q15, Q16).

		China English		Total
		Yes	No	
Chinglish	Yes	362	184	546
	No	181	42	223
Total		543	226	769

The given options are categorised into three groups, namely, native-like English (which include British English, American English, Australian English and Canadian English), Chinese influenced English (which include China English and Chinglish), and other Englishes (that is, Englishes which cannot be categorised as the previous two groups). Some respondents offered their own options of Englishes, which were not predefined in the questionnaire. The added options tended to align with one of the said three categories, for instance, some responses appeared to be “Indian English” and “African English”. Still a few respondents noted their comments as “hard to say”. The responses being categorised are presented in Table 10.

Table 10: Self-labelling English (Q19, Q20).

Labels	You think your English can be labelled as ...	You think Chinese speakers' use of English can be labelled as...
Chinese-influenced English	501 (65.1%)	522 (67.9%)
Native-like English	114 (14.8%)	126 (16.4%)
Other Englishes	14 (1.9%)	3 (0.4%)
Hard to say'	140 (18.2%)	118 (15.3%)
Total	769 (100%)	769 (100%)

Despite the predominance of British English and American English in China, Chinese speakers' linguistic practice does not align with native-like English. This has been observed by Chinese educators of English and practitioners of English teaching as well as some researchers who seek to help Chinese learners of English to achieve native-like competence. While a small number of respondents (16.4%) did not recognise the discrepancy but perceive overall Chinese speakers' use of English as native-like English, the majority of the respondents appeared to have acknowledged the discrepancy. While 65.1% of the respondents linked their own English with Chinese-influenced English, an even greater number of respondents (67.9%) perceived a link between Chinese speakers in general and Chinese-influenced English. The general picture thus highlighted a linkage between Chinese speakers' linguistic behaviours, either individually or collectively, and Chinese-influenced English. True, it is yet to find out whether the respondents are positive or negative towards the linkage.

Nevertheless, self-labelling reflects the linguistic phenomenon and sheds light on the process of legitimacy development. Kachru (1992) has pointed out three phases that a World English variety goes through to establish acceptance. In the first phase, NNEsSs crave for native-likeness; in the second phase, NNEsSs recognise their linguistic outcomes as different from native-like English and feel humiliated about the non-native-like-ness; in the third phase, NNEsSs accept non-native-like-ness in their use of English, with their own norms established as an alternative to NES norms (Kachru 1992). Kachru's (1992) model of the development of NNEsSs' attitudes towards their own English offers implications to the interpretation of Chinese speakers' self-labelling of their English. That is, Chinese speakers' recognition of their English as different from native-like English should be understood in a dynamic process of attitude development. In this sense, the majority of the respondents appeared to have been moving towards acceptance, in comparing with the small number of respondents who are either unaware of or reluctant to recognise Chinese speakers' English phenomenon in China.

The open question Q17 elicited responses to the labels of “Chinglish” and “China English”. As the labels have triggered a good amount of thoughts and ideas, it is not surprising that some data offer interesting insights into the respondents’ sense of English in relation to Chinese speakers’ language practice, while other data appeared to provide peripheral information in this regard. For instance, a few respondents commented on the uneven need for English among Chinese people, the emphasis on written English and the neglect of spoken English in English education, and the criticism that many Chinese people invested little time in Chinese learning. Many respondents merely translated the terms “Chinglish” and “China English” into Chinese by noting down 中式英语 ‘Chinglish/Chinese English’ and/or 中国英语 ‘China English’ without making any further comments. In the process of preparing data for analysis, the data providing peripheral or ineffective information were not selected for further analysis through the Nvivo 12 software.

With the assistance of the Nvivo 12 software, I started by examining 100 randomly selected cases to identify frequently occurring Chinese phrases, which included 中国特色 ‘Chinese characteristics’, 中式思维 ‘Chinese way of thinking’, 影响 ‘influence’, 学习 ‘learning’, 标准 ‘standard’, 生硬 ‘not flexible; not suitable’, 本土 ‘local’, to name a few. A few phrases, though not frequently occurring, caught my attention due to their indication of attitudes and emotions, for instance, 蹩脚 ‘awkward’, 无奈 ‘improvised’, 糟糕 ‘broken; bad’, 讽刺 ‘irony’, and 羞愧 ‘shame’. With the tool of “text search” in Nvivo 12, I searched the identified words, their synonyms, and associations in the whole set of data in response to Q17. For instance, the “text search” was run to search in the 769 responses to Q17 for the phrase 标准 ‘standard’ and its associates such as 规范 ‘normative’, 正确 ‘correct’, 准确 ‘accurate’, 正规 ‘conforming to norms’, 错误 ‘mistake’, 缺陷 ‘deficiency’, and 差距 ‘gap’. The search results were subsequently examined one after another manually to make sure that convergent cases were categorised under the same code, while divergent cases were under different codes. The data processing thus led to a few primary codes on which the responses to Q17 appear to highlight. The primary codes generated through the “text search” tool were found to cluster in four groups and reveal four focuses in response to Q17. Table 11 presents the clusters, codes and number of cases contributing to the codes.

The labels of “Chinglish” and “China English” evoked responses associated with different codes, among which correctness is the most highlighted code and authenticity the second most in the responses to Q17. 15 out of 769 respondents, accounting for 2.0% of the respondents, explicitly referred to “native English” in their description of what the labels reminded them of. 20 out of 769 respondents were triggered to comment on the style of English, with the focus on fluency and/

Table 11: Sense-making of the labels of “Chinglish” and “China English” (Q17).

Cluster	Code	Number of Cases (among 769 cases in total)
Referring to established norms		249 (32.4%)
	Correctness	117 (15.2%)
	Authenticity	140 (18.2%)
	Native speaker as the reference	15 (2.0%)
	Fluency and naturalness	20 (3.0%)
Linking with Chinese influences		202 (26.3%)
	Chinese characteristics	55 (7.0%)
	Chinese culture	34 (4.4%)
	Chinese language	28 (3.6%)
	Chinese thinking	12 (1.6%)
Synonyms to...		114(15%)
	Chinese learners' linguistic outcome	52 (6.8%)
	Bad English	32 (4.2%)
	Stigmatised English	30 (4.0%)
Justification		33 (4.3%)
	Chinese creativity	26 (3.4%)
	Diversity	7 (0.9%)

or naturalness. Although different codes can be applicable to the same codes, the labels evoked the largest cluster of responses drawn upon references to established norms (32.4%). A second largest cluster of responses generally showed linkage to Chinese influences, which are visible in 26.3% of cases. Specifically, 7.0% of the respondents conceived of 中国特色 ‘Chinese characteristics’ as a key feature of English which could be labelled as “Chinglish” or “China English”. Other respondents conceived of English which could be labelled as “Chinglish” or “China English” as influenced by Chinese culture (4.4%), Chinese language (3.6%) and Chinese thinking (1.6%). A small group of responses revealed a dislike of English being labelled as “Chinglish” or “China English” by explicitly describing the two labels as indicators of Chinese learners’ linguistic outcome (6.8%), bad English (4.2%) and stigmatised English (4.0%). Their views appeared to be extreme in comparison with those who were implying what English should be like and those who were trying to be descriptive on linguistic forms associated

with the labels. On the contrary, an even smaller group of respondents gave a different voice that the labels reminded them of Chinese speakers' creativity, accounting for only 3.4% of the respondents. Together with them, 7 out of 769 respondents attended to the issue of linguistic diversity in response to the two labels.

Q21 invites the respondents to comment on English used by Chinese speakers in general, probing into the respondents' ideas of Chinese speakers' use of English. By examining 100 randomly selected cases, I identified phrases that the respondents used to respond to Q21. To make the data controllable, I focused on the information associated with the use of English by Chinese speakers but treated some information as peripheral in the exploration into the respondents' ideas of Chinese speakers' use of English. For instance, some respondents indicated their pride in Chinese and emphasised the importance of English in career development. After the data-driven approach, I used the "text search" tool in Nvivo 12 to retrieve the cases in the whole data set that included identifiable phrases and associated phrases. I then manually examined each of the retrieved cases to ensure appropriate codes were given appropriate cases. Such an approach to the data elicits only explicit language perceptions, while implicit language perceptions are to be discussed in interviews and FGs.

Table 12 presents the codes and number of cases contributing to the codes. Correctness, authenticity, and fluency and naturalness appeared to be the three most popular elements that fed into the respondents' comments on Chinese speakers' linguistic behaviour, explicitly referred to by 28.3%, 21.5% and 14.8%

Table 12: Ideas of Chinese speakers' English (Q21).

Code	Number of cases
Correctness	218 (28.3%)
Authenticity	165 (21.5%)
Fluency and naturalness	114 (14.8%)
Native speaker	88 (11.4%)
Communicative effects	87(11.3%)
Proficiency	79 (10.3%)
Bad English	58 (7.5%)
English learning	53(6.9%)
Chinese influences	21(2.7%)
Creativity	1 (0.00%)
Diversity	1 (0.00%)

of the respondents respectively in their written responses. In addition, 11.4% of the respondents explicitly referred to “native speaker” in their consideration of Chinese speakers' linguistic behaviour. While the first three codes are all descriptors of linguistic forms, the fourth immediately relates to the reference provider. 11.3% of the respondents made comments on communicative effects of Chinese speakers' linguistic behaviours, either positive or negative. 10.3% of the respondents made comments on Chinese speakers' linguistic proficiency in general. Notably, 7.5% of the respondents explicitly referred to Chinese speakers' English in a negative manner. 6.9% of the respondents were triggered to make comments on Chinese learners' process. In comparison with responses to Q17, only 2.7% of the respondents referred to Chinese influences in commenting on Chinese speakers' use of English. Surprisingly, only one respondent explicitly gave a mention of creativity in Chinese speakers' use of English, as the result of “text search” showed. Another respondent explicitly indicated the support for linguistic diversity. The general picture thus points to an exonormative orientation and a prescriptive perspective in terms of English in relation to Chinese speakers.

5.1.4 Evaluation and justification

Language users' evaluation of language forms is a crucial manifestation of language ideologies. Silverstein (1979) explicitly regards language users' evaluation of linguistic forms together with their justification of the evaluation as a defining feature of language ideology. Niedzielski and Preston (2003) emphasise the value of nonlinguists' evaluation of language varieties in metalinguistics and in understanding language change. In their work, non-linguists' evaluation creates an opportunity to reveal their awareness of diversity and sense of linguistic difference. In addition, many other researchers have focused on language users' evaluation of language forms to uncover various language ideologies and attitudes in their works (e.g. Coupland and Bishop 2007, Lippi-Green 2012, Garrett 2010, Seargeant 2009, Wassink and Dyer 2004). A point shared in exemplified studies that is relevant to the current study is language users' interpretation of linguistic differences as to whether they view the differences as innovations or errors. Another point is that non-linguists' evaluation creates an opportunity for revealing what references they draw to make evaluations and how they make sense of linguistic diversity- for instance, why some forms are more “pleasant” than others, as shown in Coupland and Bishop (2007).

The questionnaire includes a few evaluation tasks with the purpose to make visible the respondents' ideas of language behaviours and forms. Q23 asked the

respondents to evaluate the importance of a few features of spoken English on six-point scales from “very important” to “very unimportant” by reacting to a few statements on the variables (see Table 13). The features are simply defined to include fluency, accuracy, expressiveness, idiomaticness, native-likeness, NESs’ value, and Chinese value.

The statistics (in Table 13) show the strongest emphasis on “expressiveness” of spoken English. Except that 0.9% of the respondents considered it as “a little unimportant”, all other respondents attach importance to it to a different extent. Figure 1 shows general orientations towards different features of spoken English. An overwhelming majority of the respondents agree that “expressiveness” is “very important” in evaluating one’s spoken English. Next to “expressiveness”, the statistics reveal “fluency” as the second most important variable of spoken English, with 95.6% of the respondents attaching importance to “fluency” to a different extent including 54.0% of the respondents considering “fluency” as “very important”. Slightly fewer respondents, but still in the majority, attached importance to “accuracy”, “idiomaticness” and “native-likeness” to a different extent. Notably, a rather good number of respondents are positive towards the integration of Chinese value in the use of English, accounting for more than 40% of the whole group.

Q24 asked the respondents to evaluate Chinese teachers of English who taught them in universities in terms of a few variables such as pleasantness, intelligibility, native-likeness, and preference by reacting to a few statements on the variables along a six-point continuum from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree” (see Table 14).

The statistics (in Table 14) demonstrate slightly more preference for Chinese teachers of English than NES teachers. While 52.5% of the respondents indicated their preferences for Chinese teachers of English, another 47.5% of the respondents indicated the opposite. The majority of the respondents were positive towards Chinese teachers of English in terms of pleasantness and intelligibility. Statistically, 86.6% of the respondents agreed that their Chinese teachers’ English sounded pleasant and 85.3% of the respondents agreed that their Chinese teachers’ English sounded intelligible, while 59.4% of the respondents agreed that their Chinese teachers’ English sounded native-like. A small gap emerges between the number who were positive towards Chinese teachers’ English and the number of respondents who considered their Chinese teachers’ English as native-like. That is to say, a group of respondents did not make a link between native-likeness and pleasantness/intelligibility, while another group continues to associate “native-likeness” exclusively with pleasantness and intelligibility.

Q25 asks the respondents to evaluate a few instances of English usages which are not conventionally “correct” along a six-point scale from “completely accept-

Table 13: Evaluation of spoken English (Q23).

Statement (Aspects)	Very important	Important	A little important	A little unimportant	Unimportant	Very unimportant
Speaking fluently. (Fluency)	415 (54.0%)	245 (31.9%)	76 (9.9%)	26 (3.4%)	2 (0.3%)	5 (0.7%)
Using accurate grammar. (Accuracy)	80 (10.4%)	166 (21.6%)	237 (30.8%)	183 (23.8%)	60 (7.8%)	43 (5.6%)
Expressing ideas clearly. (Expressiveness)	577 (75.0%)	162 (21.1%)	23 (3.0%)	7 (0.9%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Speaking idiomatically. (Idiomatcness)	131 (17.0%)	225 (29.3%)	215 (28.0%)	136 (17.7%)	42 (5.5%)	20 (2.6%)
Native-like accent. (Native-likeness)	111 (14.4%)	180 (23.4%)	199 (25.9%)	170 (22.1%)	63 (8.2%)	46 (6.0%)
Reflecting native English speakers' way of thinking. (NESS' value)	194 (25.2%)	217 (28.2%)	174 (22.6%)	114 (14.8%)	43 (5.6%)	27 (3.5%)
Reflecting Chinese way of thinking. (Chinese value)	59 (7.7%)	116 (15.1%)	140 (18.2%)	192 (25.0%)	146 (19.0%)	116 (15.1%)

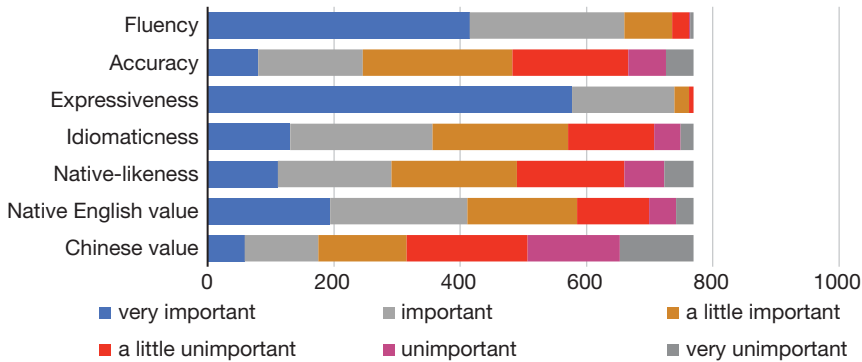


Figure 1: Evaluation of spoken English.

Table 14: Statements about your Chinese teacher of English in the university (Q24).

	S/he speaks/ spoke pleasant English. (pleasantness)	S/he speaks/ spoke intelligible English. (intelligibility)	S/he speaks/ spoke native- like English. (native- likeness)	You prefer Chinese teachers of English than native English teachers. (preference)
Strongly agree	176 (22.9%)	279 (36.3%)	40 (5.2%)	122 (15.9%)
Agree	336 (43.7%)	371 (48.2%)	149 (19.4%)	159 (20.7%)
Mildly agree	154 (20.0%)	84 (10.9%)	267 (34.7%)	122 (15.9%)
Mildly disagree	68 (8.8%)	20 (2.6%)	181 (23.5%)	137 (17.8%)
Disagree	23 (3.0%)	9 (1.2%)	104 (13.5%)	143 (18.6%)
Strongly disagree	12 (1.6%)	6 (0.8%)	28 (3.6%)	86 (11.2%)
Total	769 (100%)	769 (100%)	769 (100%)	769 (100%)

able” to “completely unacceptable” (see Table 15). Q26 follows up with Q25, inviting the respondents to jot down free thoughts about the task specified in Q25.

The respondents showed different degrees of acceptance towards different “deviances” in general. The statistics presented in Figure 2 are revealing. Overall, there are more cases of “deviances” attracting positive attitudes than those being negatively evaluated. The first three cases are not “grammatically correct” and “violate” NES norms, but showing a kind of word-for-word translation from Chinese idioms to affect the transparency of the meaning. In contrast, other cases of “deviances” still resemble native-like English to some extent with their meanings seemingly being transparent. The general statistics seem to show a

Table 15: Acceptability of English usages (Q25).

Instances	Completely acceptable	Acceptable	Slightly acceptable	Slightly unacceptable	Unacceptable	Completely unacceptable
Good good study, day day up.	155 (20.2%)	230 (29.9%)	133 (17.3%)	74 (9.6%)	81 (10.5%)	96 (12.5%)
People mountain, people sea.	75 (9.8%)	127 (16.5%)	148 (19.2%)	160 (20.8%)	127 (16.5%)	132 (17.2%)
I will give you some colour to see see.	78 (10.1%)	101 (13.1%)	132 (17.2%)	160 (20.8%)	144 (18.7%)	154 (20.0%)
She go to school every day.	87 (11.3%)	177 (23.0%)	173 (22.5%)	119 (15.5%)	116 (15.1%)	97 (12.6%)
Your daughter will attend Beijing University next year, isn't it?	81 (10.5%)	179 (23.3%)	182 (23.7%)	128 (16.6%)	99 (12.9%)	100 (13.0%)
Informations	82 (10.7%)	198 (25.7%)	179 (23.3%)	102 (13.3%)	98 (12.7%)	110 (14.3%)
Although it's not as big as Beijing, but I like it.	74 (9.6%)	199 (25.9%)	181 (23.5%)	114 (14.8%)	101 (13.1%)	100 (13.0%)
Some of my college classmates they like to dress up very much.	38 (4.9%)	110 (14.3%)	183 (23.8%)	172 (22.4%)	161 (20.9%)	105 (13.7%)
Some other kind of jobs I also want to try.	54 (7.0%)	163 (21.2%)	196 (25.5%)	148 (19.2%)	122 (15.9%)	86 (11.2%)
Last year, I write a letter to my parents.	66 (8.6%)	159 (20.7%)	184 (23.9%)	119 (15.5%)	131 (17.0%)	110 (14.3%)

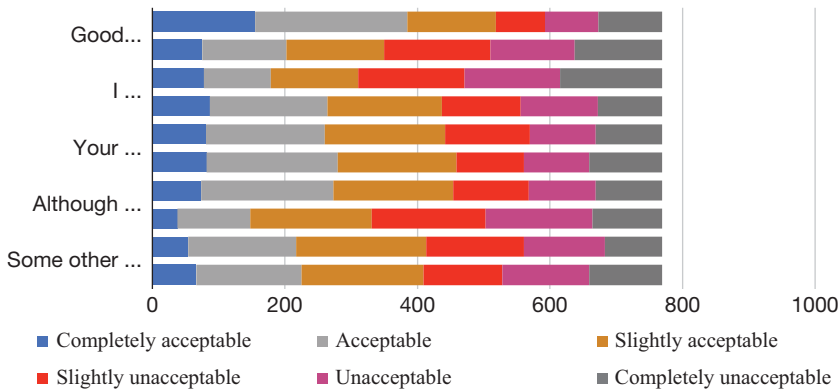


Figure 2: Acceptability of English usages.

greater acceptance for transparent usages of English than those which are not transparent. An exception is the attitudes towards the case *good good study, day day up*, which appears to be the most popular expression among the respondents and attracts more positive attitudes than those transparent usages. There is another exception in the category of transparent usages, i.e. the case *some of my college classmates they like to dress up very much*, which is grammatically similar to the case *some other kinds of jobs I also want to try*. This invites my interest in the respondents' justifications of their reactions, which they offered in the space following the attitudinal scales and motivates me to explore their beliefs about "deviances" in interviews and FGs in more depth.

Q26 is an open question, which invites the respondents to explain how they decide the acceptability of given forms of English use. The responses were analysed with the assistance of the Nvivo 12 software (see Table 16). Through a data-driven approach to the data, three codes were decided to represent three factors pinpointing the respondents' comments on linguistic acceptability. First, communication is a key element of acceptability that found its way into many respondents' (accounting for 72.0% of the respondents) explanation of their acceptance of linguistic forms. Second, correctness is frequently referred to in the respondents' (accounting for 58.4% of the respondents) consideration of linguistic acceptability. Third, 14.6% of the respondents applied a double standard to the evaluation of the acceptability of linguistic forms. Those respondents indicated a willingness to accept "variations" in informal situations or in spoken English but declined to accept "variations" in the formal situation or in written English.

An analysis of the respondents' descriptions of what makes acceptable English and/or what makes unacceptable English reveals a few themes. First, a strong link was made between correctness and acceptability. For 46.6% of the

Table 16: Key points in evaluating acceptability.

Code	Number of cases
Communication	554 (72.0%)
Correctness	449 (58.4%)
Double standard	112 (14.6%)
“Correct forms are acceptable”/“incorrect forms are unacceptable”.	358 (46.6%)
“Incorrect forms are acceptable”	184 (23.9%)
Incorrect but communicative English is acceptable.	113 (14.7%)
Explicit positivity towards Chinese creativity	49 (6.4%)
Explicit positivity towards humorous English	24 (3.1%)

respondents, correct forms are acceptable, while incorrect forms are not. As the statistics demonstrate, this appears to be a predominant view of acceptability of English in the data. Second, 23.9% of the respondents were explicit about the acceptability of incorrect forms. Among them, 14.7% indicated that the acceptability of English depends on the communicative effectiveness of English despite the judgement that they might be incorrect. 6.4% made explicit that incorrect English forms that reflected Chinese creativity are acceptable and 3.1% were explicitly positive towards incorrect English forms that revealed a sense of humour or made them feel fun.

The questionnaire responses reveal both coherence and contradiction. First, the coherence lied in the manifestations of exonormative orientations to English. A majority of the respondents turn to exonormative references in terms of how to evaluate spoken English (Q23) and how to decide on the acceptability of linguistic forms (Q25). Correspondingly, the coherence is seen in the minority voice for endonormativity in responses to Q23 and Q25 respectively. Second, the contradiction is seen between explicit claims that meaning expression is the most valuable feature of spoken English on the one hand, and voluntary preferences for “correct” forms of English on the other. The decisions on the acceptability tended to prioritise a perceived or desired connection between correctness and communicativeness. The conflict between the actual linguistic value and the groundless linguistic preference is well exhibited in the respondents' unpatterned evaluations of linguistic forms, as presented in the responses to Q25. For example, the instances of English usages which are transparent in meaning are evaluated differently in terms of their acceptability (see Table 15). It is surprising that *some of my college classmates they like to dress up very much* and *some other kind of jobs I also want to try* are structurally similar but evaluated differently (see Table 15).

The questionnaire data reflect the multiplicity of language ideologies. The data revealed a conspicuous orientation towards normativity, focusing on correctness. Meanwhile, we cannot overlook an emerging trend of positivity towards variability, which focuses on “communicativeness”, “creativity” and humorous effects of “incorrect” English and supports the legitimacy of “incorrect” English.

5.2 Chinese speakers' language orientations

The questionnaire has offered a general picture of Chinese speakers' perceptions of English in relation to Chinese speakers in four aspects, that is, their experience of English, their references regarding how to use English, their self-labelling of their English, and their evaluation of language forms as well as their reasoning of language preference. In terms of English experience, the questionnaire respondents are generally seen to expect an increasing role of ELF, which contrasts with the perceived declining role of EFL, and the rising status of Chinese as a global language in the future. The questionnaire respondents' references tend to converge with an exonormative English, while the majority of the respondents (=63.9%) indicate aspirations for an endonormative English in the future. The respondents' self-labelling of Chinese speakers' use of English has shown the recognition of their use of English as influenced by Chinese culture, language and way of thinking, while, in the meantime, the labels given to Chinese speakers' use of English are often perceived as negatively connotated. A dilemma thus emerges as to how the respondents view Chinese-related influences. Further, the respondents' evaluation of language forms as well as their justification of their evaluations reveal the intertwinements between exonormativity and endonormativity, and between recognition of Chinese speakers' own English and bias against Chinese speakers' own English.

The findings across the four aspects combine to suggest the complexity of language ideologies among the respondents in terms of the legitimacy of Chinese speakers' own use of ELF in the context of the globalisation of English. To understand the complexity, what follows proceeds from the findings and discusses implications the data offer on a few language possibilities posed to Chinese speakers and considered by the respondents.

5.2.1 English, Chinese, and Chinese speakers

The global status of English has caused the controversy on the question of whether English as a global lingua franca is threatening multilingualism or benefiting

global communication (e.g. Crystal 1997, House 2003, 2014). Behind the controversy around languages are the concerns about cultures and identities, which have intertwined relationships with languages. House (2014: 363) argues for “a compromise position”, that is, “neither demonising global English nor welcoming it uncritically”. House (2014: 366) further points out that by adopting a compromise position, “we can observe a healthy co-existence of English and native languages, which has, in some cases, stimulated the emergence of new ‘mixed’ varieties”. The research on World Englishes does show “a healthy co-existence” of English and native languages and “the emergence” of localised varieties. For instance, Alsagoff (2010: 343) observes that Singaporeans “see a need for the adoption of English in its local vernacular form to express their voice and identity”, although the government would like to promote the use of local languages for the purpose of national identity and the use of “good English” for the purpose of assimilating with the world of English. Nonetheless, the current study shows a subtle and delicate co-existence between English and Chinese in the participants’ perspective. The subtleness and delicateness are seen in an overt enthusiasm in English and a covert aspiration for Chinese to rise as a global language and China to develop into a stronger nation.

The questionnaire data surface a general enthusiasm in English. The questionnaire responses show the participants’ embracement of English and their observation that English is welcomed by China and by Chinese speakers in general. English is seen to have an instrumental role in enabling the transcending beyond the national boundary and empowering. For individuals, English provides the interface with outside China and enables international communication. At the national level, English supports the national development and promotes China’s economic power by enabling the exchange with outside China. In addition, the questionnaire data seem to suggest the compatibility of English and Chinese. English is not seen as a threat upon language and culture associated with Chinese speakers’ national identities. Rather, English is perceived as a vehicle to promote Chinese language and Chinese culture around the world. Further, the questionnaire responses reveal a strong sense of English as social capital that enables Chinese speakers to pursue social mobility. The participants reported needing English for jobs, better education, wider access to resources, and more opportunities to make money.

Pan’s (2014) study of English as a global language in China supports the finding of the permeating enthusiasm in English. She argues that the phenomenon should be analysed in terms of China’s position in a world system. However, her analysis focuses on language policy as a top-down process and leads to the claim of an ideological reproduction within the context of China. The limitation thus lies in the neglect of language users’ agentive role in the process of ideologi-

cal struggle in China and thus the lack of the power in explaining the complexity of ideologies in China in the global context. By contrast, the current study aims to understand Chinese speakers' participation in the spread of English in China and their interpretations of their own reactions to the spread of English in China. The interpretation of the embracement of English relates to the participants' belief in the benefits that English brings to Chinese speakers both individually and collectively. Notably, English is seen as the means, while the promotion of Chinese is seen as the end and so is the development of China. A constructive concept for the interpretation of the enthusiasm in English seems to be capital. According to Lin (2001: 3), the notion of capital conceptualises "an investment of resources with expected returns in the marketplace". The notion of linguistic capital thus can be understood as an investment of resources in languages with expected returns in the global market. In this sense, an investment in English serves to pursue an expected return in the growth in Chinese and China, which is evidenced in the data. In addition, the concept of social capital inevitably invokes the discussion of status and hierarchy (Lin 2001). The participants' belief in the role of English as social capital suggests their understanding of the status of English in the global market of languages. The preference for English is thus ideological, reflecting an understanding of power structure among different languages (see Fairclough 1989). In short, the embracement of English can be viewed as Chinese speakers' reactions to the power structure governing different languages, which features the globalisation of English in the contemporary world. This is added by a minority voice in the data, which foregrounds aspirations for the rise of Chinese as a global language in the future, driving home the dynamics of the power relationship between Chinese and English.

Apart from both explicit and implicit data on the relationship between English and Chinese, a part of data on identity adds to suggest that the participants see Chinese and English differently as their identity resources. While English is reported by some participants to have a role to play in aligning with international communities (Q13 and Q14), Chineseness is more likely to be recognised as part of Chinese speakers' identities in their use of English (Q19 and Q20). The participants' connections with Chinese vis-à-vis English are thus revealing. It seems to suggest that Chineseness is more appealing to the participants than "being international". That is, there is a stronger emotional attachment to Chinese than English, which has implications for the understanding of Chinese speakers' identities through English. In the use of English, which mainly serves as a global lingua franca for Chinese speakers, the impacts of Chinese on Chinese speakers' identities are readily available, while the operation of English in Chinese speakers' identities is less recognised, despite the wide acknowledgement of the instrumental role of English.

The lack of awareness of the embeddedness of English in Chinese speakers' identities is not surprising. House (2003) proposes to distinguish language for communication and language for identification. In her argument, ELF serves communication, while ELF users' mother tongues serve the purpose of identification. Despite the criticism of this distinction (e.g. Cogo and Dewey 2006), House's (2003) approach to the ELF in relation to identities serves as the evidence of the belief that ELF and ELF users' mother tongues can be separated. In addition, Chinese speakers' belief in the irrelevance of English for their identities finds its support in the frequently debated ideology that Western learning for the utility and Chinese learning for the identity (e.g. Gao 2009). Gao (2009) has once explained the ideology that Chinese scholars tend to treat English as a neutral vehicle for the loading of Chinese culture and identities.

In light of the above points, the co-existence between English and Chinese is framed in a dynamic power structure in the participants' perspective. While they prefer to English in the current power structure, the data imply an aspired change of power structure in the future. This lends support to the belief that English is the means and Chinese is the end. While it is not widely said in the data, it is possible to infer that Chinese is aspired to by the participants and Chinese speakers in general in the context of the globalisation of English.

5.2.2 Exonormativity versus endonormativity

The diffusion of English is an outcome of the globalisation of English, giving rise to the discussion of the ownership of English, which is metaphorically referred to the authority of English (Widdowson 1994, 2003). The controversy over the authority of English centres on the question of whether all English users should defer to StE models as the default authority of English, pinpointing divided positions on the legitimacy of Englishes in diffusion. In traditional SLA research, for instance, NNEs are often judged as strong or weak English users with reference to StE as the default framework of reference. By contrast, research trends in both World Englishes and ELF have emerged to evidence departures from the default authority and suggest new authorities developed in language users' own remits. Nevertheless, the transition from the default authority to new authorities often has to deal with the tension between exonormativity and endonormativity. In his discussion of the viability of "innovations in world Englishes", for example, Bomgbose (1998) observes the situation that either NNEs' innovations are stigmatised as errors or NNEs' own norms are ignored. He thus proposes that "re-orientation of attitudes" towards local norms and awareness of "a non-existent and unrealistic external standard" are needed in order for innovations to be institutionalised

(Bomgbose 1998: 10). In analysing business professionals' ELF practice, Ehrenreich (2009, 2010, 2016) reports that her research participants adopt endonormative stances and look to norms emerging in communicative encounters rather than referring to predefined codes external to the interactions. That is, external authority is left aside while internal norms are developed to govern the progression of interactions among ELF users.

The notions of exonormativity and endonormativity were first used in the WE research (e.g. Alsagoff 2010, Bomgbose 1998, Gupta 1986). Exonormativity encapsulates an orientation towards an external authority, an authority often known as StE, which is globally promoted and pinpointing the pursuit of uniformity in the use of English (Alsagoff 2010). Endonormativity outlines an orientation towards an internal authority, an authority developed in the use of English within local communities, which justifies the diversity of English in the spread and the non-conformity to StE in the custody of NESs. The notions of exonormativity and endonormativity in the WE research invoke national boundaries or boundaries around local communities where English is institutionalised as a second language. Norms of English are developed in the localisation of English to codify localised varieties. In short, endonormativity in the WE contexts deals with norms of localised varieties of English.

With the rise of ELF research, the notion of endonormativity is brought to fore to capture the nature of ELF process in a different way (e.g. Kohn 2018, Mauranen 2012, Pitzl 2012). As Pitzl (2012: 39 original italics) points out, “when we look at ELF, it seems that we may encounter something we might term *situational or group-internal endonormativity*”. Endonormativity entails the norms and regularities of ELF practice within CoPs, which are defined on the basis of practice but go beyond national or geographical boundaries (Hynninen 2016, Pitzl 2012). Importantly, the norms and regularities do not necessarily lead to the stabilisation of ELF practice but are possibly emergent and contingent to explain the accommodation of ELF users in particular interactive encounters. As Hynninen (2016: 52) notes, “living norms” take shape in ELF encounters. Endonormativity in the WE and ELF research is thus defined in different time-space frames. It relates to local cultures, group identities, and historical connections among community members who are in local proximity with each other. In terms of ELF practice, interculturality appears to be a key feature and ELF users' identities are examined through the ELF practice (Baker 2015). Endonormativity thus relates to interculturality and CoPs, which can be transient or long-lasting (Mauranen 2012, Pitzl 2018b), in ELF research.

The notion of endonormativity appears to be constructive in explaining the participants' orientations to English in the current study. The concept of endonormativity applies to the normativity within the boundary around Chinese speakers

as a community who engage with ELF practice. In the same vein, the notion of exonormativity points to pre-established authorities external to the community formed by Chinese speakers of ELF. The questionnaire data reveal divergent orientations among respondents, that is, an orientation towards the default authority associated with NESS' standard and an orientation towards Chinese speakers' own authority, which, however, seems to have blurred the boundary between a WE community and an ELF community. That is, the orientation towards Chinese speakers' own authority is manifested in the participants' acknowledgement of the pragmatic value of Chinese speakers' creativity in international communication and their emotional attachment to Chinese culture, Chinese language and China, in the use of English. On the one hand, the community of Chinese speakers of ELF is different from both a WE community where English is used for intranational communication and an ELF community of practice where interculturality contributes to the identities adopted by ELF users. On the other hand, the normativity within the community of Chinese speakers of ELF evokes both ELF practice and Chinese speakers' shared repertoire in their L1 Chinese and culture.

The divergent language orientations are notably underpinned by different concerns, such as "correctness", "creativity", function, identity, social bias and so on. An exonormative orientation is seen to parallel with an orientation towards native-like English and focus on a reference to native speaker Englishes, supporting the role of English as a native language or English as a foreign language. It follows that non-conformity to native speaker Englishes is "incorrect" and correspondingly, Chinese speakers' use of English that is marked to Chinese-like is judged as "incorrect" and socially biased. The aspiration for native-like English is clearly associated with the aspiration for the legitimacy and social status attached to native-like English. In contrast, an endonormative orientation is seen to parallel with an orientation towards Chinese speakers' own English and converges with an orientation towards ELF as opposed to ENL or EFL. It follows that Chinese speakers' use of English is judged in terms of the communicative function of English produced by Chinese speakers and the relationship between the use of English and the users of English. That is, an endonormative orientation aligns with the understanding of language in terms of its linguistic function and its users' identities. The co-existence of the divergent language orientations in the questionnaire data reveals a tension between exonormativity and endonormativity and thus leaves the legitimation of Chinese speakers' use of ELF an open question.

However, the divergent language orientations are seen to fall within different time frames. The respondents tend to show an exonormative orientation when they consider the phenomenon of English at present, while their imagination about English in the future tends to reveal aspirations for endonormativity. The

aspiration for Chinese speakers' English is readily visible in the questionnaire respondents' imagination for the future. The rejection to Chinese speakers' own English corresponds with the belief that Chinese speakers' English is "incorrect" or violates from the established framework of reference to native speaker English and the social stigma attached to English marked with "Chineseness". That is, Chinese speakers' own English is illegitimate according to the established framework of reference but is valuable for Chinese speakers. The respondents see the conformity to established norms as important at present but aspire an endonormative English in the future. The matching of different orientations to different time frames seems to suggest a desired change in the relationship between exonormative English and endonormative English.

5.2.3 Chinese speakers' own English

The discussion of language viability often invokes the discerning of the language as a myth or a fact. Over the controversy of China English, for instance, a major issue of interest emerges as to whether the phenomenon of China English exists at all (Xu 2018). In the debates of StE, it has become a consensus that StE is a myth but not a reality (e.g. Jenkins 2015a, Milroy 2001, Seidlhofer 2011). Ironically, NNEs' use of English is a reality but often unrecognised, either intentionally or unintentionally (Bomgbose 1998, Jenkins 2009a, Kirkpatrick 2010a, 2010b), with a few terms, such as performance variety and interlanguage, disguising the reality of NNEs' English with its own linguistic potential. Kachru (1986) maintains that the recognition of NNEs' English is a necessary stage in the process of establishing the legitimacy of NNEs' Englishes. In this sense, while Chinese speakers' use of ELF is a reality as a result of the increasing use of English for international communication, it is necessary to find out whether Chinese speakers are aware of the linguistic fact.

In this line of inquiry, the questionnaire data offer evidence of the general recognition of Chinese speakers' own English as a linguistic fact rather than a linguistic myth. The respondents tend to recognise Chinese speakers' own English as a widely existent phenomenon. Not only the labels related to Chinese speakers' English but also instances of Chinese speakers' use of English elicit the recognition of Chinese speakers' own English, which is seen to be influenced by Chinese speakers' first language and culture, among the respondents. The questionnaire respondents generally acknowledge that Chinese speakers' own English is linguistically functional and useful in communication. Meanwhile, some respondents explicitly point out the role of English in aligning Chinese speakers with international communities and making China "go global". In addition, there is

a clear sign in questionnaire responses to link Chinese speakers' own English with Chinese group and China, which explains the contribution of language to a sense of belonging. Moreover, the data reveal a voice in majority for the endonormativity of Chinese speakers' own English – 63.9% of the respondents indicated aspirations for the establishment of Chinese speakers' own norms to a different extent (see Table 8 above). In light of these, the respondents generally acknowledge the linguistic viability of Chinese speaker's own English and support its endonormativity.

The general acknowledgement of linguistic viability and endonormativity, however, contrasts with a slightly screwed positivity on the acceptability of Chinese speakers' own English to suggest that the linguistic viability does not correspond to acceptability. In evaluating spoken English, 'native-likeness' and 'idiomaticity' appear to be highlighted criterion adopted by the majority of the respondents (see Table 13). Among those who evaluate instances of Chinese speakers' innovative forms of English, 46.6% refer to "correctness" as a key criterion of acceptability while only 23.9% refer to other criteria than "correctness" in evaluating the language's acceptability, with other respondents not inclining to reveal their criteria of acceptance (see Table 16). In addition, the labels perceived to relate to Chinese speakers' use of English have triggered some comments focusing on the description of Chinese speakers' gap in native speaker English, with a small number of respondents criticising Chinese speakers' English as bad or shameful. The evidence points to an exonormativity. As reported in Wang (2012, 2013), exonormativity appears to be in tension with endonormativity, which exerts the push-pull forces in influencing Chinese speakers of English. The examination of exonormativity vs endonormativity, as discussed in the previous section, drives home some reasons behind the hesitation to accept Chinese speakers' innovative use of English. While the questionnaire data allow for some tentative explanation of the discrepancy, further interrogation is needed to probe into ideological factors on the acceptability of Chinese speakers' endonormative English and thus the legitimacy of their own ELF. For this purpose, interviews and FGs are conducted as following-up methods of research, the data of which will be reported in the following chapters.

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the questionnaire data providing insights into language ideologies centring on Chinese speakers' own use of ELF in a general sense. With the notion of language ideologies in this monograph evoking interpretations, evaluations and justifications of Chinese speakers' use of ELF, the

questionnaire data are analysed and discussed in four aspects, which entails the experiencing, the referencing, the self-labelling, the evaluating and justifying of various forms of English appealing to Chinese speakers in the tension between exonormativity and endonormativity. The data reveal expectations to break the boundaries between English and Chinese, between exonormative English and endonormative English, and between legitimacy and illegitimacy of Chinese speakers' own ELF. While the respondents reveal a belief in the compatibility of English and Chinese, as well as concerns for communication and identification in approaching the said relations, the data reveal a gap between an overall acknowledgement of linguistic viability and a generally ambivalent attitude towards the acceptability of Chinese speakers' creative use of ELF. Admittedly, it is not surprising that linguistic viability does not necessarily lead to linguistic legitimacy, given that legitimacy is an ideological issue and a social issue (see Chapter 1, Fairclough 1989, Heller 1996, Jenkins 2014, Seidlhofer 2018). What is interesting here is to understand the ideological dimension of Chinese speakers' use of English in the power structure where Chinese speakers are situated, on the basis of which it is possible to make sense of the legitimacy of Chinese speakers' own ELF and the change of English induced by Chinese speakers in the overall development of English in the world. While the questionnaire data offer insights into beliefs surrounding and attitudes towards Chinese speakers' own use of English, how Chinese speakers make sense of their linguistic forms vis-à-vis the power structure where their language practice and their agentive roles are relevant needs to be investigated in more depth. The investigation would benefit from qualitative methods, such as interviews and FGs, as reported in the following chapters.

6 Authority, identity and ideological struggle

Language ideologies provide references for the understanding of language change. In this sense, the consideration of Chinese speakers' legitimacy of using ChELF, which I argue is a manifestation of English change in the context of ELF, benefits from the understanding of language ideologies revolving ELF in general and ChELF in particular. The dialectic relation between language and identity is incarnated in language ideologies, which suggests the value of studying identity as a key component of language ideologies. This chapter thus explores language ideologies as manifested in Chinese speakers' understandings of power relations centring on English in the context of globalisation, with the focus on Chinese speakers' identities. In Wodak's (2012) framework of language, power and identity, identities are manifestations of power relations, which invite the consideration of authority that impose the indexical order. The understanding of identities inevitably benefits from the discussion of authority in power relations and the discussion of the interaction between authority and identity in ideological struggle. That is, this chapter reports data analysis that inform Chinese speakers' perceptions of authority and identity as two major components of power relations as well as the interaction between these components.

While complex relations between identity and language ideology have been discussed in Chapter 3, this chapter would give some space to the relationships between ELF and identity in order to crisscross the study of identity in relation to ChELF. Understanding Chinese speakers' relations with ELF and their identifications through ChELF will shed light on the issue of the ChELF legitimacy. After the review of past work, I will present interview data and report findings to frame an understanding of Chinese speakers' engagements with current power relations centring on NESs' norms and explore the possibility for Chinese speakers' recreation of English-based power relations.

6.1 ELF and identity

Existing literature on ELF offers implications for the study of Chinese speakers' identities in relation to ChELF in three ways. The first relates to the discussion of whether ELF is identity-free at all. The second centres on the ownership of English, which addresses the authority of English and thus entails the power factor that re/creating power relations. The third concerns relationships between community members. I will discuss them respectively in what follows.

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501503702-006>

6.1.1 Is ELF identity-free?

House (2003) proposes to make a distinction between language for communication and language for identification in response to the debates on the threat of ELF upon multilingualism. The distinction lays the foundation for the hypothesis that ELF serves the purpose of communication but does no harm to multilingual speakers' L1s and home cultures, which are presumably associated with their identities. The distinction, however, needs to be reconsidered in four ways. First, ELF is a phenomenon of language contact, which corresponds to cultural contact. The outcome of language contact does not only affect English but also other languages. Second, the claim reflects an essentialist perspective on the relationship between language and identity, which conflicts with the nature of ELF that disconnects language, nation and culture. Third, the claim that multilingual speakers' L1s and home cultures are associated with their identities is one-sided, giving no space to the consideration of the multiplicity and the fluidity of ELF users' identities. Necessarily, multilingual speakers' L1s and home cultures are only part of their identity repertoires, while multilingual speakers have access to perform their identities in various settings. Finally, the claim has the risk of rejecting the ownership of English by NNEs. As discussed in the rest of the section, ELF communication is not identity-free, although participants in ELF communication might not admit their projection of identities through some linguistic resources including ELF.

6.1.2 The ownership of ELF

The ownership of English, in Widdowson's (2003: 37) discussion, is a metaphor to conceptualise "the authority" in English that invokes the right to regulate the use of English and the power to lead the change in English. As he observes, English is presumed to owe to an elite group of NESs through the defence of StE (Widdowson 1994, 2003). Following Widdowson's (1994, 2003) question to the exclusive ownership of English by an elite group of NESs, an increasing number of researchers have reached the consensus that "English belongs to all those who use it" (Cogo 2008, Seidlhofer 2009: 236). The questioning into NESs' exclusive ownership of English and the arguments for the global users' ownership of English present ways of treating the ownership of English as a factor that re/creates power relations in the world of English.

Where the ownership of English concerns, the relationship between NESs and NNEs is core to the discussion. The relationship can be described as NESs

as norm providers and NNEs as norm followers.⁵ Correspondingly, Englishes rising with the role and the practice of ELF in the globalising world are often denounced as bad or learner Englishes, due to their conflicts with NES norms. Researchers seek to explain the phenomenon of Englishes in their own right, arguing that the ownership of English is expanded from NESs tied to the historical origins of English to all those who use English across national and geographical boundaries. Accepting different Englishes means the acknowledgement for the agentive role of NNEs in the development of English (e.g. Mauranen 2012).

The respective roles of norm providers and norm followers between NESs and NNEs have led the discussion of ELF users' identities in relation to English in a body of work on ELF. The research into the ELF phenomenon provides insights into regularities, patterns, norms and functions of ELF as a natural language and uncovers a linguistic fact that ELF, which works in international settings, is different from English as a native language, which operates within NES nation-states. The linguistic fact of ELF, however, is often treated as learner language in a traditional sense which, as observed by many linguists (e.g. Jenkins 2015a, Seidlhofer 2004, Widdowson 1994), emphasises the exclusive ownership of English by NESs. As Jenkins (2006, 2015a) points out, however, the same linguistic performance might be regarded as learner performance in traditional SLA perspective but user performance in the eye of ELF researchers. In a traditional SLA perspective, NNEs are "permanent learners" of English (Medgyes 1994: 83), while their "failure" to conform to NES norms is indexical to learner English or interlanguage English. By contrast, the recognition of ELF as a linguistic fact accepts the ownership of English by NNEs. In this sense, NNEs are involved in intercultural communication as legitimate users who can accommodate linguistic practice to cope with intercultural encounters. In short, the changing ownership of English has motivated the discussion on ELF users' identities as to whether ELF users are legitimate users of ELF who have the right to creativity or learners of native speaker English who should follow NES norms.

ENL learner and ELF user have a few differences. First, agency is the crucial difference between ENL learner and ELF user. As Mauranen (2012: 6) points out, "learner language cannot influence the target language by definition, because learners are committed to acquiring proficiency in terms of

⁵ Admittedly, Kachru (1992) differentiates NNEs between norm developers and norm followers on the basis of the division between intracultural and intercultural usages of English. As the focus in this monograph is on users of English in intercultural communication, what Kachru considers in terms of intracultural use does not address the predominant assumption of ELF users as norm followers.

given standards”. Learners thus expect and are expected to receive feedback on their language performance and make corrections if “errors” are identified. ELF users, however, have agentive roles in the use of ELF and accommodate to interactions, without being confined to established rules. That is, while learners cannot affect target language but follow target language norms (Mauranen 2012), users are adept at languaging and translanguaging (Seidlhofer 2011) to generate new norms (Hynninen 2016). Second, social parameters relevant to ENL learners are different from those relevant to ELF users. To be specific, social environment relevant to ENL learners foregrounds educational goals and purposes, while the social environment relevant to ELF users foregrounds interactional goals and social purposes. Third, the power relations between ENL learners and NESs are different from the power relations between ELF speakers and NESs. ENL learners are positioned as followers of NESs, while ELF speakers are positioned at equal footing with NESs (Jenkins 2015a, Seidlhofer 2003, 2011). Fourth, ENL learners’ motivation to engage with English is different from ELF users’ motivation. While ENL learners are expected to get “integrated” into NES communities and be assimilated (Gardner and Lambert 1972), ELF users often focus on how to get the jobs done in ELF communities (Seidlhofer 2011).

Apart from the native/non-native relations over the issue of the ownership of English, I would like to remind of another type of relation, which is in marginal debates but has implications for the current study, which seeks to provide a comprehensive understanding of Chinese speakers’ identities. This type of relation deals with the social stratification of ELF users. Though the research on ELF seeks to challenge the exclusive ownership of English by NESs, there are criticisms on the ELF researchers’ approach to NNEs. The debates between Saraceni (2008) and Cogo (2008) in the journal of *English Today* are centred on the question who are ELF users. While the former argues that the ELF researchers mainly focus on non-native-English-speaking elites, who are active in higher scale domains, the latter counters the argument by reiterating the premise based on which the ELF work is conducted that English belongs to all those who use it. While the growing research on ELF defines ELF users as those who use English for intercultural purposes in whichever domain, the caution against the use of ELF as a way of dividing between elites and non-elites triggers a concern for the role of language as an ideological device in a socio-political setting in general, which is yet to be addressed through empirical work.

To sum up, where the ownership of English concerns, two types of power relations have entered the discussion. One deals with the relation between NESs and NNEs. The other points to the relationships among ELF users.

6.1.3 ELF and community

Language as a social phenomenon arises and declines with communities where language becomes needed or unneeded. Conversely, a community provides social conditions where a language forms, sustains and develops. As the study of a language inevitably invokes the study of its community, the concept of community enters the research on ELF as a naturally occurring phenomenon and plays a fundamental role in the legitimation of ELF. In this respect, researchers have been searching for appropriate concepts to explain the communal groupings of ELF users, which give social meanings to ELF (e.g. Baker 2015, Dewey 2009, Ehrenreich 2009, 2018, Hynninen 2011, Jenkins 2014, Kalocsai 2014, Mauranen 2012, Pitzl 2018b, Seidlhofer 2011, Smit 2010, Wang 2018). Among different proposals and considerations, the scholarly debates flag up the criticism of speech community, the development in community of practice, and the controversy on imagined community.

Speech community, as a conventional concept for the study of the social environment of language, is widely regarded by ELF researchers as short of an explaining power for the use of ELF that takes place in intercultural settings and cuts across different national boundaries. While traditionally used to define a social group on the basis of monolingual English, the notion of speech community becomes implausible, with the use of English extending to multilingual settings and involving multilingual users. Despite the irrelevance of speech community for ELF practice, however, the concept of speech community is often used as a comparing model in order to find a suitable model to understand ELF and its social meanings. A body of literature has contributed in this respect, with the idea of speech community either backgrounded or foregrounded in the search for a conceptual model to address the grouping of ELF users (e.g. Jenkins 2014, Mauranen 2012, Seidlhofer 2011). Inspired by Blommaert's (2007a) idea of sociolinguistic scale, which highlights a tempo-spatial parameter of a social phenomenon, I would like to discuss two limitations of speech community and their implications. First, speech community is based on community members' face-to-face interaction, which suggests a limited time-space frame within which community members establish communal relations with each other. Second, speech community as a key sociolinguistic concept is often used to understand societal issues in a particular society which tends to converge with a particular nation-state. Understanding the limitations helps to seek what is needed for the grouping of ELF users. First, ELF users become connected in a way that the time-space frame becomes infinite. That is, ELF users can connect with each other without being physically together in the same geographical place or at the same time. Besides, ELF users might form long-term or transient communities where

ELF is given social meanings, where they can establish relationships without any shared historical legacy of language development. Second, ELF users become connected across national boundaries and transcend discrete social settings at a global scale to offer social meanings to ELF. In this sense, multiple cultural references and diversified social norms might interact with each other where ELF speakers are to make sense of the social meaning of ELF in the community they form.

The concept of “communities of practice”, which was first proposed by Lave and Wenger (1991) in understanding educational practice and then developed by others (e.g. Eckert 2000, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992, Wenger 1998), is adapted to the conceptualisation of ELF (see Dewey 2009, House 2003, Seidlhofer 2011) and widely accepted as the cornerstone to ELF. CoPs have a few defining components, which include “mutual engagement in shared practices”, “jointly negotiated enterprise” and “shared repertoire” (see Wenger 1998: 72ff). These components are observed to reflect, to some extent, the relations between ELF users, who go beyond the geographical borders to engage in de-territorialised intercultural communication (e.g. Seidlhofer 2011, Ehrenreich 2009, Mauranen 2012). Pitzl (2018b: 27) has summarised four implications of CoPs for ELF research, including 1) a shift of focus from variety to variation, 2) the research interest extending from “forms” to “functions”, 3) a highlight of “accommodation”, and 4) an emphasis on “situationality”. Those implications point to the research on linguistic viability of ELF. Notably, an increasing number of ELF researchers have engaged with the discussion of an updated, hybrid, fluid and dynamic version of CoPs from an ELF perspective (e.g. Baker 2015, Ehrenreich 2009, 2018, Kalocsai 2014, Pitzl 2018b, Smit 2010). As Dewey (2009: 77) recommends, “we can move forward still further” from the borrowing of the concept of CoPs to “better describe” ELF interactions. Jenkins (2015b: 76) maintains that there is “the need to find an alternative to CoPs that is able to characterise transient, ad hoc, and event fleeting ELF groupings”.

In Baker’s (2015) work, interculturality is a new dimension of CoPs from an ELF perspective. The concept of interculturality, as discussed in Baker (2015), blurs the boundaries between essentialism-based cultures and points to third spaces co-constructed between interactants where cultural issues rise and become resolved through accommodation and negotiation so as to reach common ground that enables understanding. Baker (2015) suggests that intercultural communication should be researched by viewing culture as what interactants do than what they have. This converges with the concept of performativity in ELF research (see Seidlhofer 2011), which regards ELF as a process of doing rather than an end-product that can be described as a property somebody has. In light of this, interculturality explains the cultural

aspect of CoPs, while an essentialism-based culture is tied to a territory-based community, such as speech community. Importantly, interculturality from an ELF perspective is a phenomenon emerging in intercultural communications, which deserves investigation, rather than a priori, which presumably undermines intercultural communication (Baker 2015).

Pitzl (2018b: 29) makes an explicit point that the notion of CoPs in its original sense is “simply not applicable in many ELF contexts”. She further proposes to use the notion of Transient International Groups (TIGs) to conceptualise ELF speakers’ groupings and sees three advantages of TIGs over CoPs in the original senses. First, the notion of TIGs acknowledges the diversity of ELF speakers engaging with each other. Second, the notion of TIGs recognises multilingualism in language contact between ELF speakers engaging with each other. Third, the notion of TIGs accepts both “what is shared and what *becomes* shared” between group members so as to encapsulate “the development of ELF in groups” (Pitzl 2018b: 34, original italics). While it is certainly useful to address the ad hoc nature of ELF and the multilingualism in ELF, the notion of TIGs might be hard to apply to the analysis of ELF data, given the difficulty to define the time frame of “transiency”. The notion seems to exclude ELF speakers who stay in contact with each other for a long time, for example, those international students on English-medium degree programmes. It is fair to say that the notion of TIGs complements the thinking about CoPs in relation to ELF.

A more inclusive framework of CoP from an ELF perspective is discussed in Ehrenreich (2018). She provides a detailed discussion of CoPs and points to a few features that should be integrated into the reconceptualization of ELF-based CoPs. In her theorisation, ELF-based CoPs exist while members can join and leave, with some members are more committed than others; ELF-based CoPs can be formed either if members maintain long-term relationships or if members engage with each other in fleeting encounters; ELF-based CoPs include members who might be involved in other CoPs; ELF-based CoPs invoke shared repertoires, which encapsulate strategies, multilingualism, sociopragmatic hybridity and ELF speakers’ identities.

As Ehrenreich (2018: 48) acknowledges, “the search for alternatives (to CoPs) is still on”. ELF scholars’ efforts have pieced together an increasingly constructive framework of ELF-based CoPs to understand the construction of communities of relevance to ELF speakers, although more work might be needed to explore uncharted dimensions of ELF. Notably, the updated framework of ELF-based CoPs focuses on a constellation of ELF speakers who are from diverse L1 backgrounds in terms of different parameters (e.g. Baker 2015, Pitzl 2018b, Ehrenreich 2018) but offers little consideration of ELF speakers

who share the same L1 background. The heterogeneity of ELF speakers is acknowledged. In Smit's (2010) work, a classroom CoP consists of a few groups which can be socially defined according to their shared goals. Kalocsai's (2014) study also implies the multi-layeredness of CoPs formed by students on an English-medium Erasmus programme. However, not only those empirical studies that reveal the heterogeneity of ELF speakers but also those scholars who point out the "diversity" of ELF speakers and the multiple identities that ELF users construct pay little attention to the grouping of ELF speakers on the basis of ELF speakers' L1 backgrounds. My research focuses on the legitimacy of ELF used by Chinese speakers, who are both ELF users and Chinese speakers. I thus consider ELF-based CoP as the communities where ChELF speakers interact with other ELF speakers from non-Chinese backgrounds; I simultaneously consider imagined communities as relevant to the grouping of ChELF speakers together.

Before I move to the discussion of the concept of imagined communities, I consider the relevance of ELF-based CoP for ChELF in three aspects. First, "mutual engagement in shared practice" creates the discursive context where ELF is needed and used and thus preconditions the existence of ChELF. As Mauranen (2012: 15) notes, "a lingua franca arises out of situations where speakers of different first languages need to talk". The use of ELF is the means through which mutual engagement in shared practice can be conducted. As many ELF scholars maintain, it is not ELF that makes a community of practice but a community of practice that makes ELF part of the shared repertoire among community members (Baker 2015, Ehrehreich 2009, 2018, Pitzl 2018b, Ra 2019). In this sense, ELF users are not grouped because they use ELF but because they mutually engage in shared practices, which can be exemplified as academic meetings, business transactions, and international tourist-guide communications. As Seidlhofer (2011: 17) maintains, "the needs of intercultural communication" are often driven by real-life purposes to cooperate between people from different L1 and cultural backgrounds in various domains, such as business and academia. That is, ChELF users are primarily members of CoPs, which connect them with speakers of different first languages. Chinese speakers become ChELF users when they enter the cooperation and negotiation with non-Chinese speakers to work towards their goals of interactions, for example, to agree on a business contract, to find a solution to a problem and to plan a travel itinerary.

Second, "jointly negotiated enterprise" is often related to the goal that brings people together to form a community where they can negotiate. This explains the motivation for Chinese speakers to become ELF users and the relationship between Chinese speakers of ELF and other community members in theory. A

body of research on ELF has demonstrated the negotiation between ELF users in real-life situations (e.g. Cogo and Dewey 2012, Mauranen 2012). While there are different strategies for ELF users' meaning negotiation, the joint negotiation implies an equal footing between participants in negotiations. This contrasts with the unequal footing between participants in communications where English plays a role as a native language or a foreign language. As Lippi-Green (1994a) observes, one-way communication takes place between NESs and NNEs, with communicative burden solely taken by NNEs. Seidlhofer (2011: 134) also criticises the "unilateral idiomaticity" of NESs' English when NNEs have no knowledge of NESs' idioms. For her, ELF users negotiate meanings of language forms and co-construct creative use of English. Thus, "jointly negotiated enterprise" explains the relations between community members who use ELF to negotiate in terms of their opinions in different tasks. It provides real-life reasons for Chinese speakers to be "users" of ELF by focusing on tasks and meaning negotiation instead of "learners" of ENL who have to worry about linguistic performance.

Third, "shared repertoire" pre-conditions any communication and so it does to communities that bring speakers of different first languages together. The rise of ELF is the very result and evidence of a "shared repertoire" between different L1 speakers. ChELF users' engagement with other speakers of ELF can be studied by looking at what is shared between ChELF users and other ELF speakers. Seidlhofer (2004) defines ELF as the only medium of communication that different L1 speakers have in common and the only choice of medium that they can rely on. Mauranen (2012: 15) makes a similar point as follows:

Speakers of different first languages... have to choose a medium for communication, and with any luck, they have at least one language in common in their repertoires... With a modicum of a shared code, they will find a way of not only carrying out their business with each other, but also dealing with the subtler aspects of social interaction.

Necessarily, understanding shared repertoire in ELF requires new thinking. In ELF practice, ELF users' repertoires include emergent norms and creative forms through the process of joint negotiation (Hynninen 2016). The shared repertoire between ELF users is not always the repertoire which communication participants bring to the communication but, sometimes, a developing repertoire co-constructed between communication participants. However, the focus on sharedness between Chinese speakers and non-Chinese speakers should not devalue the repertoires that are shared among Chinese speakers. It is not difficult to understand that Chinese speakers' repertoires can serve as Chinese speakers' semiotic resources and work with strategies of ELF communication such as accommodation and translanguaging. In short, ELF-based CoPs provide necessary conditions which define ChELF users as ELF users.

The concept of “imagined community”, which was first proposed by Anderson (2006) in the discussion of the formation of nation-state, is brought to the discussion of ELF (Jenkins 2014, Mauranen 2012, Wang 2018). While imagination is a major means by which “imagined communities” are formed and defined (Anderson 2006), the application of “imagined communities” to the concept of ELF satisfies the conceptual need to free ELF users from the bondage of physical locations and explain the mobility of ELF users in the context of globalisation which conditions ELF (see Jenkins 2014, Mauranen 2012). As Mauranen (2012: 18) states, the contribution of “imagined communities” to the understanding of ELF communities lies in the mode of members connecting with each other that does not rely on direct interaction “even in principle”. Jenkins (2014) sees “imagined communities” as relevant for ELF in a sense that NNESSs tend to establish solidarity with each other in ELF interactions. Necessarily, the implications of “imagined communities” for ELF are discussed in Jenkins (2011, 2014) and Mauranen (2012) with a focus on the grouping of ELF users in a way that blurs traditionally operating boundaries between nationally defined languages and cultures. The blurring of geo-politically defined boundaries well explains the phenomenon of ELF as a natural language taking into shape among people who engage with each other through ELF as their shared repertoire. In short, the grouping of ELF users with the focus on an imagined sharedness among ELF users in general provides scholarly justification of ELF as a language in company with its community.

Arguably, it would be problematic to treat all ELF users as homogeneous members of “imagined” ELF communities. The conceptualisation of ELF community as “imagined” is an abstraction of ELF phenomenon, capturing a big picture of ELF in relation to its community in a general sense. While the abstraction should not be equalised to the description of ELF users’ identities, research on identity and language reminds us of the complexity and multiplicity of identities through the engagement with language (e.g. Block 2006, Omoniyi 2006). In light of these, ELF users’ identities in relation to communities need to be further interrogated by taking into consideration social contexts where ELF users are situated and which they see as relevant for their practice of ELF. By looking at how ELF users perceive ELF in relation to their identities, we can understand social meanings of ELF in the world, which goes beyond interactive encounters, where ELF communication takes place and ELF users establish links with each other, and entails both micro- and macro-social dimensions.

In the process of seeking models to explain Chinese ELF speakers’ identities, I found that Anderson’s work on “imagined communities” useful in a few ways apart from its implications for the deterritorialisation of ELF as discussed above.

An issue needs to be resolved before moving to the implications of “imagined communities” for Chinese ELF speakers’ identities. That is, there seems to be a conflict between Anderson’s proposal of “imagined community” which focuses on nationalism and the ELF phenomenon which goes beyond national boundaries. In Anderson’s (2006: 6) work, the notion of “imagined community” is used to explain nationalism. As he puts forward, a nation is “an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (Anderson 2006: 6). As the phenomenon of ELF goes beyond national boundaries, an essentialist view that ties a language to a nation does not explain ELF as a phenomenon that transcends nationally defined boundaries as a result of globalisation (see Seidlhofer 2011). Necessarily, however, the process of globalisation often evokes the process of glocalisation, which emphasises the inextricable connection between the global and the local (Robertson 1992). In this sense, although nationalism conflicts with researchers’ belief in ELF as a linguistic phenomenon, whether nationalism has a role to play in language users’ identities and if yes, how, need to be understood on an empirical basis. That is, the notion of “imagined community” in terms of nationalism should not be taken for granted as a conflict with ELF users’ identities but be treated a dimension of ELF users’ identities that needs to be investigated. In this sense, I review Anderson’s work and draw it upon to analyse Chinese ELF speakers’ identities.

Specifically, ‘imagined communities’ have four defining features, each of which offers implications for the understanding of Chinese ELF users’ identities (see Wang 2018 for a comprehensive discussion). First, an imagined community exists in the imagination as opposed to a physical world. While imagination can form the basis of an imagined international community (Jenkins 2014, Mauranen 2012), it is fair to say that imagination enables the establishment of any community that members align with in their imagination on the basis of their own criteria. Second, an imagined community is based on communion rather than communication. This dimension centralises perceived connections that members perceive and disparages actual interaction between members. This overcomes tempo-spatial constraints and broadens possibilities of social relations that individuals would like to establish. This lends support to Norton’s (2000) idea of imagined communities that second language users hope to align with in the “future”. Third, an imagined community is bounded rather than infinite in its members’ imaginations. Identity is defined in terms of sameness and difference. The struggle for identities in different social structures that language ideology scholarship is concerned with offers evidence to the diversity of identities and calls into question attempts to assimilate (e.g. Kroskrity 2000). While any attempt to categorise ELF users might be subject to the criticism of essentialism, it would be simplified to

make sense of social meanings of ELF by making sense of ELF users' identities with the focus on a single dimension of "global community" members and disparaging other possible dimensions that ELF users are grouped. While divides between communities are traditionally decided by authorities, it would be constructive to view community members as stakeholders in deciding their own identities and drawing boundaries at certain points. Fourth, an imagined community is independent and autonomous in its own term. For ELF users, independence and autonomy are important for the legitimacy of using English in their own way. While established references appear to converge with NES norms, ELF users are often wrongly criticised as learners or bad English users. The belief in independence and autonomy will greatly make a difference in ELF users' ownership of English.

6.1.4 Summary

The review of issues relevant to understanding identities in relation to ELF establishes a framework of identities that sheds light on the legitimacy of ChELF. The framework encapsulates ELF users' identities in complex power relations where ELF users are situated, entailing two pillars as the ownership of English and community membership respectively. It is helpful to remind that the discussion of identities focuses on an agency-oriented approach to the structuration-agency relation that is discussed in Chapter 3. As identities are important manifestations of language ideologies, it is necessary to consider the "power" factor, that is, who has the power to impose indexical orders, and how language users reproduce existing power relations or negotiate for new power relations. On the basis of these concerns, interviews were conducted and analysed, as reported in the rest of the chapter.

6.2 Interviews

Interviews were conducted in order to understand Chinese speakers' identities in relation to ChELF. The analysis was made of what interview participants said about language in relation to identity, how they considered Chinese speakers' identities in relation to language, and how they explained and/or justified their ideas about identities in relation to language. Starting with a concept-driven approach, I first developed a coding frame in Nvivo 12 as follows on the basis of the structuration-agency relation – as discussed in Chapter 3- and the issues of identities in ELF research – as discussed in Section 6.1:

- Authority of English
- Identities through English/ELF/ChELF
 - Elite vs non-elite
 - User vs learner
 - Community membership
- Ideological struggle

The above frame mainly focuses on the structuration-agency relation in language ideologies. It serves the purpose of understanding the participants' ideas of authority and agents as well as their interactions within power structures which they see as relevant to English. Subsequently, the examination of the data helps to revise the coding frame in two ways. In one way, information was identified on the basis of the above codes. In another way, some codes emerged in the data and added to the pre-defined frame. Specifically, the data informing of the participants' ideas of *authority of English* pointed to multiple authorities that the participants deferred to and revealed some occasions when the participants side-line established authorities. In this sense, different authority centres turned to be specialised and a code *authority gap* automatically emerged in the data. In addition, the data provided insights into how Chinese speakers saw English as means for identifications with communities. The data thus uncovered what communities were relevant to Chinese speakers' identification through language forms. Correspondingly, the codes of *international community of practice* and *imagined Chinese community* are confirmed to be used to replace original code *community membership*. Furthermore, the data provided insights into processes through which participants engage with forces of power reproduction with regard to the use of English, which entails *commonsense language beliefs*, *educational constraints*, and *group identity*. By integrating a data-driven approach, I thus came up with a coding frame in Nvivo 12 as follows:

- Authority centres
 - Native English speaker
 - “The standard”
 - The ELT tradition
 - Authority gap
- Identities through English/ELF/ChELF
 - Elite vs non-elite
 - User vs learner
 - International community of practice
 - Imagined Chinese community

- Ideological struggle
 - Commonsense language beliefs
 - Educational constraints
 - Group identity

The coding practice inevitably invokes the process of making sense of the participants' utterances. The participants' utterances were treated as spoken discourses. Drawing upon Fairclough (1989), I examined the participants' utterances in three dimensions, that is, the textual properties, the interactional context, and the social conditions of meaning-making. To illustrate the process, I would like to use one extract and discuss how I interpreted data and made sense of the participants' perceptions and identities. Extract 6-1 records the beginning of the interaction between PM2, a legal consultant in a joint venture in China, and the Interviewer.

In the textual dimension, PM2 shows keen orientation towards native speaker English and intolerance of non-conformity to native speaker Englishes. First, a

Extract 6-1

- 1 **Interviewer:** How do you think of the questionnaire survey?
 - 2 **PM2:** The questionnaire seems to investigate the possibility of a Chinese-styled
 - 3 English, just like American English, Indian English, Egyptian English. Are you propos-
 - 4 ing that we can have a Chinese English, aren't you?
 - 5 **Interviewer:** I'm not proposing anything. I'm just trying to find out, against the back-
 - 6 ground of the global spread of English-
 - 7 **PM2:** -whether we should speak the same way as the British do, or whether people
 - 8 from different places around the world speak different Englishes.
 - 9 **Interviewer:** What is your view on this?
 - 10 **PM2:** I think, Chinese speakers of English should still, I made suggestions in (the ques-
 - 11 tionnaire survey), I think Chinese speakers of English should still follow the way that
 - 12 the British speak English. The Chinese language, Chinese people's way of thinking,
 - 13 Chinese people haven't attended to precision for thousands of years, (the lack of preci-
 - 14 sion) is reflected in the language, the Chinese language, in the spoken form in particu-
 - 15 lar, though (Chinese people) are slightly more careful in writing (to achieve precision
 - 16 in writing).
 - 17 **Interviewer:** Spoken?
 - 18 **PM2:** For example, there is no tense (in Chinese), this is a typical indication of the
 - 19 lack of precision, say, "I have had meal" and "I am having meal", there is no tense in
 - 20 Chinese to differentiate these two, Chinese people only use "have meal" in the Chinese
 - 21 language. But English is different, it tells you whether I have had meal or I am having
 - 22 meal,
 - 23 **Interviewer:** You can see the difference
 - 24 **PM2:** English is precise, a language and a way of thinking are closely tied to each other.
 - 25 Chinese way of thinking has determined the lack of precision in the Chinese language.
-

26 The Chinese language is also affecting Chinese speakers' way of thinking.

27 **Interviewer:** @

28 **PM2:** So I mean, in our daily work, I find those working in the Export Department,
29 they deal with foreigners, they use English a lot, English is their working language, I
30 find their English to be typical Chinese English. I can't put up with it. The confusion
31 between singular and plural forms, the neglect of tense, and expressions full of loop-
32 holes. For contracts, business documents, or business letters, (the use of English) is
33 expected to be precise.

34 **Interviewer:** Because of the nature of job.

35 **PM2:** Right. I find that they often translate Chinese into English literally. But if they
36 could have considered carefully, they would have seen that the translation is sometimes
37 ambivalent, or incomplete. Half of the content is missing (as a result of their transla-
38 tion). Uh? Why are some points (revealed in Chinese) not there (in English)? What to do
39 with the points in the missing half? (Because some points in Chinese are) not presented
40 (in English). But, in Chinese, everybody understands (the expressions). The translation
41 from Chinese into English causes some ambivalence or incomplete expression.

42 **Interviewer:** Do you mean that your job requires the precise expression in English or
43 do you mean that generally English is more advanced than Chinese. As you have said,
44 English has tense, etc to express meaning more precisely than Chinese? Chinese seems
45 to be rather general in expressing meaning?

46 **PM2:** Advanced or not, I dare not to judge. I just want to say, you are a Chinese, you are
47 speaking their language, you should speak the way they do. Otherwise, you speak non-
48 sense. Their language is precise; you, however, have a way of thinking that does not
49 highlight precision. You can't translate Chinese into English literally and keep Chinese
50 way of thinking. If you're to use English, you should use the precise way of expressing
51 ideas.

52 **Interviewer:** Precision. Do you mean precision in forms or precision in meaning?

53 **PM2:** They are the same, the precision in forms ties up with the precision in meaning

54 **Interviewer:** Let's take an example, *she go to school every day*, the form and the
55 meaning-

56 **PM2:** I particularly hate English like this. No distinction between singular and plural
57 forms, the third person, it is missing

58 **Interviewer:** the form does not have (third person); does this cause ambivalent
59 meaning?

60 **PM2:** It does not cause ambivalence, right? You don't think it would cause ambivalence. I
61 don't think either. But it would cause ambivalence in many situations. This expression
62 does not cause ambivalence. This does not mean the use of English like this would
63 never cause ambivalence. The use of English like this would not cause ambivalence
64 sometimes, but it would at other times.

65 **Interviewer:** So, for English like this, which doesn't cause ambivalence-

66 **PM2:** -I can't put up with it either

67 **Interviewer:** Why?

68 **PM2:** Perhaps personally, I am a strict person? I don't know why. I just can't put up
69 with it.

70 **Interviewer:** @

prescriptive perspective on English and an orientation towards British English are readily discernible in the extract, when PM2 makes it explicit that Chinese speakers should follow British speakers' way of using English (lines 11–12). The word *should* implies PM2's belief as to what is the correct and appropriate way of using English. The word *still* in lines 10–11 appears to be significant against the background that PM2 is proposing to consider the question of whether *we* should follow British speakers' English or whether different ways of speaking English should be all accepted (lines 7–8). With the two options available, the word *still* foregrounds an insistence on British English as the model of English for Chinese speakers and leaves awareness of different Englishes behind. Apart from an explicit indication of his position on Chinese speakers' use of English, he offers explanation voluntarily to reinforce his orientation towards British English. In the context where he is commenting on Chinese speakers' use of English, the discussion of the interrelationship between the Chinese language and the Chinese way of thinking has the effect of suggesting that only the British way of thinking can lead to using English precisely. In this sense, a strong link is established between British speakers and reference of English.

Notably, his explanation seems to be disconnected from the discussion of Chinese speakers' use of English, as he comes up with comments on the Chinese language and the Chinese way of thinking (lines 12–26) and gives no space to Chinese speakers' use of English anymore before a rather long time on the issue of Chinese. Grounded on the context of the interaction, however, it is possible to retrieve an unspoken message that Chinese speakers' use of English is not precise and Chinese speakers should refer to British English which represents a correct way of using English. Context has the effect of connecting different issues together, due to which issues should not be treated as isolated (Fairclough 1989). While PM2 has his main focus on the precision of English in the textual context, a parallel can be drawn between what he says about the use of Chinese language and what he intends to say about the use of English language, given his purpose to justify his orientation to British English in lines 10–12.

With regard to the interactional context, PM2 shows the willingness to make contribution and cooperate with the Interviewer. While PM2 shows a confident understanding that the Interviewer aims to investigate views of English in relation to Chinese speakers, what he says is centred on the purpose of helping the Interviewer to get what she wants to know. In this sense, what he says about Chinese people's way of thinking and the Chinese language has implications for what he says about Chinese speakers' use of English. While he acknowledges English as a language making meaning precise, he criticises Chinese people of failing to be precise. He perceived "the Chinese

language”, in its spoken form in particular, as a language that lacks precision in meaning making (lines 18–22). To illustrate this point, he gives an example of tense, which English has but Chinese has not. For him, tense helps to make meaning precisely. In line with this logic, English makes meaning precisely while Chinese does not. He sees a strong connection between a language and a way of thinking (lines 24–26). He further points out a strong link between “the Chinese language” and the Chinese way of thinking. He owes the “lack of precision” in the Chinese language to the “lack of precision” in the Chinese way of thinking and emphasises vice versa. The emphasis on the long history of the Chinese way of thinking has an effect of implying the deep-rootedness of the “lack of precision” in Chinese way of thinking. This inevitably has the effect of suggesting that the deep-rooted “lack of precision” is likely to be transferred to Chinese speakers’ use of English.

Besides, the social context of discourse in Fairclough’s (1989) sense reminds of the implication of community members’ knowledge for the understanding of meaning-making. Community member’s knowledge refers to the shared knowledge between community members. Extract 6-1 shows a relationship where PM2 is both cooperating and leading. While PM2 is confident in assuming what the Interviewer aims to do, the Interviewer lets the conversation flow at PM2’s pace. PM2 and the Interviewer are using a shared L1 Chinese during the communication. All these confirm the sharedness between PM2 and the Interviewer in the sense of community and allow for the interpretation that PM2 is seeing Chinese speakers’ use of English as lacking precision. Necessarily, this interpretation is confirmed in the conversation between PM2 and the Interviewer later in the extract (e.g. lines 46–69). Not only the textual, interactional and social dimensions support each other in forming a consistent interpretation, but also the textual clues appear to be cohesive. At the end of Extract 6-1, PM2 was asked to explain his idea of precision. While he felt challenged to explain rationally, he owed to his personal characteristics of “being strict”. As emotion is an important trait of language ideology, this adds to the interpretation that PM2 is a firm believer in native speaker English.

Finally, it is discernible how PM2 is confident with his ideas of English. In the interaction between PM2 and Interviewer, PM2 appears to be proactive and shows an interest in expressing his view on Chinese speakers’ use of English. While the interviewer opens the conversation with a question eliciting his view of the questionnaire survey in general, he actively engages with the topic of different Englishes and tries to figure out what the Interviewer aims to do through the survey (lines 1–4). When the Interviewer follows up to clarify her purpose of the study, PM2 interrupts her and spells out what he assumes the Interviewer

would say. PM2's proactivity undoubtedly helps the progression of the interaction so that the Interviewer follows the flow of conversation to ask PM2 for his view on the topic of Englishes that emerges in PM2's own utterance (lines 7–9). In the rest of Extract 6-1, PM2 dominates the conversation and offers a view on Chinese speakers' use of English with confidence, with the interviewer echoing him or asking for clarification from time to time. The revealed confidence allows for an insight into the strong influence of native speaker English on PM2, who is one of many Chinese individuals for whom English is relevant in the context of globalization.

In sum, Extract 6-1 presents PM2's articulation of language as a reflection of thoughts, his intolerance of variations in English, his emphasis on the "precision" of English, his orientation towards native speaker English, and his emotional reasoning of language preference. The extract, thus, contributes to the codes on views of language in general, English, variation, and reasonings of language preference. Necessarily, while the coding helps to grasp a general picture of the data, those codes made sense when connected with one another rather than isolated from each other. I shall point out that while Extract 6-1 presents PM2 as a firm believer of native speaker English with strong emotions, PM2 was found to have developed some reflection on his language preference along with the progression of the conversation. The data on reflection provide insight into factors that fed into his firm belief in native speaker English, which I will discuss later (as the main purpose here is to illustrate a process of data analysis).

Through the analysis of interview data, I was able to explore the participants' language perceptions and identities. In what follows, I will present the data with the focus on the discussion of language perceptions and identities, which will contribute to the issue of the legitimacy of Chinese speakers' use of ELF.

6.3 Authority centres in the space of English

Authority "centre" is a key element of examination in order to study indexical orders. It is the source of authority that has impacts on people producing "an indexical trajectory in semiosis" (Blommaert 2017b: 118). This drives me to further explore what is the source of authority in the participants' view of the use of English. Three sources of authority are identified in the participants' contribution, either explicitly or implicitly. In addition, it is interesting to find that the use of English is sometimes not constrained by any authority that predefines "correctness". To mark the particularity, I used the code *authority gap*.

6.3.1 Native English speaker

Native speakers of English are automatically the authority centre and act as gatekeepers of acceptable forms of English. By contrast, NNEs have no authority in English. An extreme example is found in PM3's comment on English in general (see Extract 6-2).

Extract 6-2

1 **PM3:** Err, [...] if I am talking with a British or an American, if he says that my English
 2 is very bad, then, I will think that my English is bad indeed, because he is a native
 3 speaker of English. Your English with a little Chinese accent should be more likely to
 4 be understood by him than by other non-native speakers. If a native speaker cannot
 5 understand what you mean, this means your English is really rubbish. But if a non-
 6 native speaker who cannot understand your English says that my English is bad, I
 7 could think that your English is worse than mine, because you are not a native English
 8 speaker and you also a learner of English. So it is hard to tell whose English is worse
 9 than the other.

PM3 is a salesman who had been dealing with foreign trade business for a few years and using English frequently. It is inferable that he had successful experience of using English through which he was able to get transaction deals. Extract 6-2 readily manifests his belief in the authority of NESs in English. PM3 explicitly indicates his belief in the trustworthiness of NESs as the judge of his English, while he admits that he would challenge NNEs who made the same judgement. His belief in NESs as the authority of English is further revealed by his imagination that NESs are more qualified to judge Chinese-accented English than other NNEs, that is, those NNEs who are not Chinese speakers (lines 3–5). Where there is a failure to get a message across between a Chinese speaker of English and an NES, what Lippi-Green (1994a) has called for as shared responsibility is not seen but the Chinese speaker is supposed to bear the one-way communicative burden. In addition, PM3 seems to be rather negative towards NNEs' use of English. While it can be random that he uses an example of "bad English" rather than an example of "good English", Extract 6-2 is full of negativity. The descriptors associated with NNEs' English, including his own English, are apparently negative and seemingly rampant, such as *very bad*, *bad indeed*, *rubbish*, *bad*, *worse*. He positions NNEs including himself as learners of English (see lines 7–8), which he believes denies them of the authority in English. To sum up, the unquestioned trustworthiness of NESs, the unshared communicative responsibility and the negative comments on NNEs combine to show an unequal power relationship between NESs and NNEs.

Many participants are not as explicit as PM3 with the notion of NES, though covert beliefs in the authority of NESs in English are still revealed. Extract 6-3 offers an example of how I interpreted the data where the notion of NES is implicit.

Extract 6-3

-
- 1 **MM1:** Hmm, imagine if I am a Beijing folk, I speak Beijing Mandarin. I would feel the Man-
 2 darin spoken by Henan folks is not as standard as mine. You can produce some sounds
 3 well. You can produce the sounds as I do. Even if you use some words which I still feel you
 4 are correct, he will still regard himself as the standard in his mind. Just like that.
 5 [A few turns later]
 6 **Interviewer:** What do you want to say with English on earth?
 7 **MM1:** With English, I think, er, non-standard speakers should learn from standard
 8 speakers.
-

Extract 6-3 presents MM1's response to the interviewer's request of his views on English and variations. He came up with some comments on Chinese, which however should not be viewed as irrelevant information. The interviewer let him ramble a few turns and asked him to clarify his point. He thus concluded that "non-standard speakers should learn from standard speakers" (lines 7–8). The textual context reveals his intention to parallel English and Chinese in making sense of the authority in language.

The interaction between MM1 and the interviewer draws on the shared background knowledge of Mandarin Chinese. The relationship between a Beijing folk and Beijing Mandarin is established in a sense that Mandarin is based on Beijing dialect in China. Beijing folks form communities where Beijing dialect is used, and Mandarin Chinese is the standard national language in China. Based on the background knowledge, we can see a link that MM1 attempts to establish between the origin of a speaker and the authority of a speaker. He used the example of Henan folk's use of Mandarin to illustrate the referencing role of Beijing folks in Mandarin, though Beijing dialect is not the same as Mandarin.

We can discern MM1's idea that the ownership of a language is not relevant to its non-native speakers. In short, the authority centre, the standard, the origin of a language, and the origin of a speaker are tied with each other in MM1's view. Where MM1 elaborates his view on the authority centre with an analogy to Chinese, it is inferable that MM1 sees NESs' authority in English as naturally-born.

6.3.2 “The standard”

“The standard” is a frequently occurring notion in the data, referred to by many interview participants as the authority to which they look for guidance. While “the standard” points to rules, regulations, instructions and prescriptions regarding how things should be done, “standard” is another high-frequency word in the interview data, used as an adjective to collocate with “very” and describe the degree of similarity to forms conforming to “the standard”.

The discourse on “the standard” among participants points to a reliance on authority, which the participants believe helps to avoid confusion and serves a sense of linguistic security. Notably, the authority is anonymous, without being linked to any group of people or institution. This anonymity has two implications. One, participants do not necessarily aspire NES models, but they desire prescriptive models which offer them guidance. They do not see prescriptions as “imposed” but “needed”. Two, participants focus on the conformity to established linguistic forms, showing little reflection on or awareness of power relations between those whose linguistic outcomes have developed into established norms and those whose linguistic outcomes are judged upon the former’s linguistic outcomes. The anonymity thus shifts the focus from the prescribers of norms to the prescription of norms, making power relations invisibly embedded in the establishment of norms.

The interview with PF1, a woman who worked as administrative staff in the international business department in a high-status state-owned company during my fieldwork, illustrates the enthusiasm in ‘the standard’ evidently (see Extract 6-4):

Extract 6-4

-
- 1 **PF1:** ... if so, grammar seems to be ignored. If so, you seem to mean that one can use
 2 English in any way as he wishes. If so, you seem to follow no standard. If you don’t
 3 follow (this) one standard, you actually follow no standard.
 4 [A few turns later]
 5 **PF1:** The reason is, I think things like grammar are fixed, there is a standard, a standard,
 6 that is, a standard provided by them.
 7 **Interviewer:** Hmm, does the new English emerging in Chinese speakers’ way of using
 8 English, does it mean a new standard?
 9 **PF1:** Hmm, it would be all right then. As long as there is a standard, it is fine.
-

Extract 6-4 opened with the interviewer’s question as to whether she thinks the examples of non-conformity to StE models of English provided on the questionnaire – i.e. those examples provided in Q25 on the questionnaire – are acceptable. She came up with the idea that the acceptance of those examples would mean

the ignorance of grammar and standard. The extract shows a clear link between “grammar” and what she believes exists as the single “standard”. She spells out her language belief that “a standard provided by them”, i.e. NESs, should be followed. The emphasis on “(this) one standard” motivates the interviewer to ask if she can accept ‘a new standard’ and her response brings home that her focus is on linguistic prescription but not prescribers. Like many other interview participants, she seems to treat “the standard” as a universal set of rules that she believes are known to everybody.

By examining the discourse contexts of the word *standard*, either used as a noun or an adjective in different interviews, I found a theme paralleling with a perceived need for prescriptions and hence guidance, a theme which can be described as awareness of the need for flexibility from time to time. The paralleling themes seem to suggest a dilemma between the conformity to prescription and the creativity in real-time encounters. While the explicit aspiration for “the standard” and “very standard” use of English shows a form-based orientation, the practice of English, into which the participants’ account of their language experience provides insights, is often function-based. The discrepancy, however, is often accepted by those who treat it as common sense – a phenomenon that exists without being questioned. Those participants, who reveal firm beliefs that “the standard” tells them what are correct and acceptable forms and what are not, tend to leave “the standard” at the theoretical level and practice the use of language forms that they believe can fulfil their purposes of using English.

Notably, while “the standard” is often viewed as the authority centre, the participants’ comments on the practice of English tend to have an effect of making “the standard” irrelevant so that the immediate need for flexibility has more influence on the users of English than “the standard”. This is to be discussed later (see Section 6.3.4).

6.3.3 Chinese ELT tradition

It caught my attention that many interview participants explicitly owe their understandings of language to what they were told in their ELT experience in China. They talked about language beliefs that they inherited from the ELT tradition and those passed on to them by their English language teachers. They tended to cite the discourse in the ELT tradition when giving views on English. For those participants, they believe in the ELT tradition where correctness and acceptability are established in terms of English. Though the ELT tradition is found to highlight NESs’ norms and the notion of “standards”, the authority is

notably seated in the ELT tradition as a generic whole rather than any particular components, such as “the standard” or native speakers’ way of using English, followed within the tradition. That is, those participants focus on the power of the ELT tradition itself and accept whatever content of the ELT tradition. Put differently, the participants would continue to follow the ELT trend if it turns away from NES norms or “the standard”. Extract 6-5 offers an example to help explain the point that the ELT tradition rather than NES norms or “the standard” is the authority centre.

Extract 6-5

-
- 1 **PM2:** I mean, this might relate to our traditional English education. If I was told one day
 2 that you don’t need to indicate singular form and plural form by using different forms,
 3 you don’t have to follow such rules for tense, I have learnt such a standard, I would
 4 accept the new way of using English.
-

PM2 was a professional when interviewed. In Extract 6-5, he explains why he has “zero tolerance” for “errors”, despite the recognition that they do not hinder communication. The authority of the ELT tradition is apparently revealed when he indicates his acceptance of what the ELT tradition promotes and encourages. Necessarily, the authority of the ELT tradition preconditions the promotion of NES norms or “the standard”, but not vice versa. That is, neither NES norms nor “the standard” is the authority centre, despite their high status in the ELT tradition.

However, the ELT tradition as the authority centre is often obscure, backgrounded against the highlight of the conformity to native Englishes or “the standard”. As seen later in the discussion of educational constraints, many participants follow what English education prescribes, despite what they believe about English themselves. The role of ELT, or English education, is found to play in both promoting language ideology and constraining the participants’ own preferences for language forms. With native Englishes or “the standard” foregrounded, the ELT tradition appears to function as a hidden authority centre behind the pursuit of exonormative Englishes.

6.3.4 Authority gap

Apart from the dominant voice in favour of the compliance to the authority centres listed above, the interview data present some exceptions, which I believe are as meaningful as the majority beliefs. The exceptions converge in a belief that Chinese creativities in English are necessary and go beyond the prescriptions of

majority authority centres. Put differently, the exceptions are beyond the constraints of the authority centres, illuminating an authority gap.

Those exceptions are divided into two general categories, on the basis of the degrees to which the participants see the need to follow NESs' norms or StE models. In the first category, the usages represent Chinese culture and Chinese experience which are not represented in NESs' linguistic repertoires or by "the standard". Participants supporting exceptions in this category tend to show a strong belief in NES norms, though they explicitly see the need for Chinese way of expressing Chinese cultural meanings. They unanimously argue for the acceptance of creative forms used by Chinese speakers while maintaining the role of NES norms in regulating the use of English in general. Extract 6-6 presents an example of the data coded for this category, where PM3 is one of many participants hoping to integrate Chinese-style expressions into the framework of NES norms.

Extract 6-6

-
- 1 **PM3:** Speaking of Chinese English, I think, you shouldn't move away from British and
 2 American English norms, because, you can have your own characteristics, but, but you
 3 cannot have it independent of existing norms.
 4 **Interviewer:** Err, characteristics, you mean-
 5 **PM3:** Err, you can have your own phrases, for example, *baozi*, *youtiao*, this kind
 6 of things, which are not found in other countries. Then, you can, err, create some
 7 lexis. And (.) I mean (.) only lexis, but (.) the use of English itself, involving its
 8 grammar, its proposition, and the order how nouns are put together, all of these
 9 can't be changed.
-

In Extract 6-6, PM3 uses the term "Chinese English" to categorise the forms of English that express ideas representing Chinese culture-relevant experience that do not have equivalent forms in NESs' repertoires. He is explicit with his belief that NES norms should still be followed while he accepts that there is a need to create some Chinese speakers' "own phrases". He draws a boundary between what can be created and what cannot on the basis of what NES norms prescribe or do not prescribe.

In the second category, participants show comparably stronger positions on Chinese creativity than PM3 and others in the first category. UF7, for example, sees Chinese creativity as accepted without referring to any established norms, though she shares the view that the defining feature of English lies in NES norms. Her view on Chinese speakers' creativity in relation to NES norms is presented in Extract 6-7:

Extract 6-7

-
- 1 **UF7:** Because that (kind of) use breaks the basic rules of English. I mean, the gram-
 2 matical rules [...] If you change it, English can be called English. Although Chinese-
 3 flavoured English is used this way, I just feel that kind of use has made itself unlike
 4 English. Because you, you should know there is the difference between *he* and *she*, if
 5 you change this, this is not acceptable.
 6 **Interviewer:** So you think these [differences] should still be corrected.
 7 **UF7:** But *for long time no see, people mountain people sea*, I feel fun and I think they are
 8 tolerable.
-

UF7 insists on the need to conform to grammatical rules, which hints the assumed authority of the standard. Nonetheless, she does not recall grammatical rules when evaluating expressions associated with Chinese speakers' culture, language, and tradition. She explicitly expresses her awareness that "Chinese-flavoured English" is not following grammatical rules, when she shows her solidarity with examples of "Chinese-flavoured English". It is fair to say that the insistence in the authority of the standard gives way to the solidarity with Chinese speakers' culture and identity needs.

The arguments for exceptional usages of English show support to what is not accepted by the mainstream authority centres. Despite the participants' insistence on mainstream authority centres – as indicated by PM3 and UF7, humble voices are heard to suggest an authority gap where Chinese speakers have some power, though marginal, in creating forms of English within the overall framework of StE in particular and NES norms in general. The participants who make the arguments do not seem to challenge the mainstream authority centres but seek to flag up an additional and marginal contribution that Chinese creativities make to the development of English. Nonetheless, the humble voices show some attempts to negotiate with the power structure that the participants find to promote mainstream authority centres.

6.3.5 Summary

The interview data reveal three mainstream authority centres that the participants perceive as relevant to regulating their language practice, namely, NESs, "the standard" and Chinese ELT tradition. The data thus explain the multiplicity of power that seek to regulate Chinese speakers' use of English and the complexity that goes into the structuration-agency debates over language ideologies that have impacts on Chinese speakers. Simultaneously, the participants also reveal aspirations for an authority gap where Chinese speakers' creativity can be "tol-

erated” – a notion that is frequently used by the participants across different data sets and related to “compromised linguistic legitimacy” that I will discuss in Chapter 8.

The notion of Chinese creativities does not evoke randomly occurred usages of English that conflict with the prescriptions of the authority centres but those usages of English that connect with Chinese culture, language, tradition and, hence, solidarity among Chinese speakers. The aspiration for a space of Chinese creativity finds its way into Chinese speakers’ solidarity with Chinese communities, which share culture, language, tradition and value. Importantly, those who argue for a non-judgemental treatment of Chinese speakers’ creativity tend to indicate their awareness of mainstream authority centres. The consciousness of the need for Chinese speakers’ creativity is thus revealed to suggest a humble negotiation with the power structure, where Chinese speakers are expected to follow norms provided by NESs. The next section will shift the focus to Chinese speakers’ identities within the power structure to explore further agentive engagements with the power structure that promote mainstream norms to Chinese speakers in the world of English.

6.4 Identities through English

The interview data clearly reveal perceived connections of identity with language. The participants are aware of the role of English in forming, maintaining and influencing their identities, with some participants taking initiatives to talk about the role of English in their identities. An important implication is that the use of English not only has a communicative value for the participants but also relates to their identities. The data thus repudiates the view that English is merely a tool for communication and nothing else. Further, the data present a complicated profile of identity options which Chinese speakers link to global Englishes, which entails ENL, ELF, and ChELF. For the sake of the monograph, I will focus on identities within the framework that is mapped in Section 6.3.

6.4.1 Elites versus non-elites

The interview data offer some evidence to a perceived social stratification on the basis of different Englishes among Chinese speakers. The data surface the general recognition of Chinese speakers’ use of English as different from native speakers’ and associated with Chinese transfer, resonating with the questionnaire findings in Chapter 5. A few participants explicitly link an approximation to NESs’ English

or “the standard” to elites and/or achievers. For instance, in the conversation with the interviewer, UF1 explicitly makes a link between native-like English and a sense of achievement (see Extract 6-8).

Extract 6-8

-
- 1 **UF1:** As far as I see, American English and British English are more widely accepted
 2 around the world and more popular. I think it would be a long time before China English
 3 is to be accepted as their alternative.
 4 **Interviewer:** If you can choose, what kind of English would you like to use?
 5 **UF1:** At present, I think I still opt for the English that is accepted globally.
 6 [...]
 7 **UF1:** [...] this relates to an identity.
 8 **Interviewer:** an identity, what kind of identity?
 9 **UF1:** It suggests what proficiency level, what level my English is at.
 10 **Interviewer:** You mean this is a way of recognizing your identity, suggesting your
 11 English proficiency-
 12 **UF1:** -It must be an indicator of my English proficiency.
-

The context of the conversation represented in Extract 6-8 is the discussion of the acceptability of Chinese speakers’ use of English. In his account, UF1 automatically refers to “Chinese speakers’ use of English” as “China English”. Extract 6-8 starts with UF1’s comments on native Englishes in comparison with what he refers to as “China English” (lines 1–3). With the focus on the global acceptance and popularity, he indicates his view that “China English” is not treated equally around the globe and, as a result, his preference for native Englishes (line 5). A perceived link becomes clear between the global status of English and his preference. The preference for a globally popular English seems to hint an orientation towards a global network. When the interviewer asks him to explain his position, he brings up the point of identity (line 7) and further explains what he means by identity (lines 9–12). In his explanation, native-likeness is regarded as an indicator of high English proficiency, showing a belief of English as a personal trait that is described free from a social context.

Extract 6-9

-
- 1 **PM5:** Those universities abroad require (candidates to take) English exams, marks,
 2 that is in fact their strategy of selecting talented people.
 3 **Interviewer:** what do you mean?
 4 **PM5:** You see, they ask for results in TOEFL, IELTS, GRE, they ask for high marks, those
 5 who can receive high marks are generally talented people, they can learn English well,
 6 they are surely good at their majors too.
 7 **Interviewer:** this, er, English and their majors, they can’t be compared, can
 8 they?
-

9 **PM5:** Of course (they) can. Though English is not their major, they learn English well,
 10 they need to work hard to learn it well, those who can work hard to learn English well
 11 of course work hard in their major subjects, their English is good, they are good at
 12 learning, their disciplinary learning won't be bad for sure

In Extract 6-9, a necessary link is explicitly made between native Englishes and educational elites. High achievers in NES norms-oriented English exams are viewed as high achievers in other subjects. When the interviewer challenges the link between English and other majors (line 7), PM5's explanation (in lines 9–12) reveals his logic that the ability to achieve high in NES norms-oriented English exams means the ability to learn English well, which in turn means the learning capacity and correspondingly, the ability to learn other subjects. The generalization is certainly problematic, as various factors can affect the results of learning English and the results of learning a different subject, such as time investment, teaching and learning resources, and so on. The point to be made here, however, is that native-like English is presumably a personal trait, which is uncritically associated with educational elites. The role of exams and university recruitment policy is operating in reinforcing the belief in the link between native-like English and educational elites.

Notably, while there are data linking native-like English with elites, no participant is willing to link other Englishes with non-elites. Instead, a majority of the participants tend to acknowledge the value of ChELF and argue for a space for Chinese speakers' "variations" in English, while they are simultaneously hard to accept ChELF as "correct".

6.4.2 User versus learner

The user vs learner identity appears to correlate with the findings of authority centres. The participants tend to look to authority centres for reference and thus define Chinese speakers' practice of English, which is often different from the norms as maintained by the said authority centres, as learner English. The identification of Chinese speakers as learners is readily available in the interview data. While the beliefs in the said authority centres have offered evidence to the identification of Chinese users of English as learners of English in a tacit manner, it might be good to draw on some data that overtly reveal the identification as learners of English. The overtness offers an implication that the view is socially accepted. In Extract 6-10, for example, the interviewer deliberately invites UF5 to imagine two scenarios where her use of English might trigger different responses,

receiving UF5's feedback which shows her language ideology that interprets the indexical meanings of different language behaviours.

Extract 6-10

-
- 1 **Interviewer:** Somebody might say, when you speak English, if not seeing you, he
 2 would think that it is a British, or an American speaking. Do you hope-
 3 **UF5:** -If so I will be very happy @
 4 **Interviewer:** @ If somebody said to you, when you speak English, even if not seeing
 5 you, he would think that it is a Chinese speaker. What would you feel about such a
 6 comment?
 7 **UF5:** @ Then I would feel, oh dear, my English is not standard, then I need, there is a
 8 lot of room for me to improve (my English).
 9 **Interviewer:** You mean-
 10 **UF5:** -I will have to work very hard and practice and learn.
-

In Extract 6-10, UF5's interpretation of different scenarios clearly informs us of an ideology that non-native-like English is a learner' English while native-like English is a high achiever's English. Before the interviewer finishes her question about the first scenario, UF5 makes a quick response and embraces the imaginative scenario where she might be misrecognized as an NES. By contrast, when the interviewer asks UF5 about the second scenario where she would be recognized as a Chinese speaker, UF5 starts with laughter before she explains what she believes the scenario would mean. She uses an exclamation *oh dear* to deliberately present her reaction in the imagined situation that she would find surprised with the feedback on her use of English. Being recognized as a Chinese speaker, in her view, means that her "English is not standard" and that she needs to "work very hard and practice and learn" (lines 7–8). The contrastive reactions to two scenarios show a perceived gap between being native speaker-like and being Chinese speaker-like. While the former indexes a high achiever, the latter indexes a low achiever. The learner identity is revealed clearly through her descriptive discourse.

While the interview data present the positioning of Chinese speakers as learners of NESs' English, which echo the dominant voices of authority centres, the identification of Chinese speakers as users of English who have the authority over the use of English emerges along with the exceptions that do not follow those dominant authority centres. Necessarily, the participants, while positioning Chinese speakers as users of English, still accept the authority centres. However, they show an attempt to justify Chinese speakers' non-conformity to NES norms or the standard. Their justification shows the positioning of users of English that reflect agency, which is absent in learner identity. In the interview with PM6, for example, PM6 recognises his colleagues' English as not native-like

in forms. When asked about his orientations towards native-like English speakers, however, he rejects the idea that native-like English speakers are admirable and regards the use of non-native-like English as a way of positioning Chinese speakers as users, who focus on the meaning negotiation through English as a linguistic resource (see Extract 6-11).

Extract 6-11

-
- 1 **PM6:** Around me, those who can speak quite well are those who often work with foreigners. They can express themselves fluently, either on the phone or talking face to face with foreigners. [...]But if you ask me how accurate their pronunciation or something is, few of them can qualify.
- 2
3
4
- 5 **Interviewer:** [...] would you, en, feel, say, admire those (who speak NSE), or would you feel nothing special?
- 6
- 7 **PM6:** I can't say I would admire them [...]
- 8 **Interviewer:** So you mean you won't-
- 9 **PM6:** -speaking of English, such a thing, you know, in Saige Plaza in Guangdong, a well-known electronic market in China. [...] You would see the market full of foreigners, who are doing business with the Chinese dealers there. Most of the time, they only use a few simple English expressions. You know how to say the product in English. Then, when they negotiate prices, they used the calculators. They just press the numbers. How much is the annual turnover in Saige? Very huge.
-

In Extract 6-11, PM6 describes his colleagues' English inaccurate, showing awareness of the known reference in operation that is accurate English (lines 1–4). The interviewer tries to find out PM6's identity orientation by forcing him to think about the alignment with NESs (lines 5–6). PM6 uses a soft tone to reject the idea that native-like English speakers are admirable – as seen in the string *I can't say I would admire them* (line 7) – and indirectly responds to the interviewer's request to explain his position by telling a story. In PM6's account, some Chinese speakers in the market use “simple” English and translanguaging practice – “they used the calculators” and “press the numbers” when negotiating prices – in dealing with business transactions and get their business done successfully (lines 9–14). He shows a positive attitude towards non-native-like use of English and focuses on the effects of the use of English. Chinese speakers in PM6's account, both his colleagues and small business dealers in the market, are described as successful salesmen using non-native-like English. While he is aware of their “variations” from NES norms or the standard, he focuses on the function of their English and regards their creativity – as revealed in translanguaging practice, as meaningful and effective. While he rejects the idea that native-like English speakers are admirable, he shows his admiration for those small business dealers in the market who manage to perform transactions in the market. That is, his focus is not on

forms of language but functions of language. The emphasis on the massive turnover in the market implies that defocusing language forms does not necessarily affect business transactions. In his view, Chinese speakers of English are positioned as users who make use of translanguaging resources rather than learners who need to correct their “inaccurate” forms.

6.4.3 International community of practice

The interview data reveal widespread, explicit and implicit intensions to align with international communities through the use of English. The participants tend to actively express a view that English functions as an instrument for international involvement and bring up the notions of 国际大家庭 ‘international big family’, 地球村 ‘global village’ and 国际公民 ‘international citizenship’ from time to time. The textual contexts of those notions are their elaborations of the importance of English for China’s economic development and Chinese individuals’ engagement in international encounters in general. Instead of talking about their own connections with international CoPs, the participants tend to foreground the connections between China and international CoPs. This resonates with the questionnaire data which reveal questionnaire respondents’ view of the role of English in making China a member of the whole international family. I intend to see the data showing the participants’ connections between China and the whole international family as evidence of the participants’ drawing boundaries around the nation, despite their explicit use of words like *global* and *international*.

The implicit alignment with international community of practice appears to be more relevant (than the above-mentioned explicit alignment) to the understanding of individual Chinese speakers’ engagement and identification with ELF-based CoPs at the international scale. When the participants turn to talk about particular personal experiences through the medium of ELF, which are either their own or their friends’ or colleagues’, they tend to focus on the encounters between interlocutors, who are necessarily from different L1 backgrounds given the reason of using English. Their descriptions of the encounters, inevitably, give evidence of their views of the use of English in CoPs, which can be what Pitzl (2018b) labels as TIGs or what Ehrenreich (2018) loosely conceptualises as ELF-based CoPs, and Chinese speakers’ relations with non-Chinese speakers as co-members of CoPs. On the one hand, the evidence includes the awareness of interculturality, the solidarity between co-members, and the pursuit of shared repertoires and common goals. On the other hand, the descriptions of intercultural encounters show awareness of ELF, focusing on accommodation, negotiation and translanguaging skills as key to successful communication. That is, the participants are aware

of the need for flexibility in using English and the need to “violate” NES norms in order to establish the solidarity with non-Chinese speakers, with whom they work. Most participants are positive towards forms that do not follow NES norms when talking about various professional encounters with non-Chinese speakers, with the focus on achievements in the professional dimension.

For example, PM5 talks about the experiences that he and his colleagues had in working with their business customers, who are likely to be based in the Middle East and Africa:

Extract 6-12

- 1 **PM5:** We often come across such situations. Because they are non-native speakers of
 2 English, their (English), their (English), if compared with native speakers’ English, is
 3 more practical and simplified. He would think, this word, he wouldn’t like to change
 4 for another word, because he only knows this word, for example, the word *confirm*, he
 5 would use *confirm* all the time, not any other word, he would, for example, if you say
 6 *ensure*, he would be very annoyed, he would possibly not understand.
 7 **Interviewer:** So in such circumstances, you would choose-
 8 **PM5:** -Right, the word we all feel happy with. I know what *confirm* means, he knows it
 9 as well. So we *confirm*.
-

In Extract 6-12, PM5 talks about the language practice between his team, who are Chinese speakers, and international customers, who are non-Chinese speakers, through the medium of English. He shows awareness of the difference between the use of language in business encounters and the established reference as native Englishes, describing international customers’ language use as “practical”, a word suggesting a focus on meaning and communicative effects. In his account, his team is concerned with international interlocutors’ language needs, preferences and emotions. The simplification appears to be necessary to please the customers and make the Chinese team feel happy too. PM5 gives an example of deliberately “overusing” *confirm* to illustrate how his team accommodates to international interlocutors’ needs and interests in language practice. In SLA, “overuse” is a term that describes NNESS’ higher frequency of using some words than NESs and is often associated with the charge of “lexical poverty”. I use quotation marks to show my position that the criticism of “overuse” in comparison with NESs’ use of English needs to be reconsidered. Apparently, the “overuse” in PM5’s report is deliberate, motivated by the intention to be practical and pleasing. With the focus on international interactants’ needs rather than the conformity to NESs’ English forms, PM5 shows awareness of accommodation in on-site communication and reports how the Chinese team seeks to establish solidarity through the simplification of English, despite the default reference to native Englishes.

Language choice is made on the basis of an expectation of solidarity that “we all feel happy” (lines 8–9). In addition, the pronoun *we* implies PM5’s identification with his business counterparts in the ad hoc CoPs formed on the basis of business transactions. The “overuse” of *confirm* seems to evidence a shared repertoire in the said CoP.

While it is common to see in the interview data a belief in the necessity to be flexible with forms of English (as exemplified in Extract 6-12), many participants also report their language experiences where it is constructive to adopt different modes of communication in order to get the meaning across. PM3, for example, talks about ways of communicating with international business customers and makes it explicit that multiple ways of communication are necessary and should not be rejected.

Extract 6-13

-
- 1 **PM3:** I think Chinese speakers’ English is quite intelligible, not like Arabic speakers’
 2 accent, wow, theirs is just difficult (to understand).
 3 **Interviewer:** So difficult, how do you manage to understand then?
 4 **PM3:** So @@
 5 **Interviewer:** Then?
 6 **PM3:** Repeat @
 7 **Interviewer:** Then you repeat?
 8 **PM3:** If we can’t manage (to communicate orally) after all, email, @@
 9 **Interviewer:** You mean you would use all means in order to achieve the communication
 10 with them? Will you find it interesting?
 11 **PM3:** If you cannot understand or be understood, “pardon” is needed of course. Other-
 12 wise, what shall we do? There must be nothing to do with being “pleasant”, “unpleas-
 13 ant” or “implasant” [the three English words are the participant’s own words in
 14 English]. That’s communication, although none of us is a good speaker of English. We
 15 are just communicating.
-

Extract 6-13 shows PM3’s conversation with the interviewer when the issue of non-understanding between him, as a Chinese speaker, and international interlocutors, comes up. His utterance apparently describes his attitude towards Chinese speakers’ English and, accidentally, reveals his view of Arabic speakers as a comparative group (lines 1–2). The interviewer follows up on his point that Arabic speakers’ English is difficult to understand and asks him how he copes with the difficulty, based on the contextual knowledge that PM3 as a salesperson has worked for years with rich experience in dealing with foreign trade businesses. PM3 appears to be rather awkward and responds with only one word, which is immediately followed by laughter (line 4). His reaction shows hesitation to give answers and an attempt to save “face”. The interviewer, however,

does not help to save his “face” but try to force him to tell the truth (line 5). As a result, PM3 reluctantly makes another one-word response followed by laughter again (line 6). In turn, the interviewer tries hard to encourage him to give more information by asking him tacitly with a question “then you repeat?”. The conversation was in Chinese, while the transcript has been translated into English. The pronoun *you* in the question (“then you repeat?”) refers to two parties engaging in the business talk in the Chinese-medium conversation. That PM3 does not comment on the question (“then you repeat?”) can be interpreted as the silent confirmation with the interviewer’s interpretation that he would, since PM3 admits that he would use email as another strategy when oral communication is challenging (line 8). The interviewer’s attempt to encourage him to give more information is successful, with PM3 cooperatively making longer utterance and offering new information in response (see line 8). PM3 still feels awkward and ends the reply with laughter, admitting that they use emails as compensation when oral communication calls to a problem. The interviewer interprets his message as that both parties in interactions tend to exhort all means of communication in order to get business done (lines 9–10). While she asks PM3 to confirm her interpretation, she simultaneously asks for his opinion of the way they communicate. PM3’s response manifests a complex attitude. In one way, he sees being flexible as necessary and the only choice available to him and his interlocutors. In another way, he suggests that their way might cause negative feelings, which he consciously rejects. He tries to argue that using different ways to get meaning across should not be judged in terms of pleasantness, while he sees trying different ways as a strategy used by bad speakers of English. His position is thus clear that being flexible is useful but not ideal. It is not surprising that PM3 has this kind of complex attitudes, which echoes the ambivalence and contradiction in ELF attitudes (see Jenkins 2007). Nonetheless, the point here is that PM3’s account of his experience shows solidarity between him and his international interlocutors through ELF practice that relies on various forms of communication. The belief that “none of us is a good speaker of English” shows an equal footing between him and his interlocutors. Although he argues that Chinese speakers’ English is easier to understand than Arabic speakers’ at the beginning, he shifts his focus to a shared responsibility between him and his interlocutors when he talks about how they manage the communication, and rejects the judgement on the forms of communication. At the end of his explanation of his view (lines 14–15), he emphasises that “we are just communicating” and repeats his view that he has expressed in the previous sentence. He thus shows his focus on the task or the purpose of using English. The pronoun *we* shows his alignment with the interlocutors in the CoPs that they engage in and where they need to communicate.

While the interview data offer solid evidence to the solidarity between Chinese speakers and other NNEs in international communication through ELF, it is visible that many participants see NESs as the models of English. Nevertheless, the interview data also provide evidence to the participants' pursuit or treatment of NESs as equal partners, rather than models, of communication. Admittedly, those participants still accept native Englishes as reference models. A discrepancy emerges between what they accept in theory and what they welcome in practice. The interview with PM7, for example, well illustrates the discrepancy between theory and practice as well as an equal footing that Chinese speakers seek to assume in the presence of NESs. PM7 is a salesperson in the department who deals with American business partners.

Extract 6-14

- 1 **Interviewer:** Are you happy with your own English?
 2 **PM7:** No. I hope I can achieve, of course, it is impossible, for now, I hope I can speak
 3 English like their English. I think their pronunciation sounds nicer indeed, sometimes
 4 when I hear their English, their English sounds nicer indeed.
 5 **Interviewer:** So the unattainable goal, shall we still seek to achieve?
 6 **PM7:** Definitely I would not like to seek. <@>But to answer your question, of course I
 7 should speak of the ultimate goal <@> [...] I only need that an American wouldn't feel
 8 difficult when he listens to me speaking English[...]
 9 **Interviewer:** So you hope your interlocutor can acknowledge [...] when you talk to
 10 each other.
 11 **PM7:** I don't need to be acknowledged. I am all right as long as he can easily communi-
 12 cate with me. It shouldn't be the case that the communication is difficult. I don't need
 13 him to acknowledge me. Anyway, he is not my boss who pays me the salary@@
-

In Extract 6-14, PM7 explicitly indicates his aspiration for native Englishes (lines 2–4). The discourse context is that he talks about Chinese speakers' English and comments on examples of non-standard usages of English. Though he does not make explicit the comparative subject than which native Englishes are “nicer”, it is inferable in the discourse context that he compares native Englishes with his own English in particular and NNEs' English in general. While his reaction to the interviewer's question offers a lot of information, the interviewer is interested in the point he makes that it is not possible for him to speak native-like English, although he hopes to be able to speak native-like English. In response to the following-up question posed by the interviewer (line 5), PM7 presents his opinion that deserves analysis. In the first place, he accepts a discrepancy between an ideal and a reality. On the one hand, he is ready to provide a default answer to the question regarding “the ultimate goal” in English based on a presumption regarding what he “should” do. On the other hand, he is sure that he

would not pursue “the ultimate goal” in his own practice. Where the discrepancy emerges, he chooses to focus on his own language need rather than the convention regarding what is correct and ideal English. Then he spells out his expectation regarding his own language use, which “only” concerns the intelligibility of his English in the interlocutor’s perspective. Notably, he refers to an interlocutor to “an American” when he talks about the intelligibility. Two possible interpretations can apply to his reference to “an American”. One possibility is that he uses “an American” to refer to NESs in general and reveals a belief in the exclusive ownership of English by NESs. Another possible interpretation is that he treats “an American” interlocutor as an average interlocutor that he deals with in his job responsibility. The discursual context of the reference to “an American” suggests that the second interpretation should be appropriate. At the macro-social level, his job responsibility entails cooperations with American business partners. It is thus likely that he cares about American partners’ understanding of his English. In addition, the textual analysis of Extract 6-14 shows his position in relation to “an American”. When the interviewer attempts to find out his positioning in the power relations with “an American”, PM7 makes a quick response that he does not “need to be acknowledged” by the interlocutor and makes a joke that the interlocutor does not affect his salary, which has an effect of denying the power relationship between him and “an American” in terms of the use of English (lines 7–10).

Whereas the interview data give good evidence of the participants’ engagements in ELF-based CoPs at the international scale, the data simultaneously impress me by foregrounding a sense of belonging among Chinese speakers of ELF on the basis of Chinese culture and national identity. The sense of belonging can be traced down to an imagined Chinese community, which adds to the participants’ identity repertoires to show the multiplicity of identities applicable to Chinese users of ELF. The next section will turn to explore the shared sense of belonging to an imagined Chinese community.

6.4.4 An imagined Chinese community

The interview data reveal a strong sense of nationalism and cultural affinity associated with Chinese speakers’ use of ELF. This is reflected in four mutually interdependent aspects. First, the participants tend to treat Chinese speakers of English as a group rather than individuals, showing an interest in collective identities when talking about Chinese speakers either in general or in terms of particular individuals such as themselves. Second, the participants generally use *we* and *others* to categorise Chinese speakers of English and

non-Chinese speakers of English respectively. Third, descriptions of or comments on Chinese speakers' English is often collocated with notions such as "China", "Chinese", "Chinese style", "Chinese characteristics", and "national characteristics". This phenomenon is not surprising, as it converges with the questionnaire data and the FG data. Interestingly, attitudes towards Chinese speakers' English are mixed between positivity and negativity, mirroring the discussion of authority centres. The focus here is on a perceived connection among Chinese speakers, with Chineseness being viewed as a typical descriptor of Chinese speakers' English. Fourth, ELF is perceived as useful in conveying Chinese cultural ideas, while conformity to native Englishes or StEs is believed to conflict with "Chineseness". In particular, some "errors" are assumed to connect with "Chineseness" and Chinese speakers as a group. In contrast, the argument for the conformity to established norms drawn upon native Englishes is often justified by emphasising the communicative function of English and the exclusive ownership of English by NESs. That is to say, the conformity to native speaker Englishes is not viewed as a defining parameter of the group identity of Chinese speakers.

The four aspects can be mapped to Anderson's notion of "imagined community", which, as discussed earlier, includes four components, namely, imagination, definite boundaries, communion and independence. First, while imagination underpins the formation of community, the participants talk about Chinese speakers of English by viewing them as a group, which however does not actually get together in reality. Second, the divide between "us" and "others" suggests a boundary, which demarcates a limited scale of community co-constructed by "us" from a wider "international community" including both "us" and "others". Third, the participants emphasise shared "Chineseness" among Chinese speakers to actualise the connection, although Chinese speakers of English do not interact with each other through the practice of English to establish links in their views. Fourth, the participants hope to give some space to Chinese culture-oriented expressions, which do not conform to NES norms, and advocate the need for the non-conformity to NES norms, showing a willingness to assert the authority in their own creative use of English.

The above comparative points can be seen in previous extracts, as they are concurrent and overarching themes in the interview data. It is fair to say that these themes are confirmed in the FG study, which is to be discussed in the next chapter. Notably, the interview data present a strong link between an imagined Chinese community and an "international community". Put differently, an imagined Chinese community is often backgrounded against an international community of practice. In this sense, an imagined Chinese community through the use of ELF is different from a territory-based community even though its

members might see the relevance of a nation-state constructed on the basis of Chinese as a national language for an imagined Chinese community through ELF. To take a random example, UF2 expresses her aspiration for Chinese speakers' use of English to become accepted, with her account showing a belief in an international community and an imagined community of Chinese speakers of English.

Extract 6-15

- 1 **Interviewer:** Do you have any ideas about or comments on the questionnaire?
 - 2 **UF2:** You see, now there is American English, British English, hmm, I mean there are
 - 3 many kinds of English. Our Chinese speakers' English should also be acknowledged. Its
 - 4 status should be raised. Hmm, I feel proud. I mean, if it is accepted by the international
 - 5 society, as a Chinese speaker I will have a sense of national pride [...]
-

Extract 6-15 records the beginning of the conversation between the interviewer and UF2. The interviewer opens the conversation by inviting comments on the questionnaire to create a relaxing atmosphere for the discussion and give the freedom to the interviewee to bring up any issue of her own interest. Although it is possible to address any aspects of the questionnaire, UF2's response shows an autonomous interest in issues relevant to the phenomenon of English and that of variations. UF2 comes up with an idea of "our Chinese speakers' English" in terms of its status, which reveals social meanings which Chinese speakers' English invokes in her view. In the first place, the phrase *our Chinese speakers' English* suggests two things. One is a sense of group identity in relation to English. The other relates to whose English and which English. In the textual context, "our Chinese speakers' English" is compared with "many kinds of English" to suggest awareness of the diversity of English and the ownership of English by Chinese speakers. Secondly, the response made by UF2 shows a sense of identity through Chinese speakers' English. UF2 sees Chinese speakers of English as co-members of the national community. She sees the legitimation of Chinese speakers' English as a signal of national pride. The acceptance by the "international society" preconditions a sense of "national pride". This shows a sub-community which can categorise Chinese speakers of English subordinated to a wider community which is described as an "international society". That is, Chinese speakers of English are seen as both members of the Chinese national community and members of the international community. Thirdly, the interest in the status of Chinese speakers' English shows a concern with the authority of Chinese speakers in their own English. Chinese speakers' English should be acknowledged in her view, as she makes explicit in line 3. An unsaid message is that she recognizes the phenomenon of Chinese speakers' English, which exists in real life. She further clarifies her position that the "status" of Chinese speakers' English "should be raised"

(line 4), hinting that she recognizes another phenomenon that Chinese speakers' English is not legitimized. The modal verb *should* raises a voice for the acknowledgement of Chinese speakers' English. In the textual context, the mentioning of status-raising suggests that the status of Chinese speakers' English was not comparable to those of American and British Englishes. The adverb *also* suggests a voice for the equal footing between Chinese speakers' English and native Englishes, which are exemplified as American English and British English in her own account. Last but not least, UF2's discussion of Chinese speakers' English in an imagined situation. She has imagined an "international society" which has power in ascribing the status of Chinese speakers' English in the world. The expression of "national pride" in Chinese speakers' English echoes Anderson's conception of "imagined community". That is, an imagined Chinese community of English exists in an imagined international community in UF2's imagination.

The participants are aware that Chinese speakers' English is different from native Englishes or StEs. They talk about the acceptance of Chinese speakers' English in a sense that Chinese speakers' English connects with a group of Chinese speakers, who are connected with China. A shifting focus to China in the discussion of the acceptability of Chinese speakers' English drives home a sense of nationalism in Chinese speakers' use of English in international activities. The sense of grouping Chinese speakers of English on the basis of their national identities reveals a sense of "imagined community", a concept which is originally related to nationalism in Anderson's (2006) work. Correspondingly, the expectation of the status of Chinese speakers' English relates to the expectation of the development of China. As seen in Extract 6-16, for example, PM4 expresses his views of Chinese speakers' English, the legitimation of which he thinks depends upon the position of China in the world system. PM4's explanation of his view well illustrates Fairclough's (1989) framework that language ideology reflects the power structure in which it is situated.

Extract 6-16

-
- 1 **Interviewer:** Do you have any ideas about or comments on the questionnaire?
 2 **PM4:** I think the topic is rather interesting. After all, there are so many people learning and using English in China [...] in the future if China's influence increases, it [i.e. Chinese speakers' English] should be allowed to exist. I mean, why is Chinese speakers' variety of English not accepted, or, why few people accept it? Because English, English involves a kind of standard, [...] it [the use of English] is judged by its providers. If the providers are very powerful, definitely the standard will be promoted quickly; if the providers are not powerful enough, or we can say, if they have little symbolic power, the standard will not be acknowledged by other countries, or others. It really depends on the symbolic power, and whether the country [i.e. China] is powerful or not [...]
-

PM4 was a technician in a joint venture when interviewed. He was eloquent and keen on the discussion of the phenomenon of English and variations. The interviewer opens the conversation with a general question for the purpose of leading him into a discussion that suits his interest and pace. He shows a willingness to cooperate by acknowledging the value of the research on Chinese speakers' attitudes towards English (lines 2–3). He then carries on and takes a very long turn, although the interviewer keeps smiling, nodding or echoing with *hmm* from time to time during his speech. He actively talks about his view of English, Chinese speakers' use of English, Chinese learners' learning of English, and English change, without the interviewer's request or invitation. In order to highlight the focus in limited space, Extract 6-17 only presents parts of the transcript that are coded as "justifications for Chinese speakers' English". While the extract allows for the understanding of PM4's language ideology in many ways, the focus here will be on identity and community.

PM4 talks about "the future", which meets the primary condition of "imagined community", that is, imagination (see Norton 2000). He makes a firm link of Chinese speakers of English to China, arguing that the legitimacy of Chinese speakers' English depends on China's status in the power structure. An imagined community based on the nation-state thus readily emerges in his imagination. To be specific, an imagined Chinese community of English speakers is seen in terms of the connection of Chinese speakers of English with China. Chinese speakers of English are viewed to have a prominent identity as China's citizens. With a group identity flagged up, a strong sense of nationalism is revealed in the extract. Notably, while "Chineseness" is foregrounded in the shared community, the use of English is not conceived as conflicting to nationalism, which tends to be associated with Chinese as a national language. This might relate to what Pan (2014) has discussed an ideology in China that English is key to national development and individual welfare.

However, an issue needs to be discussed as to whether an imagined community formed by Chinese speakers of English is associated with Chinese speakers' own English in particular or English in general. Clearly, PM4 talks about "Chinese speakers' variety of English" and the legitimacy of the "variety" in Extract 6-17. Although this book is not about "variety", it is necessary to note that folks tend to draw on their own theories in making sense of language phenomenon, which might be different from researchers. Folk linguistics is meaningful in that it offers opportunities to understand the phenomenon in their perspectives. In this sense, it is useful to understand what PM4 refers to as "Chinese speakers' variety of English" rather than treating PM4's notion literally. In the textual context, PM4 makes comments on standard and hints that English used by Chinese speakers is not accepted with reference to the standard that is in

power. That is to say, “Chinese speakers’ variety of English” in PM4’s term refers to English used by Chinese speakers that different from the established standard. In his view, the legitimation of Chinese speakers’ own English is dependent upon China’s status in the power structure. That is, when China is powerful enough, Chinese speakers’ own English is legitimate; when China is not powerful enough, Chinese speakers’ own English is not legitimate. Thus, it is fair to say that PM4 sees Chinese speakers’ own English as an index of China’s position in the power structure.

China is viewed by PM4 as a nation subject to a power structure, which has influences upon “other countries” too. In addition, the power structure over China and other countries parallels with “a kind of standard” that normalizes the use of English in the world. PM4 expresses his voice for the acknowledgement of Chinese speakers’ English. Instead of talking about why Chinese speakers’ English should be accepted, PM4 talks about why Chinese speakers’ English is not acknowledged, showing his understanding of the power structure where Chinese speakers’ English is situated. His analysis reveals social meanings that Chinese speakers’ English evokes in his view.

6.4.5 Summary

Whereas some participants make a linkage between native-like English and elites in China, there is no sign to link ChELF and non-elites. Interestingly, while explicitly setting “real English” – in Seidlhofer’s (2003) term – as an ideal goal and a default framework of reference, many participants are positive towards “realistic English” – in Seidlhofer’s (2003) term – and consider ChELF as valuable in getting things done in international projects and tasks. The participants present mixed positions on Chinese speakers as legitimate users of ELF in their own right and Chinese speakers as learners of ENL. The engagement with international CoPs appears to be a major reason for Chinese speakers to use English. The participants tend to be aware of and positive towards their international practices that rely on translanguaging skills and the multimodality of communication in their encounters with non-Chinese speakers. ChELF reminds the participants of the link between Chinese speakers on the one hand and Chinese culture, nation, language and tradition on the other hand. Importantly, some participants tend to view an imagined Chinese community as subordinated to the wider international community. For them, the link between two communities at different scales can be established through ChELF as part of Chinese speakers’ identity resources.

6.5 Ideological struggle

What has been explored in the interview data so far has demonstrated the complexity of language ideologies associated with ChELF. The multiplicity of authority centres to which Chinese speakers defer and the authority gap which Chinese speakers seek provide evidence of Chinese speakers' mediation between established norms and their own needs. The defence of ChELF in terms of linguistic viability and identity construction is in tension with the bias against ChELF, a bias that aligns with the adherence to established norms. While previous work on ELF attitudes tends to converge on the ambivalence of ELF attitudes (e.g. Jenkins 2007, Ranta 2010, Wang 2013), the complexity and the tension seem to surface to explain the ambivalence, with the focus on ChELF attitudes.

It is yet to explore possible forces pushing and/or pulling two ends of the tension so as to address the issue of ChELF legitimacy in respect of its dynamics. In the end, three ideological forces are found to have impacts on the ideological tension between the bias over ChELF and the appeal for ChELF. The participants' reactions to those ideological forces are analysed to reveal the processes through which social actors interact with ideological forces to offer implications for the reproduction or redefinition of power relations on English. What follows will look into the ideological processes in details.

6.5.1 Commonsense language beliefs

Fairclough's (1989) discussion of commonsense language beliefs has implications for the study of Chinese speakers' ideologies about English and the legitimacy of ChELF. Fairclough (1989) sees commonsense assumptions regarding language use as important manifestations of power relations. For him, common-sense assumptions are "implicit in the conventions according to which people interact linguistically, and of which people are generally not consciously aware" (Fairclough 1989: 2). In this sense, common-sense language beliefs exist in the adherence to language conventions that language users might not be aware of the power embedded in conventions. Meanwhile, he regards common sense as an important ideological means that naturalizes a social phenomenon to "*sustain unequal relations of power*" (Fairclough 1989: 84, original italics). Through naturalisation, common sense is often not justified with logic but exists as self-justified. Thus, common sense is a powerful way of maintaining the status quo and, in terms of language use, existing conventions of language. That is, common sense has the power in regulating the general public's language behaviours and influencing their language preferences. The implications of Fairclough's discussion

for Chinese speakers' language ideologies mainly lie in the need to examine how Chinese speakers rationalise their language preferences to establish if any commonsense language beliefs exist among the participants to affect their language choices.

ELF researchers have critiqued some presumptions revolving around English, which have the nature of what Fairclough (1989) conceptualises as common sense. For example, the promotion of native Englishes “guarantees” the “quality” of English as “a means of communication” (Widdowson 2003: 36); the conformity to StEs ensures the intelligibility in communication (Jenkins 2007, Seidlhofer 2011); NESs' accents are “good” but NNESs' accents are “bad” (Jenkins 2007: 219); native Englishes are “real” English (Seidlhofer 2003); NESs are the authority in English (Seidlhofer 2011, Widdowson 2003). As ELF researchers note, those presumptions are widely observed in defence of the exclusive ownership of English by NESs but untenable in the context of the spread of English where English plays a role of global lingua franca. In addition, those presumptions are often automatically accepted and serve to reinforce the unequal relations of power between NESs and NNESs (Jenkins 2014, Seidlhofer 2004, 2011).

The interview data reveal the said presumptions and the like, converging on a cluster of commonsense beliefs that authentic English is the English that should be followed whereas other Englishes should not. I use the notion of authentic English as an umbrella to cover the terms (sometimes interchangeably) used by the participants, which include “native speakers' English”, “native English”, “standard English”, “their English”, and “accurate English”. As Fairclough (1989: 93) states, “one dimension of ‘common sense’ is the meaning of words”. The analysis of how the participants elaborate on the commonsense beliefs reveals ideological meanings of authentic English that exist not only among the participants but also in the Chinese context, which ideologically influences the participants. There are four meanings associated with “authentic English” in interview data:

1. Authentic English is *the* reference variety of English.
2. Authentic English is a prestigious variety of English in the Chinese society.
3. Authentic English has *the* absolute authority that nobody should question.
4. Authentic English is the English tied to NESs and their cultures.

While the data point to an overall submission to the cluster of commonsense beliefs, no data suggest otherwise. Some participants take for granted that authentic English is the model which should be followed but cannot provide logical reasoning of the need to follow it. Notably, they show little awareness that the commonsense beliefs normalise the unequal relations of power between

NESs and NNEs. In Extracts 6-9 and 6-10 presented earlier, for example, the two participants happily show off their view that approximation to native Englishes or StEs is an indicator of good English users. Other participants show awareness that the commonsense beliefs prevail in the Chinese context to constrain their language choices. They appear to grapple with the commonsense beliefs, pointing out a discrepancy between those beliefs and their own theories of English. They feel difficult to question or challenge the common sense and justify their own theories of language use. It is intriguing to observe two orientations with regard to the discrepancy. One orientation focuses on native Englishes, while the other focuses on the participants' own theories of English, which prioritise Chinese speakers' right to English.

What follows will draw on two interviews with PF4 and UF3 respectively to illustrate the four ideological meanings and the two orientations in that ideological meanings are inseparable from and embedded in the commonsense reasoning of language use. The investigation shows the ideological process that the participants in this group would generally experience in making sense of Englishes as language choices.

PF4 worked in the international cooperation department in a state-owned company while the interview was conducted. She had the experience of studying abroad for a degree before she got the job. Like a few others, she explicitly reports her dilemma in terms of language use but tends to question her own understanding to seek harmonies with the commonsense belief in authentic English. Extract 6-17 presents the conversation between PF4 and the interviewer. While the interviewer does not need to speak much to motivate her to speak, PF4 appears to be keen on the expression of her emotion associated with the use of English.

Extract 6-17

-
- 1 **PF4:** [...] I think a language is acceptable as long as you can use it to communicate [...]
 2 I don't want to copy authentic English accent but I have to. Otherwise other people
 3 would laugh at you.
 4 **Interviewer:** Why?
 5 **PF4:** They compare your English with that authentic kind of English [...] I have no
 6 choice. I have to face up to the reality that everybody is working to get close to the
 7 authentic [English]. I'm always holding the view that intelligibility is everything. If
 8 other people can accept your English, it means your English is intelligible to them (.)
 9 but I think I am struggling. I don't think I'm going to use it myself (.) because I think
 10 nobody would use English this way on formal occasions. Such use of English is just for
 11 the purpose of entertainment. So it should be limited to the situation where entertain-
 12 ment is the purpose (.) I just feel I am in chaos.
-

In Extract 6-17, PF4 mentions “authentic” English three times (line 2, line 5 and line 7). The first mention of “authentic” English is co-located with the verb *copy* and the auxiliary verb *have to*, showing the belief that “authentic” English is a model variety to be followed. She further points out the penalty of not following authentic English, which is not pleasing but makes PF4 feel awkward, strengthening the point that authentic English is a reference variety. The second mention of “authentic” English (line 5) shows her opinion that authentic English is a reference variety and a benchmark against which the performance of a general user of English can usually be judged. The third mention of “authentic” English is in her explanation of “the reality” of English. She makes the point that “everybody” strives to approximate authentic English, seemingly hinting that authentic English is a social norm. This interpretation finds the support in her mention of the penalty of not following authentic English (line 2). Importantly, PF4 focuses on others’ attitudes and reactions in commenting on language use and explicitly regards the linguistic viability as a factor downplayed by others in reacting to general language users’ language performance. The social meaning of authentic English becomes telling, pointing to social recognition, social norm and social status.

It is possible to infer an unsaid message from the extract by looking at how PF4 talks about her language choice. In lines 8–12, she talks about her imagination in respect of language expectations. It is not what she observes or what she knows but what she thinks that “nobody would use English this way on formal occasions”. She continues to confirm that “it should be limited to the situation where entertainment is the purpose”. “This way” and “it” in her account refer to non-conformity to authentic English, in the context that she shows her opinion of “copying” authentic English. The modal verb *should* indicates her belief in what is correct and obligatory. It is fair to infer her belief that authentic English has the absolute authority that nobody should violate.

Extract 6-17 offers a striking feature of discrepancy and struggle in PF4’s language ideologies. There are a few discrepancies reflected in PF4’s accounts of her language beliefs and practice. The extract opens with her description of a discrepancy between what she believes and how she behaves in terms of the use of English. The reluctance to “copy authentic English accent” is readily revealed. She then talks about the discrepancy between what she hopes and what social expectation is. She also talks about the discrepancy between forced choice and language freedom. Apart from the discrepancies, the discourse features present her dilemma tellingly, through the use of words like *have to*, *no choice*, *have to*, *struggling*, and *chaos*.

According to her elaboration of her language attitude and practice, social pressure appears to be a major factor that frustrates her aspiration for language freedom. In the string *I have to face up to the reality that everybody is working to get close to the authentic [English]* (lines 6–7), it is apparent that “everybody” refers to those who are not naturally born as authentic English speakers. This suggests that PF4 is talking about the social norm that defines what NNEs should do in terms of English use. While she feels pressurized in terms of her language behaviour, she seems to be a bit confused about the reason why intelligibility does not suffice the acceptance of English. She leaves her confusion aside and chooses to succumb to the social pressure. Her focus on what “everybody” does in terms of language use and how “other people” would react to one’s linguistic performance implies an orientation towards the common sense about authentic English and a forced departure from what she believes about English in herself.

PF4’s submission to the common sense appears to imply her weak agency when reacting to the power relations revolving the use of English. She shows her preference for authentic English, which maintains the unequal relations of power between NESs and NNEs. Nonetheless, she shows the reluctance to follow the common sense and actively expresses her frustration that linguistic intelligibility does not suffice the acceptability of English. Her reluctance, frustration and emphasis on others’ attitudes seem to suggest that she accepts authentic English for the social meanings that authentic English entails. It is fair to interpret that she seeks to do what “other people” do, despite her personal beliefs about language. The decision to follow “other people” might suggest an inclination to be included rather than excluded. As discussed earlier, she refers to “everybody” as NNEs. It is revealing that she does not seek to identify with NESs through the use of authentic English but with NNEs, or perhaps Chinese speakers in particular, by following the practice that “everybody” carries on. Notably, at the end of the extract, she reveals her belief that authentic English has the authority that nobody could violate. The inconsistency of her positions on authentic English might suggest the complexity of language ideologies and uncertainty about the use of English. This interpretation resonates with the findings across different sets of data.

UF3 is an example of the participants who choose to focus on Chinese speakers’ own English after the painful struggle between the common sense about authentic English and their needs for cultural expression and identity construction. UF3 was a student who majored in the study of English when interviewed. She confessed her struggle in the conversation with the interviewer immediately after the start of the conversation.

Extract 6-18

-
- 1 **Interviewer:** How do you feel like the questionnaire?
 2 **UF3:** I feel struggled. I do think that an English major should speak the very fluent
 3 and authentic English. But sometimes, I hope I can, I think (.) I still have that kind of
 4 emotion in my use of English, I would like to implant MY (first) language, MY (first)
 culture into the use of English.
-

In response to the interviewer's opening question, UF3 shares her struggle in terms of the use of English frankly. Her willingness to participate in the interview and immediate reply focusing on the struggle seem to deliver a message that the issue of how to use English has been in her mind for a long time.

Extract 6-18 is short but offers rich information. First, UF3 sees herself as obliged to pursue authentic English, as an English major but choose to turn away from it. English majors are regarded as language specialists or potential language specialists in the Chinese context. The obliged connection between authentic English and language experts gives the indexical meaning to authentic English in China. The indexical meaning of authentic English is widely supported in the data. Many participants who are relaxed with the way that they use English often cite a reason that they are not English majors and only need forms of English that satisfy communicative purposes. That is, authentic English is associated with language specialists in the Chinese context, showing a prestigious status in China. It is interesting to notice that some participants see authentic English as prestigious but indicate no aspiration for it. UF3 is one of those participants, as the extract shows.

Second, UF3 seeks to keep authentic English distinguished from a kind of English that can integrate her first language and first culture. UF3's struggle shows a belief of the incompatibility between authentic English and Chinese language together with Chinese culture. She attaches some emotional value to the use of English that invokes her first language and her first culture. It is easy to see a contrast between reasoning and emotion. She sees her need for her first language and first culture as an emotional need, while she sees her identity as an English major to explain her responsibility to use authentic English.

In addition, Extract 6-18 presents a few conflicts. One conflict exists between obligation and emotion. The second conflict exists between authentic English and Chinese language and culture. The third conflict exists between common sense and individual needs. The short extract thus reveals a challenge to a commonsense belief about authentic English. That is, while authentic English is prestigious and indexical to elite groups, Chinese speakers' cultural and identity needs are insulated from authentic English.

6.5.2 Educational constraints

Education as an institutional device plays an important role in maintaining the status quo, actualizing language policy interventions and promoting language ideologies, which serve to maintain predominant power relations (Fairclough 1989, Lippi-Green 1994b, Shohamy 2006). Nonetheless, understanding the role of education should not overlook education participants' reactions to language ideologies promoted through education. While the data offer strong evidence to the role of education in promoting language ideologies, the data also present a complex picture regarding the participants' reactions to education in the process of language ideologies. All participants reflect on the impacts of education upon their language preferences, automatically or motivated by their need to explain their language preferences. Given the focus of the monograph, what follows will present the data in a way that the participants' agencies are examined, so that the impacts of education on the participants' language ideologies illuminate from the perspectives of the participants.

The data present educational constraints upon the participants' language ideologies, which manifest in a way that education does not explain linguistic phenomenon properly and sufficiently. The participants react to educational constraints in three ways. First, some participants accept what education offers uncritically. Second, some participants accept what education offers, although they believe in what is different from what education offers. Third, some participants appear to be confused with what education offers. The three categories jointly contribute to the theme that the participants struggle with the belief in ELF and simultaneously what education offers. While the participants' reflections reveal what education offers, what follows will address their reactions to education in each of the categories respectively, with illustrated examples.

The participants generally refer to English that English education represents in China as “the standard [English]”, “the native [English]”, “their English”, “British English” and “American English”. Among them, a group of participants show a firm belief that English is what English education prescribes on the topic of English. They show a strong belief in the conformity to NESs' English forms as necessary, a belief that is embedded in their belief in the authority of English education. Some participants tend to show an understanding of English by arguing that non-conformity would cause troubles in communication. The struggle becomes salient when a few participants make attempts to elaborate on their understandings of English but cannot rationalize properly. For example, MM6 feels difficult to explain why the adherence to NES norms is important but turns to describe the phenomenon that NES norms are followed widely (see Extract 6-19).

Extract 6-19

-
- 1 **Interviewer:** [...] So why should we follow their [i.e. NESs'] norms? Why can't we have
 2 our own norms?
 3 **MM6:** NORMS? I think this involves the essence of language. After all, their countries
 4 are where English originated. We can establish our norms. But if so, we are making it
 5 (English) pointless.
 6 **Interviewer:** What do you mean by the point of English?
 7 **MM6:** I mean, for example, examination. I am tested English. I am tested American
 English or British English. What you suggested is obviously China English.
-

Extract 6-19 is contextualized by the conversation between the interviewer and MM6 when they come to the point that MM6 refers to “their” English norms as the benchmark and comments on the acceptability of English usages in terms of their correctness. Since the authority centre points to NES norms in MM6’s articulation, the interviewer probes into reasons for an exclusive focus on NES norms and urges MM6 to comment on a scenario that Chinese speakers’ use of English shows endonormativity (lines 1–2). MM6 makes a brief response, which, however, offers rich information. The notion of “norms” seems to have surprised MM6, who repeats the term in a raising tone and in a louder voice to form a rhetorical question to the interviewer. The issue of norms, in his view, relates to “the essence of language”. With his further explanation, “the essence of language” defines an automatic link between the birthplace of English and the right of providing norms. In this logic, the hypothesis of Chinese speakers’ own norms conflicts with “the essence of language”. Not surprisingly, he rejects the hypothesis of Chinese speakers’ own norms and shows a resentment to it – as seen in his comment that *if so, we are making it pointless*. While the emotion in the negative comment is telling, his comment is intriguing for the interviewer, who immediately asks for further explanation of “the point of English” (line 6). MM6’s response appears to lack some connection with the interviewer’s question (lines 7–8). The conflict, however, could suggest that MM6 does not have rationales for the arguments that he makes about English. He turns to make a link with the ELT practice, suggesting that native Englishes are accepted by the ELT practice but Chinese speakers’ own norms are not. The string *I am tested English. I am tested American English or British English. What you suggested is obviously China English* implies an equivalence between English and native Englishes and an exclusion of what the interviewer has hypothesized. The action of drawing upon the ELT practice to elaborate his views on English, while he is unable to explain his own statements in his own words, suggests that he treats the ELT tradition as the absolute authority that informs him of what English is and what is correct. In a sense, the ELT tradition submerges underneath MM6’s firm belief in NES norms, with MM6 having no critical understanding of what English is.

It is common to see in the data that many participants claim to believe the intelligibility of non-conformity to NESs' English forms but simultaneously claim to accept what English education prescribes as to how to use English. A discrepancy between language belief and language preference thus becomes salient in the data. UF5, for example, explicitly expresses her choice between what an agentic choice and structuralized choice.

Extract 6-20

1 **UF5:** I think language is used for the purpose of communication [...] it is all right as long
 2 as the use of English can make the users understood [to each other]. I don't mind how
 3 close it [i.e. our English] is to the standard NSE [...] However, it is the reality that we are
 4 required to do so (i.e. to use the standard NSE), of course I will seek to use the standard
 5 (NSE)[...] the criterion that schools use, that teachers use, is not agreeing with what we
 6 said just now, the English is all right as long as the user makes himself understood. For
 7 this reason, me and students around me, because the reality hasn't been changed yet, I
 8 will still work towards the standard (NSE), I will seek the standard (NSE).

In Extract 6-20, UF5 expresses her belief in the communicative function of language, which, in her view, is the main dimension that determines the acceptability of language forms. This claim echoes Cogo's (2008: 58) point that "function follows forms" (see also Seidlhofer 2011). UF5 is aware of the established reference for English users, but she explicitly disparages the conformity to the reference under the condition that "the use of English can make the users understood" (lines 2–4). Not long before, she flags up a contrasting position, ushering a statement with a transition adverb *however* that she will seek to conform to StE. A discrepancy thus becomes visible between what she believes and how she behaves. She describes "the reality" where she is situated and which forces her to give up on what she believes, laying a foundation for her statement of her language preference. The adverb phrase *of course* not only emphasizes her position but also serves to suggest that her behaviour is reasonable in reaction to the prescription by institutional authority. She further enhances her statement by drawing upon her peer students and identifying herself as one of the student group that is subject to institutional authority. This way foregrounds her identity as a group member and disparages her individual identity, which is associated with the belief that "function follows forms". The group identity appears to be more prominent than individual identities. The group identity is constructed to show a membership of the community formed by peer students who follow institutional authority. The conformity to the standard is a way of showing group identity. The pursuit of group identity is backgrounded and implicit. The pursuit of the conformity to institutional authority is foregrounded and explicit. There is

no intention to challenge or problematize the status quo but do what the authority requires. While a strong sense of structuralism emerges, the agency appears to be weak. It is fair to claim that the submission to institutional authority is at the price of giving up on personal beliefs.

A small group of participants tend to report confusion regarding what English education offers in terms of the use of English. In their explanation of their confusion, they feel challenged or difficult to use what English education offers to make sense of what they have experienced or observed regarding the use of English in real life situations. UM2, for example, explicitly indicates a confusion why “incorrect” forms of English “really worked” in real life situation (line 6, Extract 6-21).

Extract 6-21

- 1 **UM2:** What we've learned for years is the standard (English). Sometimes I think, for
 2 example during the days of Olympic Games, or of World Expo, many people, their
 3 grammar might be erroneous, but they could roughly express their ideas, they did com-
 4 municate.
 5 **Interviewer:** Hmm, do you accept the English that they used?
 6 **UM2:** (.) Actually I don't accept it within my heart. But it really worked. Why? @@
-

In Extract 6-21, UM2 introduces a contrast between what he has learned for years, which is “the standard” English, and what he has observed in real life situations, which involves “erroneous” English. Although he does not comment on “the standard” English, he acknowledges the communicative effects of “erroneous” English twice in the short utterance (lines 1–3). He talks about the communicative effects in a rather conservative manner first (*they could roughly express their ideas*, line 3), followed by a confirmative statement (*they did communicate*, lines 3–4). The interviewer’s question posed to UM2 whether he would accept “incorrect” forms of English seems to have given the latter some pressure, as seen in his reaction that he paused a little while before he could answer. The pause seems to hint that the question is not that easy for him. On the one hand, he describes his feeling about the acceptability of “incorrect” forms. The adverb *actually* has an effect of suggesting to the listener that he is honest about his language belief. On the other hand, he brings up a statement with a transition adverb *but* to show a contrasting position. The use of the adverb *really* gives an impression that he is suggesting that he is telling the truth about the phenomenon that he observes. Along with the one-word question “why”, a perceived conflict becomes visible between what he believes and what he observes. Notably, he emphasizes both what he (actually) believes and what he (really) observes, showing his struggle to decide which side is more important. The laughter at the end of his utterance helps to confirm a dilemma, with which UM2 does not have an idea of how to

cope. It is inferable from the discrepancies that what UM2 has learned cannot explain what he has observed and that what he has observed challenges what he has believed.

It is not surprising to expect that language education is relevant to the real-life scenarios. What UM2 has observed in real life is not explained in years of English learning experience that he has. What is represented in education seems to conflict with what is happening in real life, which can explain UM2's confusion. The impact of formal education upon him is the firm belief against "incorrect" forms of English. His struggle emerges when he tries to make sense of what is against in language education. UM2's confusion is about the communicative effects of "incorrect" forms of English, which seems to hint the failure of education provided to him in explaining the real life linguistic phenomenon.

Educational constraints that the participants see as requirements about the use of English weaken those participants' agencies. In one way, English education prescribes English norms that do not explain the actual use of English in real-life situations. In another way, prescribed English norms are restricting their freedom of using English, as ELT practice would give them penalties if they do not follow prescribed norms. Given these, it is not difficult to understand those voices questioning the prescription of norms by institutions and dissenting voices showing forced agreement to the prescriptions. Those voices show the contradiction to the interests of language users and learners. It would be helpful to understand why the institutions prescribe the norms and what are ideologies behind the prescriptions, though this is beyond the scope of the monograph and can be pursued in future research.

6.5.3 Group identity

While the discussion of other codes has revealed that the participants tend to link their language use with group identity, I would like to give some space to the discussion of group identity in particular here to analyse the process how some participants explicitly accept group identity as a major factor that could motivate Chinese speakers to redefine power relations on English.

Despite voices in defence of ChELF in terms of its value, the data generally reveal a tendency to avoid talking about the legitimacy of ChELF. While the interviewer tries very hard and pushes participants to talk about their views of the "acceptability" of ChELF, the participants generally react by beating around the bush. They tend to describe ChELF as "ok [participants' own word in English]", "useful", or "practical" and argue that it is not reasonable to prevent Chinese speakers from using ChELF. As Fraser's (2010) work shows, hedging has discour-

sal effects such as vagueness and evasion. That is, hedging makes the discourse ambiguous and lets the speaker avoid particular topics. The participants' indirect responses to the notions of "acceptability" and "acceptance" seem to imply an uncertainty about the legitimacy of ChELF. This uncertainty will be particularly discussed in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8, which leads to the notion of "compromised linguistic legitimacy".

Only when the interviewer asks what could make them think about the acceptability of ChELF do a few participants make responses, which point to group identity as a major factor that could motivate some participants to address the issue of the legitimacy of ChELF. In the conversation with PF2, for instance, the interviewer spent a lot of time trying to make PF2 comment on the acceptability of ChELF but never succeeded until the interviewer came up with a question that hints the time for an attitude change (see Extract 6-22).

Extract 6-22

-
- 1 **Interviewer:** When, on earth, do you think you can accept Chinese speakers' use of
 2 English in their own way?
 3 **PF2:** When everybody accepts it, I will accept.
 4 **Interviewer:** Everybody? Who are they?
 5 **PF2:** Chinese speakers, of course. We can't expect foreigners to accept Chinese speak-
 6 ers' way, right. Some usages are only related to our culture. If they don't understand
 7 our culture, they can't understand our English, the English with Chinese culture,
 8 Chinese way of thinking.
 9 **Interviewer:** Do you mean that you will accept Chinese speakers' use of English when
 10 Chinese speakers generally accept?
 11 **PF2:** Yeah.
 12 **Interviewer:** But if everybody thinks so, how can this happen?
 13 **PF2:** It is like some language usages on the internet, many people use them, now some
 14 of them have become accepted.
 15 **Interviewer:** Many people are using English like this
 16 **PF2:** it is still not accepted as correct. If everybody doesn't regard it as incorrect, they
 17 will become accepted.
 18 **Interviewer:** it is like a circle, if you don't accept, you regard it as incorrect, and it is
 19 still not accepted
 20 **PF2:** anyway, if most people accept it, I will accept
 21 **Interviewer:** This sounds
 22 **PF2:** I just want to follow the trend, @@, if many Chinese speakers accept, I will accept
-

In response to the interviewer's question (lines 1–2), PF2 continues to hedge by hiding her own opinion behind an imagined group opinion that is agreed by "everybody" (line 3). It is telling that PF2 bows to group identity and embraces group norms. When the interviewer chases up (line 4), PF2 elaborates on her

imagination of the group, which are formed by Chinese speakers (lines 5–8). She draws a boundary around Chinese speakers and considers the agreement within the boundary as the guidance for her to follow. In her account, she sees Chinese culture, Chinese way of thinking, and “our English” as indexical markers that distinguish who are “us” and who are “foreign”. The interviewer appears to be critical with PF2’s reliance on the group opinion, questioning PF2’s reasoning and hinting her lack of initiative (line 12). Interestingly, however, PF2 makes an analogy to language use on the internet to argue that group behaviour would lead to group acceptance eventually. Inferably, though PF2 is reluctant to comment on the acceptability of ChELF, she holds the belief that the continuous use of ChELF by Chinese speakers would lead to the acceptance of ChELF by Chinese speakers in general, which would then guide her how to position on the issue of ChELF. When the interviewer attempts to disagree with PF2’s logic, PF2 makes a claim and, then, repeats that her decision would be based on “the trend” among Chinese speakers (lines 18–22). With laughter, PF2 softens the tension between the interviewer and her, who disagree with each other, before she concludes the section by stating her position again that she follows what is agreed among Chinese speakers.

The “follow-the-trend” position appears to be popular in the data, offering an explanation to the hesitation in approaching the topic of the acceptability of ChELF. Whereas the value of ChELF is recognised, the mainstream norms remain to be based on native Englishes, supported by various authority centres, and reinforced by common sense and institutions. The “follow-the-trend” position reveals an understanding of the power structure within which individuals’ role in considering the legitimacy of ChELF is not an interesting topic for the participants but group opinion is. The embracement of “the trend” within the boundary around Chinese speakers suggests aspirations for Chinese-related group identity to be developed to negotiate with existing power relations on English. This interpretation resonates with the questionnaire responses on the aspiration for a Chinese model of English and some FG data that link the power of a nation with the influence of the language associated with the nation. In this sense, the “follow-the-trend” position might be better interpreted as a hope for change tied to group identity rather than a lack of criticality in engaging with the issue of English norms.

6.5.4 Summary

Ideological struggles explicitly expressed by the participants show both challenges and potentials in language change and legitimacy. The challenges are commonsense beliefs about English associated with social discourses that have

confused the participants and educational institutions that promote the conformity to established norms and constrains Chinese speakers' creativity. The potentials lie in the participants' conscious resistance to common sense and institutional constraints. In addition, the participants tend to adopt a "follow-the-trend" position on the issue of the legitimacy of ChELF, which can be interpreted as their pursuit of ways of redefining power relations on English. That is, while they see individuals' role in negotiating power relations as limited, they expect that Chinese speakers as a whole could make some difference. In short, the decision-making about ChELF is tellingly a complex process that invokes the engagement with predominant power relations in complicity with various language ideological mechanisms on the one hand and Chinese speakers' linguistic needs, values and possibility to redefine power relations on the other hand.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter explores language ideologies among Chinese speakers by looking into interview participants' discourses about identities in relation to English in general and ChELF in particular within power relations that they see as relevant to their identities. Following Wodak's (2012) framework of power, language and identity, I have examined the data to find out authorities that have impacts on Chinese language users and analyse Chinese speakers' identities through language choices. I have also looked into the ideological processes through which Chinese speakers negotiate with power relations that predefine NESs as norm providers and Chinese speakers as norm followers. The data unfold an intriguing picture that presents complicated relations and delicate interactions between authority centres on the one hand and language users' needs, wants and values on the other hand. The complexity points to an ambiguity of attitudes towards ChELF and a hesitation to engage with the issue of the legitimacy of ChELF. Nonetheless, the ideological process where Chinese speakers mediate the tension between the power structure and the agentic needs shows signs of struggle to redefine power relations on English. Yet, further investigation into the process of power struggle is needed to deepen the understanding of what is involved in the process and how Chinese speakers deal with different elements in the power structure to negotiate new possibilities in terms of the legitimacy of ChELF. This leads to the use of FG data in Chapter 7, which amplifies the dynamics of power struggles in discourses.

7 Sense-making of English change among Chinese speakers

Chapter 6 has explored different views through interviews of language in general, English in particular, and variations, with the particular focus on Chinese speakers' use of English in the context of the global spread of English. The interviews have explicitly or implicitly revealed struggles, dilemmas and complexities in making sense of Chinese speakers' use of English, mirroring the multiplicity of language ideologies. This chapter goes further to explore the process of language ideologies, that is, how language ideologies are "debated" – a word borrowed from Blommaert (1999), how some language ideologies win the ground while others lose, and how some language ideologies are reproduced, maintained, reinforced, or challenged. For this purpose, FGs offer the opportunities to examine the "debates" and the discussion among members who bring together different views of language in general, English in particular, variations, and Chinese speakers' use of English. By paying attention to how some arguments win the ground, we can obtain some insights into Chinese speakers' use of English in terms of the issue of legitimacy.

7.1 Focus groups

FG study has an advantage of studying group dynamics to understand the process through which research participants engage with each other in social settings and bring up issues with which they are concerned for discussion in the pace that they like. To make most of the FG method, I consider the following features of FG study.

First, researchers are interested in group decisions as opposed to decisions made by individuals (Wibeck, Dahlgren and Öberg 2007). This is not to deny the value of individual group members' views but suggest that individual members' views should be examined in relation to each other in the group context. Wibeck, Dahlgren and Öberg (2007) consider the co-construction of new ideas as an important part of group interaction. Second, researchers are interested in the process of interaction rather than participants' utterances at particular moments. Undoubtedly, momentary utterances are meaningful, as they link together to contribute to the process of interaction. Importantly, however, they should be understood in connection with the discursal contexts. As Stevens (1996) notes, central to FG analysis is how and in what context a statement is revised or reinforced. Third, power relations are important for the understanding of FG data. It is necessary to

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501503702-007>

understand whether an argument wins because of the power of the person who makes the argument or whether an argument wins because of the power of the argument itself. Fourth, both the majority and the minority voices on particular issues are interesting to be considered in the context of group discussion. That is, what arguments are consolidated and what arguments are marginalized offer insights into the issues being examined.

Based on the said points, I have adapted Stevens' (1996) analytical framework and established a coding frame to investigate the patterns of interaction across different groups (see below):

- Patterns of interaction
 - What has been agreed?
 - What has been disagreed?
 - What has been engaged with?
 - What has been overlooked?
 - Where do the members converge?
 - Where do the members diverge?
 - What has caused agreement?
 - What has caused disagreement?
 - What has been maintained?
 - What has been reinforced?
 - What has been challenged?
 - What has been changed?

Necessarily, the coding frame of the patterns of interaction is juxtaposed with another set of codes – as presented below – which capture the contents of group discussions that reveal how the participants make sense of English change, which is taking place in sociolinguistic reality. The codes are:

- Themes of interaction:
 - The concept of ELF
 - Standard
 - Variations
 - Ownership of English

By doing this, FG members' discourses revolving around English change are analysed to unpack language ideologies that shed light on the issue of the ChELF legitimacy. In the rest of the chapter, I will present the data and illustrate the processes how FG participants engage with the existing power structure that centres on StE-oriented normativity. The analysis of the interactive processes would reveal the struggles that participants went through and the efforts that they made in mediating the tension between normativity and variability.

The data are organised with the themes of interaction as the first-level codes, on the basis of which second-level codes are established to break down the analysis of FG members' sense-making of English change.

7.2 Approaching ELF

The concept of ELF captures the phenomenon of English change, which is led and shaped by NNEs (Mauranen 2012). The concept describes the fluidity, flexibility, superdiversity and complexity of English used as a lingua franca in intercultural communication (Baird, Baker, and Kitazawa 2014, Cogo 2012, Jenkins 2015a, Seidlhofer 2011). FGs are conducted, with the groups exposed to the concept of ELF and statistics of the global spread of English. The examination of how the groups engage with the concept allows for the understanding of whether and, if yes, how they perceive the phenomenon of English change. The examination of how they perceive English change connects lays the foundation for the examination of how they perceive Chinese ELF users' creativity.

Following the moderator's use of stimuli – that is, the introduction of ELF and the spread of English around the world (see Appendix C), all groups tried very hard to engage with the topic of ELF and contributed their ideas to the discussion. They approached the concept of ELF through a complicated process of debating, negotiating and co-constructing what ELF is and how ELF relates to their beliefs about language. Issues like culture, intelligibility, and power came up in different groups' discussions. The concept of ELF appeared to be difficult for all groups, each of which, eventually, found a different way of engaging with the topic. What follows presents the process of each group's discussion through which we can see how group members struggle with the concept of ELF and the extent to which a conceptual gap in ELF persists, despite the moderator's brief introduction of the concept of ELF as part of the stimuli.

7.2.1 ELF versus native-like English

Group A members appeared to be inactive at the beginning of the group discussion. Group members try to retrieve some ideas out of the moderator's introduction of the concept of ELF and make sense of the notion of ELF with reference to their life experiences and examples. The moderator had to keep inviting views on the concept of ELF. Members respond to the moderator's request but do not engage with each other's idea. The points individual

members make seem to be isolated from each other. That has an effect that the members cannot deepen the discussion but stay on the repetition of the points they can grasp from the source of the ideas, i.e. the moderator's introduction. Nonetheless, the group dynamics turn to be interactive when one member brings up a point that Chinese culture should be wiped out when Chinese speakers use English for the sake of intercultural communication. While the members do not keenly engage with the topic of ELF directly, they form a discourse that regards ELF and native-like English as competitors (see Extract 7-1).

Extract 7-1 (Group A)

-
- 1 **Moderator:** what do you think of the concept of ELF?
 - 2 **AM4:** ELF is for connection and communication. But I think any language can serve the function of a lingua franca.
 - 3 **AF1:** ELF is for communicative convenience. But it is impossible to be native-like. But I don't think it is necessary to be native-like.
[two seconds]
 - 4 **Moderator:** How do others think?
 - 5 **AF9:** ELF is necessary. Standard is necessary.
 - 6 **AM4:** ELF is different from time to time. It is changeable.
 - 7 **AF7:** Language and culture are interrelated. Cultural influences will cause new Englishes. This is the development of language.
 - 8 **AF1:** It is not possible to be native-like. Communicative effects aren't tied to native-likeness.
 - 9 **Moderator:** How do others think?
 - 10 **AM8:** We should see the two sides of lingua franca. On the positive side, English is good for communication. International cooperation needs it. The development of English into a lingua franca is not a random event in history. It is a historical outcome. On the negative side, English might not suit every culture. There should be a standard, a standard based on native-English-speaking nations. In the process of using English to communicate, non-native English speakers will have to wipe their own cultures. By sticking to native-English-culture-based English, communication can be efficient and effective. The communicative process will wipe Chinese culture.
 - 11 **AF9:** I disagree. It is one-sided to say that Chinese culture is wiped. Cultures influence each other. That we speak English doesn't mean we forget our traditional culture. Chinese and English influence each other.
 - 12 **AM8:** I mean, partially wipe. Communicative efficiency depends on one standard.
 - 13 **AM4:** Partially, not wholly.
 - 14 **AM8:** For example, you learn to kiss face when communicating with the British. This is the cultural influence on English.
 - 15 **AM4:** Mutual influence but not one-way influence. Local culture through English is a way of promoting local culture too.
-

Extract 7-1 records the beginning of the discussion among group A members. Following the moderator's invitation of ideas about the concept of ELF, AM4 and AF1 made response by showing their opinions respectively (turns 2–3). While AM4 makes sense of ELF in terms of the function of a lingua franca in general, AF1 shows her interest in the comparison between ELF and native Englishes. Their views parallel to each other, showing no engagement with each other. Neither do they attract responses from other group members. The moderator had to urge other members to speak and elicited more contribution to the topic of ELF (turn 4). Members' contributions, as shown in this extract, show the intertwined relationship among issues of communicative function, culture, standard, native-likeness in participants' sense-making of ELF.

The issue of ELF in relation to native-like English appears to be an underlying theme throughout the discussion. AF1 explicitly indicates her opinion that communication does not need to rely on native-like English (turn 3). AF7 indicated the same idea (turn 7), joining the alliance of AF1. AM8 showed a different position on ELF in relation to native-like English (turn 10). He first argues that history plays an important role in the development of English. While nobody can challenge his view that history plays an important role in the spread of English, he further makes a good attempt to suggest that NES culture, as deeply rooted in the history of English, is crucial to the role of ELF. Based on the connection between NES culture, ELF and the history of English, he argues that Chinese culture should be erased when Chinese speakers are conducting intercultural communication. The idea that Chinese culture should be erased, however, provokes the disagreement. AF9 brings in the issue of language contact and challenges the view that speaking English does not mean giving up traditional Chinese culture (turn 11). In response, AM8 amends his argument that Chinese culture is not entirely but partially erased (turn 12). While accepting the point of language contact, AM8 continues to strengthen his argument that British culture is retained in the use of English in international communication by offering an example that Chinese speakers learn to use British way of greeting each other (turn 14). AM4 supports AM8's point on language contact but adds that language contact should invoke two-way influence rather than one-way, based on which he points out that local cultures are expressed through English rather than erased by English (turns 13–15). The contribution made by AM4, AM8 and AF1 shows a co-construction of the view of language contact, though AM8 was oriented towards the influence of NES cultures while AF1 and AM4 were oriented the influence of Chinese culture or local culture in the process.

At the surface level, peer interaction started when AM8 raised the issue that the use of ELF leads to an eraser of Chinese culture during the process of international interaction (turn 10). Under the surface level, however, peer members are supporting or challenging each other in terms of some views on the topic of ELF. First, although no discourse markers show explicit indication of agreement or disagreement, a few members (AM4, AF1, AF7 and AM8) converge on the acknowledgement of the role of ELF in communication. Second, AF9's point that standard is important (turn 5) is followed by AM4 who sees ELF as the concept that captures a changeable and flexible use of English (turn 6). Though there is no direct confrontation or disagreement, the two turns present diverging views – the focus on the conformity of language forms to a standard and the notion that ELF deals with the change ability and flexibility of English. However, apart from the argument that ELF conceptualises flexible use of English, there is neither further development on the point nor reactions from other peer members to this point. Put differently, this point, though raised, is dismissed in the extract. The neglect of the point on the flexibility of ELF contrasts with the heated debate on language contact to imply a struggle to value the concept of ELF, as either an orientation towards native-like English or an orientation towards locally influenced “new Englishes” relates to English that is codifiable.

7.2.2 A phenomenon of ELF

Group B members approached the notion of ELF with the focus on the spread of English around the globe (see Extract 7-2). While BM11, the first speaker from the group, responded to the moderator's invitation of views on the concept of ELF by retrieving some points that he received from the moderator's introduction, other group members did not follow up immediately. There were two seconds of silence before BM11 tried to break the silence by asking his peers to contribute. BM8 appeared to have understood the function of a lingua franca and challenged the role of ELF by proposing that Chinese can be a lingua franca too. As seen in other members' reaction following him up, BM8's point has apparently received group attention and successfully diverted the discussion to the reasons that gave rise to a lingua franca around the world. Group members actively echo each other and engage with the discussion of the phenomenon of the spread of English.

Extract 7-2 (Group B)

-
- 1 **Moderator:** So, how do you think of the concept of ELF? Any ideas?
[two seconds]
- 2 **BM11:** According to Wang's introduction, I personally think what she said about (English as) lingua franca is different from English. English is the language used by British and Americans, etc, but (English as) a lingua franca is a kind of use that is different from the British and American's use of English. My English is not like British English. But they can understand me. The language that I use to communicate with them is a lingua franca.
[two seconds]
- 3 **BM11:** What do you think?
- 4 **BM8:** English as a lingua franca, I oppose the use of English as a lingua franca. I don't like English. A lingua franca is a language that is neither communicative partners' language, a third-party language. It doesn't need to be English necessarily. Chinese can be a lingua franca too. There are so many Chinese people in the world, more than 2 billion.
- 5 **BM4:** There are more people speaking Chinese than those speaking English indeed. But many countries might think English is easier to learn than Chinese. And there is another point. America and Britain have stronger economies (than China).
- 6 **BM8:** America is the powerful country in the world. It is dominating. We need to learn English. When China becomes stronger, Chinese will spread around the world too.
- 7 **BM3:** So, a nation's status decides if its language would be learned by other nations. The development of English is rooted in the colonisation of the British Empire. Otherwise, India, Canada, Algeria, and other nations would not speak English. If China had a similar history, Chinese would be the wide-spread language today.
- 8 **BM8:** American has the history of being colonised by the British, American English is originated from British English too.
- 9 **BF5:** So, we mean, economic development and status (decide a language's spread). Now China is developing, in the future, many other nations would learn the Chinese language too.
- 10 **BM8:** There are many Confucius Institutes in the world. They are spreading Chinese.
- 11 **BM4:** But Chinese doesn't seem to be popular.
- 12 **BM8:** It is popular. There are many Chinese people around the world.
- 13 **BF7:** Isn't Chinese more difficult to learn than English?
- 14 **BM4:** I think Chinese is too difficult to learn. Perhaps only Chinese people can learn and use it properly.
- 15 **BF1:** I think this is a reason why English can become a lingua franca. Chinese is only used by Chinese people. It is not spread widely out of China. But (English) exists in Europe, America, South America, everywhere. This is a reason why a lingua franca can become a lingua franca.
- 16 **BF5:** I agree. The role of English as a lingua franca is not decided by individuals like you and me. It follows a trend of, say, economic development. People learn and use it because they want to participate in the (economic) activities.
-

Following the moderator's question, the group fell into silence before BM11 made good effort to retrieve some points that the moderator introduced with the assistance of a few stimuli. He focused on information retrieval, making no comments on what the moderator said (turn 2). He was apparently cooperative and tried to encourage his peer members when there was silence again after his contribution (turn 3). BM8 took the turn and indicated his opposition to the role of ELF (turn 4). His explanation of his opposition reveals a negative attitude towards English and a belief that Chinese should be a lingua franca. In contrast with the inactive group posture in the very beginning of the group discussion, BM8's contribution triggered heated debates as to why English instead of Chinese should be a lingua franca in the world. The pattern of the group dynamics shows active engagement with each other among those peer members. The group contribution tends to cluster on three issues. The first is the number of language users (see turn 4, turn 5, turn 11, turn 12, turn 15). The second is the possibility to be learned as a second language (see turn 5, turn 10, turn 13, turn 14). The third is the power of the nation where the language is a national language (turn 6, turn 7, turn 8, turn 9, 16). While the conceptual meaning of ELF is nearly touched upon, the group members appear to be interested in the discussion of English in a macro-social level.

The group did not address the concept of ELF effectively, but the focus was diverted to the discussion of the phenomenon of ELF. Nonetheless, the group's view of the phenomenon has implications for their sense-making of ELF. First, the group shows a strong connection with Chinese and China in contrast with the reluctant acceptance of English. Second, the group agrees that the use of English is motivated by a need for engagement with economic activities led by powerful countries where are the source of English. While Chinese relates a kind of connection, English is related to a communicative medium. This might explain an unwillingness to engage with either the moderator or BM2's points on the conceptual meaning of ELF. That is, ELF is a medium of communication, that disconnects them from a means of identification.

7.2.3 An issue of "standard"

Group C members show a strong interest in the concept of ELF and engaged with the concept in relation to standard and intelligibility. M2 draws on his previous knowledge of Globish and tries to make sense of ELF in terms of the difference from Globish. He was able to see the difference between Globish and ELF. Although Group C appears to actively consider the implications of ELF for the use and the learning of English among Chinese speakers, the belief that a standard is needed still emerges in group discussion.

Extract 7-3 (Group C)

-
- 1 **Moderator:** So, how do you think of the concept of ELF?
- 2 **CM3:** I think this is very much similar to what our teacher said about Globish. Globish is also used between people who don't have a shared first language. And it is also useful for communication. But ELF seems to suggest that the two parties (in communication) reach common ground. They are similar but still different.
- 3 **CF1:** Does the lingua franca need a standard?
- 4 **CM4:** Is the lingua franca based on one language or another?
- 5 **CM3:** We're discussing English used as a lingua franca.
- 6 **CF2:** I think a lingua franca should be beyond English, a language that is suitable for most nations to learn will be good, because many people need a language to communicate with each other after all.
- 7 **CM3:** I think the concept aims to suggest that we should treat your English or my English as equally as (authentic English), not look down upon our inauthentic English, it aims to achieve an equal situation where all (Englishes) are equal, not better or worse.
- 8 **CF2:** I understand this. But if a lingua franca is for communication, an issue is its intelligibility.
- 9 **CM3:** There are times when it is not intelligible.
- 10 **CF5:** Right. At the beginning of the English learning process, we should definitely follow native English speakers' English models, but your own features will come out anyway. We're learning their English, but when we speak, our English might not be understood (by foreigners)
- 11 **DM7:** Making yourself understood is a process. If we want to reach the common ground, we should definitely want to communicate with each other in the first place. If we don't understand each other, how can we reach the common ground?
- 12 **CM7:** He (CM2) means that there should be a common standard, then people communicate, then they can reach common ground.
- 13 **CF1:** So there should be a standard
- 14 **CM3:** I think everything should be based on a standard.
-

In response to the moderator's invitation of ideas about the concept of ELF, the group appears to be active, with peer members being willing to co-construct an understanding of ELF. CM3 draws on his knowledge of Globish and compares ELF with Globish (turn 2). CF1 and CM4 follow up and pose questions respectively, showing their curiosity about ELF (turns 3–4). The question of whether a lingua franca is a particular language has quickly attracted attention. While CM3 explains that the notion of lingua franca is linked to English in the context of group discussion (turn 5), CF2 goes further to suggest an understanding that a lingua franca in the discussion goes beyond English and relates to a language accessible for different nations (turn 6). Although no direct link is made with previous turns, CM3 suggests that the concept of ELF deals with the use of English and the attitudes towards different Englishes (turn 7), showing his reaction to the

point made by CF2 that lingua franca goes beyond English. The idea of different Englishes is then picked up by CF2, who spells out a concern for intelligibility (turn 8). Since turn 8, the perceived conflict between different Englishes and intelligibility dominates the discussion in the rest of the extract. CM3 agrees with CF2 that intelligibility would be an issue in the hypothesis of ELF concept (turn 9). In the same direction, CF5 proposes her view that English that does not follow NESs' model might affect intelligibility (turn 10). DM7 follows up to highlight the issue of intelligibility in the process of making oneself understood and understanding others. He questions the point of common ground that CM3 touches upon in turn 2, by arguing that the communication as a process where intelligibility comes first before common ground can be reached (turn 11). CM7 takes a position to support CM3 and helps to defend his view (turn 12). Although CM7 does not echo CM3's idea of Globish, his defence for CM3 shows an understanding that Globish is a constructed language that prescribes a constructed set of norms and codes. At this point, CF1 is able to draw a conclusion of the group discussion that there should be a standard in the use of English for the purpose of intelligibility (turn 13). CM3 concludes the extract by generalising the value of standard for everything (turn 14). The group discussion thus leads to an agreement that a standard is necessary for communicative effects, with the point that different Englishes are equal left aside, due to a perceived conflict with intelligibility.

It is possible to see a belief underlying the group discussion that a language should be codifiable. This is seen in CM3's attempt to compare ELF with Globish (turn 2). While he is confident in the similarity that both deals with intercultural communication, he is not sure what the "common ground" in ELF communication means as the hypothesis of Globish invokes forms and norms of a constructed language. His statement thus reveals his uncertainty about ELF in terms of its codification. Other members try to make sense of ELF in relation to issues like standard, a language, and StE models, suggesting their concern with the codification of ELF. The group co-construction of an understanding of ELF thus shows a gap in making sense of ELF communication as flexible practice where the notion of languaging rather than the notion of language is relevant. The belief that a language should be codifiable becomes crystallised when it comes to the belief that 'everything should have a standard'.

7.2.4 A conceptual struggle

Group D members appear to be unable to engage with the concept of ELF (see Extract 7-4). Group members focus on the background information of ELF and elaborate on their understanding of why English has become a global language.

The moderator was trying very hard to get the group's attention back to the notion of ELF by keep changing questions. Until the moderator asks their views on the choice between authentic English and the English that is performed in real-life situation were the members able to engage with the abstract of ELF. The idea that 'a standard can make everyone understand' each other is welcomed by the group and echoed by other members within the group.

Extract 7-4 (Group D)

- 1 **Moderator:** Now, how do you think of the concept of ELF? Any ideas would you like to share?
[A few turns omitted]
 - 2 **DF3:** This [the spread of English] is related to history. It was selected to be a medium of communication. But English is assimilating people from all over the world, if we are all using English, we should be fine, but those small countries would lose their traditional cultures if they are assimilated by English.
 - 3 **Moderator:** Does the concept of ELF have any implications for users and learners of English?
 - 4 **DM7:** Do you mean, what can we learn if we learn English as a lingua franca?
 - 5 **Moderator:** The concept of ELF implies the use of English in communication, it is flexible, it is not like the Standard English, it is not authentic English, people accommodate to each other in different contexts, is this concept meaningful for our reflection on the use and learning of English among Chinese people?
 - 6 **DF2:** it is surely meaningful.
 - 7 **Moderator:** In what way?
 - 8 **DM6:** I think this is a natural outcome of the use of lingua franca. We need to know about the world, English is the medium of knowing the world, this is a necessary outcome of our need.
 - 9 **Moderator:** Lets' put it this way, shall we pursue authentic English, Standard English, native speakers' English, etc. or shall we accept the way how English is actually used like some instances listed in the questionnaire?
 - 10 **DM7:** I think we need to pursue the standard. A standard can make everyone understand.
 - 11 **DM6:** We often say *good good study*. Every Chinese speaker understands. But if you write this in an academic paper, it will be criticised as an error. Other people (than Chinese) can't recognise it, because it doesn't follow the standard that is generally accepted.
-

After the introduction of the concept of ELF as part of the stimuli and invitation of ideas on the concept (turn 1), group members spent a lot of time talking about the historical background of ELF with the focus on the spread of English around the world (though the turns are omitted for the sake of space and to highlight the focus). After DF3's turn, which continues to contribute in the direction of the historical background, the moderator decided to intervene and tried to get the group

to discuss the conceptual meaning of ELF in relation to the use and learning of English. The question seems to be confusing, and DM7 tries to paraphrase the question in his own words to ask for clarification. Notably, while the moderator asks about the implications of ELF for both users and learners of English, DM7 changes the topic of the question to consider the only relevance to learners of English (turn 4). DM7's question seems to suggest that he treats ELF as a learning subject. Seeking to understand how the group sees ELF as a way of understanding what is the thing called English, the moderator tries another way to clarify her request (turn 5). She asks the group whether they think the concept of ELF is meaningful for the use and the learning of English (turn 5) and receives a quick and positive response from DF2 (turn 6), who however offers no elaboration or justification of her opinion. DM6 helps to explain, with the focus on the usefulness of ELF (turn 8). The moderator changes another way of questioning to make it explicit that she seeks to understand the group's positions between authentic English and variations from authentic English (turn 9). At this point, the question effectively makes group members reflect on the use and the learning of English. The responses unanimously point to a belief that a standard is needed to make everyone understand the use of English, although Extract 7-4 offers only two group members' responses as examples (turns 10–11). Where the difficulty in the sense-making process is readily visible in Extract 7-4, the belief in the need for a standard in English is unsurprisingly showing no awareness of the concept of ELF.

The stimuli seem to be not useful in “giving” the group the knowledge of ELF. This is seen in terms of their struggle with the moderator's questions about ELF and their uncertainty about the concept of ELF. However, the group members volunteered to participate in the FG study following the questionnaire survey, which suggests their willingness to engage with the topic of English in relation to Chinese speakers in the world today (as the questionnaire does not include the notion of ELF) and their curiosity of new knowledge. The group members are university students, among whom some are postgraduates. Therefore, I doubt that the stimuli are beyond their cognitive capacity. Rather, I would rather believe that the concept of ELF is difficult for them to process because they have a strong belief in standard, which counters the concept of ELF that challenges standardisation and the fixity of language. This explanation finds its support in the notion of “paradigm myopia” (Kachru 1996: 242).

7.2.5 Summary

The struggle to engage with the concept of ELF contrasts with the interest in the standard strikingly. In all FGs, the issue of “standard” emerges automatically as

an interest of discussion. As seen above in Extracts 7-1, 7-3, and 7-4, participants in FGs come up with the idea of “standard” without being directly prompted by the moderator. This gives the impression that the standard is a key issue of concern when making sense of ELF. The next section will concentrate on different FG engagements with the issue of standard to offer insights into how different groups deal with the inevitable conflict between ELF and standard.

7.3 Debating “standard”

Overall, the FG data offer a general picture that “standard” is not only an issue of interest but also a pivot of language ideologies. The overarching popularity of the notion of “standard”, however, is connected with controversies around “standard” within all different FGs. Neither the understandings of what is standard are uniform nor attitudes towards “standard” are converging. In general, the notion of ‘standard’ is often conflated with the notion of authentic English. It is fair to say that the meanings associated with the notion of “authentic English” (see Section 6.5.1) are applicable to the notion of “standard”. While the notion of “standard” has caused heated debates within different groups, it is possible to see a divide between two campuses. On one side, some FG members represent what Quirk (1985: 6) notes as a “single monochrome standard”. On the other side, some FG members try to challenge a single monochrome standard in the debates. The defenders often gain the upper hand in the debates across different groups.

With the focus on the tipping points in the dynamics of group discussions, those who are pro- a single and fixed “standard” tend to bring in a few issues that contribute to their advantages, such as language institution, assessment, market, social bias, the economic power of NES countries who promote “standard”. By contrast, those who attempt to challenge a single and fixed “standard” tend to focus on other issues that enhance their arguments, such as language users’ needs and wants, the communicative value of variations, the bond of variations to language users’ L1 cultural resources, and the link of variations to language users’ identities that are connected with their L1. The identification of those issues in FG data triangulates with the findings in interviews and questionnaires (see Chapters 5 and 6). It also converges with the reports of the study on Chinese speakers’ perceptions of their English in intercultural communication (e.g. Wang 2012, 2013, 2016). The focus here, however, is to present various processes within different groups through which controversies on “standard” are unfolded. The processes unveil how different views of

standards interact with each other and how some arguments take advantages over other arguments.

What follows presents some snapshots of group discussions and illustrates the complicated interactions between different views on “standard”. Necessarily, a comprehensive understanding of the processes will benefit by taking into consideration issues being discussed in other sections, which entails views on variations in particular (see Section 7.4). Under the overall code of “standard”, I decide not to categorise the data further on the basis of issues reinforcing or challenging “standard”, in order to keep the flow of group discussion and avoid the fragmentation of data. For example, Extract 7-5 involves different reasons for and against “standard”. Only by viewing them together in the discursive context is possible to see the interaction between those reasons. In light of this, I focus on the dynamic processes and analyse those reasons to understand dynamics. That is, what follows takes the order of groups rather than themes, although some cross-group features of dynamics will become visible.

Earlier, I presented the interaction within group A, which focuses on the relationship between ELF and native-like English. While some members are oriented towards native-likeness, other members struggle for some space of non-native speakers’ cultures in English. With the progression of the group discussion, group members shift the focus to a reflection on non-native-like English. Extract 7-5 presents the conflicts between different views of non-native-like English as well as the process of how the debaters have arrived at a converging point.

Extract 7-5 (Group A)

- 1 **AF9:** Perhaps (people from) different cultures, different nations, even native-English-speaking nations, would add different things and expressions to (English). I think some of those (added) things, some features, should be accepted. For example, dragon, it is auspicious in Chinese culture, but it is an evil symbol in foreigners’ eyes, so the use of English involving dragon by Chinese speakers should not be interpreted in a way that native English speakers use English (involving dragon). The difference should be accepted. But errors, I think errors should be corrected, if the differences don’t relate to cultural expressions, they’d better be avoided.
 - 2 **AM4:** But language is not only for the purpose of cultural expression, communication should come as the first, in my view, it is a tool, as long as it doesn’t affect communication, it is ok.
 - 3 **AF9:** I agree with you. In the use of English between interactants, it is ok as long as they reach a compromise, if they can understand each other. But as a teacher of English, I can’t let my students not aware of what is error. If Chinese speakers generally have no sense of what is right and what is wrong, that wouldn’t be a good thing. Right? This is what I meant.
-

-
- 4 **AF1:** We have said so much, but we overlooked one point. Language is developing, why is English developing so fast? Because Britain and its history, it has international impacts. But in China, we are learning English as passive learners. Now our nation is growing fast, we are getting more influence, why can't others accept our language, I don't mean Chinese, but our use of English is also developing, it is good for others to understand the development of English used by us. In this way, we get to know each other, we are not passive learners anymore, our errors are not unacceptable, they are manifestations of how we use English, when others accept this, the communication will be easier, perhaps the errors can, in some way, promote the development of English, and let the world understand (us).
- 5 **AF7:** What you guys are saying makes me very worried. I am going to be a teacher in the future. No standard, there would be no standard to teach at all, according to what you guys are saying. If so, the ELT practice must change.
[many participants echo]
- 6 **AF6:** A standard is still needed when teaching students.
- 7 **AF7:** [Right. Like what you said the sound of *th*
- 8 **AF1:** [The standard is that we can communicate. I mean, it should be all right if the communication is not hindered, the purpose of communication can be realised, and interlocutors can understand each other.
- 9 **AM4:** I think her worry is also reasonable. Because she is teaching, that is, for pedagogic purpose-
- 10 **AF3:** – A standard is certainly needed
- 11 **AM4:** But what we are talking about is something in the domain of use. Another point I'd like to make is[...] the notion of China English brought up by the researcher today. The reason she [i.e. the moderator] brings up this concept is that she sees the difference [from NSE] as the result from the interactive process of communication. Like the difference between Indian English and American English. The difference is there, right? [...]Now we have this kind of China English in our EC. It exists. I think this must be the reason for this research topic. Indian English is different from American English. Our China English must be different from American English as well, right? This is what she has the concern for, [turning to the moderator] there is a gap, right?
- 12 **AF1:** We are trying to approach in that direction (i.e. towards the target language as NSE), but we are impossible to achieve the best, the ultimate goal, to speak like them (i.e. NESs). I am talking about this standard. The standard is not abandoned. But interlocutors try to get closer to each other (around the standard).
- 13 **AF9:** Actually there is no disagreement here... Actually, we have the shared position on this issue. Teaching that she worried about won't be affected. Standard is followed when teaching. But when we communicate, we can compromise. No disagreement (among us).
[many participants echo]
- 14 **AF1:** [Right. Right.
- 15 **AM4:** [Right. The standard is there. With a kind of mutual compromise, the exchange of information can be realised. This is reasonable.
-

Extract 7-5 starts with AF9's view of the acceptability of non-native-like English. In one way, she argues for the need for cultural expression through English and

indicates that native-like English cannot satisfy the need for Chinese speakers' cultural expression. It is necessary to point out that AF9 comes up with this argument at the end of a debate on Chinese culture through English, which started in Extract 7-1. In this sense, she is not alone in defence of some space for Chinese culture in English, although there is no follow-up supporter on this point. In another way, she sees "errors" as unacceptable. This view, however, attracts disagreement. AM4 posits that the acceptability should be dependent on the communicative function of language, which is no less important than culture. The view of language as a means of communication seems to be a consensus that no one would disagree. This view is evident in the data across different groups and endorsed by different members. When AM4 makes a statement of this view in Extract 7-5 (turn 2), AF9 quickly expresses her agreement and shapes her own argument about the cultural expression through English (turn 3). The positivity toward both Chinese culture and communicative function that English should integrate seems to be unquestionable, as visible in many other places across different data sets. It is not difficult to understand that no follow-up on AF9's point might suggest a group agreement in silence. This explains why AF1 proposes to consider an additional point (*we have said so much, but we overlooked one point*, turn 4), suggesting that the debates on Chinese culture and communicative function are settled and that a new issue needs to be considered.

AF1 proposes to view Chinese speakers' "errors" as manifestations of Chinese speakers' change of English, which challenges the role of Chinese speakers as passive learners of English but contributes to the role of Chinese speakers as agents in the change of English (turn 4). The proposal has immediately caused uneasy reactions. AF7 follows up and shows her concern with standard (turn 5), which in effect challenges and questions AF1's view of English change and Chinese speakers' role in the change. Notably, AF7's concern is echoed by many peer members, while the group tends to keep quiet when listening to peer views. Among others, AF6 makes it explicit that a standard is needed for teaching. While AF7 attempts to elaborate on her concern with the standard, AF1 strongly defends her own position by successfully interrupting AF7 to suggest a standard not defined in terms of rules and codes but in terms of the situation where the communication is achieved. The standard, in her sense, is thus defined on the basis of the communicative effects. This view, however, does not seem to have received any support from peer members. AM4 skips AF1's suggestion to show sympathy for AF7's concern for a standard in teaching. Before he finishes his turn, AF3 cannot wait to voice her support to AF7's concern. AM4 further makes a point that the notion of ELF only addresses the use of English which, in his view, seems to suggest the irrelevance for the teaching and learning of English, which invokes

the need for a standard. His contribution becomes a turning point after which not only AF1 but also other peer members – for instance, AF9 and many others who echo- converge on the belief that the notion of ELF is for communication and a standard is needed for pedagogy (see turns 12–15).

The impacts of AM4’s contribution are apparently seen in AF1’s response (see turn 12), where AF1 shapes her argument about standard. While she was suggesting a flexible “standard” on the basis of communicative achievement, she is now supporting a fixed standard that, however, is admittedly not attainable. She changes to accept that an approximation to the fixed standard is what she meant by a flexible standard. After AF1’s change of position on standard, AF9 makes a tentative conclusion that the group has reached the agreement. Following AF9, AF1 further confirms her alliance with the group on the consensus that a standard is needed for English education and the concept of ELF justifies a compromise from the standard for the purpose of the use of English by Chinese speakers.

Two turning points in Extract 7-5 deserve our attention. The first turning point is turn 5 when AF7 brings up the issue of teaching, which in her view needs a standard. Except AF1, all other peer members tend to join AF7 to endorse the value of standard, which results in the suspension of the discussion of English change. While AF1 continues to try her best to defend her position on English change by bringing in an idea of flexible standard, AM4’s contribution in turn 11 serves as a second turning point and effectively convinces AF1 to change her position.

An analysis of how AM4 successfully changes AF1’s mind reveals an authority that AM4 has established in his argument and a lack of confidence that AF1 has in terms of English change. AM4 switches to draw on the notion of ELF that the moderator has introduced (turn 11). He calls for the attention on what the moderator has said and what the moderator has not said. As the moderator’s introduction of ELF only describes the use of ELF, AM4 sees the concept of ELF as applicable to the use of English exclusively. He further confirms with the moderator that there is a gap between the use of ELF and the legitimacy of ELF. The gap, in his view, suggests the irrelevance of ELF for the learning of English, as the legitimacy of ELF is still in research. Although he cannot understand the value of recognising non-standard use of English for English education, he seems to suggest that academic research interest in non-standard use of English should be respected. In addition, he draws on his knowledge of Indian English and tries to convince peer members that an academic research interest must be based on some reasons, even though he cannot spell out the reasons. By noting that the moderator did not talk about the concept of ELF in relation to the learning and teaching of English and by showing his knowledge in Indian English, AM4 has effectively established his authority in understanding the issue of ELF in relation to standard. By contrast, AF1 is unable to elaborate the implication of the use of

English for the teaching of English, although her utterance about English change resonates with what Mauranen's (2012) work has argued about English change being shaped by NNEs. It is not difficult to understand AF1's lack of confidence, as AF1 does not draw on any academic work in this respect. Her confidence was dwarfed by AM4, who drew on the examples of India English and China English, both of which are academically debated and known to both AF1 and AM4 as majors in English. The lack of knowledge of the work on ELF might explain why AF1's argument lost ground to AM4 to make AF1 change her mind. Admittedly, the moderator's introduction of the concept of ELF was brief. It is thus not realistic to expect the group to develop good awareness of ELF within a short time on the site of group discussion. Put differently, it is fair to believe that a better knowledge of ELF would have increased AF1's chance of defending her argument and winning over the ground.

Extract 7-6 (Group B)

- 1 **BF10:** If we are learning a language, we should learn the very authentic language. In doing so, people from different countries can achieve a standard and reduce the difficulty in communication. If people from different countries all add their national characteristics, people will have different ways of saying the same thing. That will cause difficulties in communication.
 - 2 **BM3:** There is no need to have a uniform English that we all learn from a particular country, such as the UK and the US. It is difficult to express different cultures. This is my view.
 - 3 **BM8:** I also disagree (with BF10), that's it @@
 - 4 **BF6:** I also think there is no need for everybody to conform to the same standard. In China, we have different dialects. Although China is promoting Mandarin, we are not expected to give up our dialects. Language is for the purpose of communication. As long as people can communicate, we can follow our own norms.
 - 5 **BM4:** At the beginning of learning English, we tend to follow our own way of thinking. But the use of English following our own way will cause confusion to others. (So) we should accommodate to others' standard. In our learning process, we should try hard to approximate a common standard and avoid our first language's influence. When you have mastered their language, you should be able to switch between the two standards. I think this is the best situation.
 - 6 **BF2:** But it is not realistic to speak as accurately as native speakers do.
 - 7 **BF1:** It is not realistic to expect everybody in the world to conform to the one standard. Even English speakers have different standards in their own countries. The standard can cover different ranges of things. As long as you can communicate, I don't think we need to go to that much detail of the issue of standard.
 - 8 **BF10:** In terms of the role of English as a lingua franca, we should learn the most authentic English when we are learning, but when we are communicating, we can add our own usages. But I think one's accent should be as authentic as possible, as accurate as possible. So others can understand you, and they should be able to accept your use of English.
-

-
- 9 **BM8:** But accent often retains local features. It is not necessary to pursue the standardisation of pronunciation. When you communicate with people in a local area, you would feel awkward when you speak the standard, and others speak their local dialects.
- 10 **BF5:** I was once working in a children’s English training school. A parent asked me, do you teach American English or British English? So you can see, parents still want to have the standard. This shows the trend of the standard. Otherwise foreign teachers won’t be so popular in China, right?
-

Group B members have different positions on the issue of standard, which divide the group into two. One subgroup shows their support for a uniform standard based on authentic English; another subgroup gives reason to challenge the need to conform to a uniform standard. As either group can convince each other, the divergence persists throughout the group discussion. Extract 7-6 offers a glimpse into the group dynamics.

BF10 flags up her position that an L2 learner should aim to learn an authentic language (turn 1). The degree adverb *very* added to the adjective *authentic* reveals an emphasis on the origin where a language first developed. It implies her concern that the spread of a language might make people play down the historical origin of the language and accept different regions as the birthplaces of the language. In her view, the same target language will lead to uniformity in the use of the language, which will make communication easy between people from different nations. In response, BM3 expresses her disagreement with BF10 and gives a reason to disagree that cultural expressions cannot be satisfied through the use of English conforming to a particular standard (turn 2).

BM8 follows up with a short turn (turn 3). He explicitly voices his disagreement with BF10 and ends his turn with laughter. The adverb *also* has rich meaning here. As Waring’s (2003: 415) work shows, “the semantic features of ‘also’ are strategically deployed to accomplish complex interactional goals in a disjunctive or disaffiliative environment”. Before BM8’s turn, BF10 and BM3 offered mutually exclusive opinions on standard. The adverb *also* functions to bring BM8’s view to the conversation and, simultaneously, works with the laughter to ‘soften’ – in Waring’s (2003: 415) word – his disaffiliation from BF10. The softening strategy explains why his turn is short. It is inferrable that he is unwilling to elaborate further on his disagreement. Similarly, BF6 uses *also* as a discourse marker to bring in her contribution and signal her disaffiliation from BF10. She, however, spends some time explaining her position (turn 4). In her perspective, where the conformity to a uniform standard is not a necessary condition for communication, different norms should be accepted. Till this point, the group dynamics show a

strong tendency towards the disagreement with a uniform standard, as a result of the alliance established among BM3, BM8 and BF6 on the issue of standard.

Group divergence becomes salient again when BM4 joins in the conversation by attending to the issue of L2 learning that BF10 raised in turn 1. As Tracy (1984) points out, extending the issue or point being discussed earlier in a conversation helps to establish the coherence between one's contribution and the conversation. BM4 comments on Chinese learners' L1 Chinese transfer and shows his belief that L1 Chinese transfer would cause confusion to others who do not speak L1 Chinese (turn 5). On the one hand, his comment echoes BF10's point that a common standard is needed for an L2 learner. On the other hand, he tries to integrate the point that the conformity to "their language" is not necessary and imagines an ideal situation where Chinese speakers can switch between two standards. While it is clearly visible that one standard relates to the standard aligning with authentic English, what he means by another standard seems to be associated with the norms emerging from Chinese speakers' own use of English. However, BM4's imagination of an ideal situation is immediately challenged by peer members. BF2 sees his suggestion as unrealistic (turn 6) and BF1 goes further to point out the reality of the diversity of English among NESs so as to counter the argument for an idealised situation of a uniform standard (turn 7).

Apparently, the challenges to the belief in need for a standard are not successful, as BF10 makes another attempt to argue for the value of a uniform standard (turn 8). She proposes to view the use of English and the learning of English differently, highlighting the value of standard for the learning of English and accepting the need for flexibility in the use of English. Admittedly, the view of authentic English as relevant for ELF users is problematic. This is not surprising, as discussed earlier in terms of the gap in the understanding of ELF. What needs attention here is her intention to support a standard with the focus on accurate pronunciation. The position is subsequently rejected by BM8. The reason to reject the suggestion to approximate accurate pronunciation appeals to the need to avoid standard pronunciation to identify with people who are relevant to the communicative context where a speaker is situated (turn 9). Instead of directly reacting to BM8's point, BF5 joins the discussion by sharing her experience dealing with a parent's query about the models of English being used on a children's English learning programme (turn 10). Her point is obvious that authentic Englishes are needed in the market. In the conversation context, it is not difficult to figure out her position that authentic Englishes should be pursued, at least by Chinese learners of L2 English.

The extract records a short period of the group discussion. The tension between the two subgroups persists throughout the whole FG discussion. Clearly, the two subgroups are adopting different positions. While one group emphasises

the use of English, the other group emphasises the learning of English. The tension between the use of English and the learning of English is visible across different groups. While Group A has achieved an agreement that the use of English and the learning of English can be treated differently, Group B members are not willing to accept each other’s position but focus on their own positions. It is not difficult to understand the different treatments in two different groups. While Group A are English majors who are able to study language from a rather objective position, Group B are non-English majors who tend to make sense of the issue of English with reference to their own experiences and feelings. Nonetheless, what interests me here is how the two subgroups battle against each other and defend their own positions. Clearly, while the subgroup which focuses on the use of English tends to address the points made by their rivalry subgroup, the subgroup which focuses on the learning of English keeps shaping their arguments in order to maintain the argument for the value of a standard. This shows a strong belief in standard that goes beyond the rationalisation of language potentials in terms of communication, cultural expression and identification. Rather, the defence of the need for a standard tends to retreat from the battle but ends up with reference to a commonsense belief that authentic English is popular, which is, however, not critically evaluated.

Extract 7-7 (Group C) (What maintains the standard)

- 1 **Moderator:** As for English like these [i.e. the examples of Chinese speakers’ “deviant” use of English on the hand out], would you like to accept it [this kind of English] as standard?
 - 2 **CM3:** This must be a very long journey.
[all participants laugh]
 - 3 **CM3:** I think, my position is like this, I don’t object it. But at present, I don’t think it is realistic to expect most people to accept it and to expect teachers to use it for the purpose of ELT.
 - 4 **CF1:** <in a low voice>If I am the teacher, I don’t want them to carry out the standard including English like this<in a low voice> @@. Because I’ve already learned their English, now you want me to change, is it confusing?
 - 5 **Moderator:** What do you mean?
 - 6 **CF1:** I mean-
 - 7 **CM4:** -you are used to that, aren’t you?
 - 8 **CF1:** Since I first learned English, I’ve been exposed to their correct (English), the way Britons and Americans use English. Now a kind of Chinese English comes out, my own English, (if) I have to follow that (Chinese English), (if) I have to teach the student (Chinese English), I really feel confused.
 - 9 **CM7:** If others are using Chinese English, don’t criticize it. You can accept it as correct, can’t you? If your students speak Chinese English, you don’t correct them. That is it.
-

-
- 10 **CF1:** If I am talking with others who speak (Chinese) English, I can communicate and let it go. But if my students (speak Chinese English), I will still correct them, at the moment.
[3 seconds]
- 11 **CM8:** Actually I think the key is examination. Examination needs a standard.
- 12 **CM3:** [Right right right. Actually I think
- 13 **CM6:** [Examination. You use English in a wrong way, then you are wrong. You will be marked down. What shall you do? Right?
[all participants laugh]
- 14 **CM3:** So in the current situation in China, for students in particular-
- 15 **CM6:** -In communication, it is all right if the English is intelligible. But examination is another thing. Everybody knows about the education system in China
- 16 **CM3:** [Right right right.
- 17 **CM6:** [We are not learning (English) to communicate.
- 18 **Moderator:** You are not learning (English) to communicate. This is interesting.
[all participants laugh]
[5 turns omitted]
- 19 **CM6:** The (ELF) concept you talked about is for the purpose of communication, not for the purpose of examination, two different things.
-

The moderator uses the word *standard* in her communication with the group to request the members' own positions on the legitimacy of variations (turn 1). CM3 makes a brief comment, laying his focus on the objective phenomenon rather than his own attitude towards the phenomenon. In so doing, he has effectively distanced himself from the discussion of the topic that the moderator initiates. The message that "this must be a very long journey" is ambivalent, showing neither a positive nor a negative position on the legitimacy of variations (turn 2). Following his response, all other peer members laugh. Laughter in conversations functions as an interactional device and non-verbal communicative resource (Jefferson, Sacks, and Schegloff 1987, Grønnerød 2004). The laughter here links all other peer members with CM3 together and thus signals their alliance with CM3 on the position that shows some tentativeness. It is possible to infer from the indirect means of communication that the question about the legitimacy of variations might have raised some sensitivity in that the question about the legitimacy of variations equals to a question about a commonsense belief that there must be one correct way of doing things. This interpretation is confirmed along with the progression of the conversation. In turn 3, CM3 further clarifies his response to the moderator's question by denying a rejection of variations, though he does not indicate acceptance. His explanation shows a focus on a wider community and takes into consideration of a historical dimension of attitude change. That is, he avoids talking about his personal attitude and tries to describe what he can observe at the moment.

This, together with his reaction in turn 2, confirms his cautiousness in considering the legitimacy of variations.

Following up with CM3’s words about general attitudes towards variations among English teachers, CF1, who is majored in English and is likely to become an English teacher, shows her endorsement by adopting an English teacher’s position. She directly expresses her reluctance to see variations to become legitimate if possible. Her reasoning shows a conflict that she sees between variations and “their English”, a conflict that she feels “confusing”. Whereas she speaks in a low voice and laughs when she has indicated her unwillingness to accept variations, she resumes her voice volume when she talks about the confusion. A low voice together with laughter could imply a lack of confidence in or some uncertainty about her position on variations. This interpretation has its foundation in the overall examination of different data sets. As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, many participants in the research tend to recognise the value of variations and try to strike a balance between variations and the “correct” English with a state of “double standard”. By contrast, she seems to be confident in the problem that she sees as caused by the acceptance of variations, with her voice resumed to be normal. Notably, when the moderator asks CF1 to clarify her point (turn 5), CM4 shows his sympathy to CF1 by spelling out her feeling for her (turn 7). CF1’s explanation in turn 8 confirms CM4’s concern, which suggests a shared feeling between CM4 and CF1. By recalling what the ELT tradition has offered to her belief of English, CF1 has shown us that the ideology of “correct” English becomes visible when other forms seen as China English contradict with what is “correct”. However, what CF1 sees as a dilemma is not a problem for CM7, who suggests that CF1 could leave forms which can be labelled as Chinese English as they are (turn 9). The suggestion is rejected by CF1 immediately (turn 10). Following the divergence revealed between CM7 and CF1 is a short silence. While CM7 and CF1 are talking about personal choices, the group seem to be led to a situation where to be or not to be is a question. The silence can explain the hesitation, as the group tends to be active in the discussion.

CM8 breaks the silence, making a point to examination, which requires a standard (turn 11). His contribution immediately relieves the group out of the deadlock of the discussion. While the group resumes the proactivity, members become excited and cannot wait to add their voices and complement CM8’s point. CM3 echoes with a confirmative tone, as seen in three repeats of the word *right* (turn 12). Before CM3 finishes his turn, CM6 interrupts and shows an urge to communicate. He stresses the word *examination* to show his agreement and explains the impacts of examination in maintaining the standard (turn 13). He addresses to peer members with a rhetoric question and receives their laughter in return. CM3 tries to add to the same point but is interpreted again by CM6 (turns 14–15). The

uncompleted turn taken by CM3 suggests that CM3 is going to comment on the impacts of examination on students. CM6 comments on the situation of English in China that communication and learning should be treated differently. While CM6 is speaking, CM3 echoes with “right” again. An interesting point comes out of CM6’s contribution that Chinese students are not learning English for the purpose of communication, which explains why the different treatment of English in terms of use and learning has gained the ground both in the current group and other groups as presented earlier. The moderator is certainly interested in this point and indicates her feeling. All members laugh again, showing some awkwardness and confirmation. While the transcript of Extract 7-7 has omitted a few turns to save the space, the group members share their views on the same point until CM6 summarises that the concept of ELF is only applicable to the use of English rather than pedagogy. That is, the gap continues to exist between the phenomenon and the legitimacy of ELF. While the group is aware of the gap, it is difficult for them to imagine the establishment of the legitimacy of ELF. As the group dynamics show, the ELT tradition and its assessment play important roles in maintaining the ideology that a standard is needed.

Extract 7-8 (Group D)

- 1 **DM1:** There should be different standards in different situations. A standard for international conferences and another standard for private talks. In international conferences, everybody uses English that is its official language, everybody follows the same standard, it prescribes the norms of how English is used. In private talks, we can use some slangs and vernacular forms, another standard, it is not something that has been stipulated but an agreement that has been reached during interactions.
 - 2 **DM5:** I think we should insist on the standard. Though you might still communicate even without following the standard. You can communicate through accommodation. But If you follow the standard, you can make the communicative process easier. The English usage *good good study* can be ok in some situations. You can go beyond the standard depending on different situations. But the insistence on the standard can make the communication more efficient.
 - 3 **DF2:** I disagree with DM1. I think there should be only one standard. Some informal use of English should only be considered as the extension of the standard.
 - 4 **Moderator:** What do you mean by standard?
 - 5 **DF4:** The English that is officially recognised. That is the standard, in my view.
 - 6 **DM7:** For example, in our discipline of mechanics, we know there is a national standard, which is stipulated by China, there is also an international standard, it is stipulated by an international institution, it is followed by all in the world. I think English can be like this. That is, its standard describes the vocabulary, grammar, and so on, it should be a clear set of norms, no matter whether you are American English or British English, as long as you’re using English, you follow the standard, that way, our communication will be easy. There are some oral English usages, for example, Chinese speakers like to say *good good study*, these can be viewed as a dialect of English.
-

-
- 7 **DF2:** I think a standard should come out of the use of English. If you set up a standard and ask me to use English on the basis of the standard, just like when our teacher keeps correcting my English, I really don't want to speak English. Strictly sticking to the standard is not good for English learning.
- 8 **DM7:** If you have to use English, you will still use it
- 9 **DF2:** Having to use English doesn't mean having to learn English that way.
-

The notion of standard is frequently occurring in all different sets of data. Across different FGs, the notion of standard often comes up as an interesting device that drives the group discussion into a particular direction and leads to group convergence or controversy. However, the notion of standard is not found to be exclusively related to the notion of StE. This is particularly seen in group D's discussion. It is useful to recall that group D struggles a lot at the beginning of group discussion to make sense of the notion of ELF. Group members turn to be active when they are asked to vote between authentic English and variations from authentic English. The notion of standard arises in the discussion automatically. The progress of the group interaction, however, suggests that peer members have different interpretations of standard and unfolds the group divergence on the notion of standard. Extract 7-8 records a period of the group discussion where we can see the tension between different views on standard.

DM1 argues for different standards in different situations (turn 1). He seems to categorise English usages in a formal and a vernacular registers. To some extent, he attempts to integrate a descriptive approach to the use of English in the vernacular register (*an agreement that has been reached during interactions*, turn 1). While his approach does not show a solid understanding of language, which is not surprising in folk linguistics, peer reaction to DM1's articulation, for instance, DM5's contribution (turn 2), raises the tension between a pluralistic orientation and a monolithic orientation to English. DM5 is affirmative in positing his view that one standard should be followed, even if he can accept the practice that might end up with some variations from the standard. His justification relates to the belief that the conformity or approximation to a uniform standard would increase the communicative efficiency between people from different cultural backgrounds.

While DM1's pluralistic orientation does not seem to interest other group members, DM5's monolithic orientation triggers further contribution. Following DM5, DF2 proposes to view variations or flexible usages as the extension of a single standard (turn 3), although her suggestion integrates DM1's consideration of English in informal use to give some space to variations. At this point, the moderator asks for further clarification and pursues the meanings of standard in the group discourse (turn 4). DF4 offers an answer, with the focus on official

recognition as a defining feature of standard (turn 5). Following up, DM7 shows his endorsement to DF4's answer. He helps to explain what makes the standard by making an analogy of standards in the field of mechanics to a standard in the use of English (turn 6). According to him, standards for mechanical engineering are stipulated by particular institutions at the national and international levels respectively. He assumes that the same principle applies to the use of English. In this sense, what he means by the standard in the use of English is the regulations that are presumably made by some institutions. That is, DM7's idea of standard disconnects from StE promoted in NES nations, implying a set of rules prescribed by some imagined institutions. Such a prescriptive orientation towards English is immediately challenged by DF2, who takes a descriptive orientation by arguing that "a standard should come out of the use of English" rather than prior to the use of English (turn 7). DF2 uses an example of her English learning process, implying that she is thinking of some kind of standard which can explain the linguistic outcomes produced by Chinese speakers and learners. In light of this, her approach to English shows an endonormative orientation. DF2 seems to see no relevance of StE for their discussion of standard, as her argument does not engage with the issue of StE but addresses a concern whether a standard comes before or after the use of English as if no other references are available for their consideration.

The tension between a prescriptive approach and a descriptive approach becomes highly intensive when DM7 rejects to reconsider a descriptive approach by forcefully positing that following rules is the only choice for language users (turn 8). In the end, DF2 tries to address the tension by integrating two sides of views and suggesting treating the use and the learning of English differently. This treatment finds its supporters in other groups (e.g. group A and group B) discussed earlier.

To sum up, different groups have gone through different dynamics and led to different outcomes of debates. Group A manages to reach a converged view that "standard" is needed for English education but not needed for out-of-education use. Group B ends up with the persistence of division between members on the issue of standard. One side is supporters of a single standard based on native speakers' English, while the other side is opponents, who argue that a single standard based on native speakers' English is neither necessary nor reasonable. Group C reaches a consensus that a single standard is maintained by education and assessment. Where there are no institutional constraints, there is no need for a single standard. Group D divides between a prescriptive view on standard and a descriptive view on standard. Meanwhile, Group D does not designate NES as providers of standard, with prescriptionists imagining an unknown authority and descriptionists arguing for a standard emerging in language practice.

The debates on “standard” suggest a need for understanding Chinese speakers’ idea of standard from their perspective, although the literature on the standard ideology offers some implications (e.g. Milroy and Milroy 2012, Lippi-Green 1994a, 1994b). Importantly, the belief in the need for a “standard” is not tied to StEs (see also Section 6.3.2), which, as discussed in Milroy and Milroy (2012), are key to the social relations within native-English-speaking nations. The belief suggests the need for new interpretations of the social relations that Chinese speakers engage with (see Section 7.4 below).

7.4 Defining variations

The issue of “standard” and the issue of variations are, in a sense, two sides of the same coin. The views of standard and the views of variations tend to mutually reflect each other. The discussion of the acceptability of variations, to a large extent, invokes the discussion of standard; the discussion of standard, to a large extent, involves the discussion of variations. Yet, an examination of participants’ discussion of variations with the focus on the process of interaction enables us to see the dilemma and the struggle associated with the evaluation of variations. Interestingly, the dilemma and the struggle can never be interpreted as hesitation in the study, in that participants in different groups tend to have a clear idea of how to define variations. In one way, participants in different groups tend to plead for variations; in another way, they tend to refuse to accept variations. Across different groups, a unanimous attitude towards variations illuminates to give rise to the notion of “tolerable error”. Importantly, different groups converge on a belief that variations are “tolerable errors” - a term that emerged in a few interviews and a few participants’ utterances in FGs, which can neither be accepted as legitimate nor be rejected as negative things. Given the commonality of the theme in different groups, I shall use one FG’s data to illustrate this complexity and the process through which the complexity becomes visible.

Extract 7-9 (Group D)

-
- 1 **Moderator:** So, how do you think of the usages like these (example on the handout)?
 - 2 **DM1:** [Pointing to the examples of pronunciation in the handout]. Some (pronunciations) are regional (features), for example, many southerners (in China) can’t differentiate L and N (in pronunciation).
 - 3 **DF2:** But northerners (in China) can differentiate.
 - 4 **DM7:** I think these usages are inevitable.
 - 5 **DM5:** I think dialects have impacts on the use of English.
-

-
- 6 **DM7:** (we) try to change (erroneous way of using English), but it is not possible to change completely
- 7 **Moderator:** Do you accept them?
- 8 **DM1:** (They) should be allowed
- 9 **DM7:** They are inevitable and commonly made errors
- 10 **DF9:** try our best to avoid them
- 11 **DM1:** Right. One would change constantly along with the progress of English proficiency development, when you learn English in junior high school and then senior high school, you always pronounce /ændə/, you can't realise the extra /ə/. Later you will become aware and then you will change your own pronunciation.
- 12 **DM6:** I think usages like this necessarily exist. But if you are in a group, and people in the group often have the same errors, the (errors) should be allowed, it is like our design work, there is a range, within which any value should be allowed.
- 13 **DF2:** (We) tolerate but don't encourage or promote (those usages)
- 14 **DM1:** Right. You can't see them as standard, but you can let them exist.
- 15 **DM5:** And when we analyse a phenomenon, we can't view it statically. We can't just say, oh, there are many people who make mistakes. Perhaps you haven't noticed that those people are different people. Perhaps we are making errors now and then we might become correct, but other people might make mistakes when they start to learn English. So errors come back.
- 16 **DF2:** I think the most important thing is that you know you are making mistakes when you are making mistakes. Just like when you are in class, if the teacher corrects you, you might not feel like to speak English any more. But you should be aware that you've made mistakes so that you can correct next time. You should know that you made mistakes.
- 17 **DM7:** I think many Chinese speakers make mistakes in their use of English. It depends on the mistakes, can people communicate in English with the mistakes, if they can communicate, the mistakes won't matter, why so rigid?
- 18 **DM6:** As long as people can understand you
- 19 **DF3:** These errors can be viewed as features of Chinese speakers' English in the process of learning, but if a foreigner hears our English a lot, he will get used to it, he will understand what we mean when we use English with the mistakes. The first time when I communicate with an Indian, he did not differentiate B and P, I couldn't understand. But later I got used to it, they pronounce P when they should pronounce B, this is their feature of pronunciation, it shouldn't be seen as an error.
- 20 **Moderator:** Do we all agree that usages like this are features?
- 21 **DM7:** I think we all agree that usages like these should be allowed.
- 22 **Moderator:** Everybody agrees?
- 23 **DF9:** A few differences, it would be too harsh if you view them as errors, they should be tolerated.
- 24 **DM5:** They are not conflicting with any fundamentals (of language).
- 25 **DM1:** They are errors, but they are errors that we can understand, they are errors indeed, errors in nature
- 26 **DM7:** -but not fundamental errors
- 27 **DM1:** Right. Korean speakers have their errors, Japanese speakers have their errors, we have Chinese errors
-

-
- 28 **DM6:** As long as we can communicate normally
- 29 **DF9:** (they are) not errors that you definitely need to correct (in order to communicate)
- 30 **Moderator:** Do you mean, they are errors, but you accept them?
- 31 **DM6:** We should also work to correct them, but errors are not an absolute issue, when we say they are errors, we often have reference usages in our mind, if we compare our English with Japanese speakers' English, our errors are not errors anymore.
- 32 **Moderator:** So what should be a reference?
- 33 **DM1:** For the purpose of learning English, British English and American English are surely the references, so it is inevitable to make some errors.
- 34 **DM7:** Or, the world can establish a new set of codes, not necessarily based on British or American English, but based on English used by all users of English. This should be possible. Just like Mandarin Chinese, it is promoted nationwide, but it is not necessarily Beijing dialect.
-

Extract 7-9 shows a lengthy interaction within Group D on the acceptability of variations, which are exemplified with usages identified in corpus studies and presented in handouts distributed to the group members. After the moderator's question (turn 1), group members start to make sense of the examples through discussion. Two interrelated themes immediately emerge in a short exchange among group members (turns 2–6). That is, a co-constructed understanding of L1 Chinese transfer in L2 English at the level of description and an ambivalent attitude towards L1 transfer at the level of evaluation. DM1, DF2 and DM5 converge on the analysis of exemplified variations and jointly construct a description of L1 transfer in L2 English.

At the beginning, DM1 offers his analysis of the Chinese speakers' pronunciation (turn 2), with the focus on an example that /l/ and /n/ are indistinguishable (see Appendix C). While the handout only offers decontextualized examples in general without any explanation of the use of English as listed, DM1 is able to identify a reason behind the confusion between /l/ and /n/, based on his knowledge of Chinese speakers' use of L1 Chinese that southern Chinese speakers do not distinguish /l/ and /n/ in their dialects. Subsequently, DF2 adds her point that northern Chinese speakers distinguish /l/ and /n/ in their dialects (turn 3), effectively complementing DM1's analysis to form a general picture of L1 Chinese speakers' pronunciation. Finally, DM5 makes it explicit that Chinese speakers' dialects have impacts on their use of L2 English (turn 5). Paralleling to the descriptive account, DM7 makes a circuitous argument about L1 transfer. He first recognises that it is "inevitable" (turn 4). Then he expresses an old-fashioned view in traditional SLA research that L2 transfer should be overcome, before he moves to hint that overcoming L2 transfer is not realistic by making a point that "it is not possible" to change L1-influenced way of using English (turn 6). The brief comments on L1 Chinese transfer show awareness of the gap between what

is “real” English and what is “realistic” English – an issue that Seidlhofer (2003) has discussed in her work.

Apparently, the moderator seeks to see a clearer stance on the acceptability of variations by chasing down with a short and straightforward question into acceptability (turn 7). In response to the moderator’s question, DM1 indicates his view that those variations should be allowed (turn 8). DM7 repeats his point in turn 9 for the third time that he makes in turn 4 and turn 6. The repeats serve to emphasise the phenomenon of variations as a commonplace, seemingly suggesting that he is on the same page as DM1. However, the notion of “error” turns up in DM7’s articulation this time (turn 9), which seems to have motivated some members to focus on the analysis of variations as problems. DF9 follows up to suggest a solution (turn 10). The phrase *try our best* in her short response reveals an ideal situation in her imagination and yet some uncertainty to achieve the situation. That is, while avoiding variations seems to be a solution, the feasibility remains an open question. DM1 signals his agreement with the proposed solution and goes further to elaborate the view that variations occur as a signal of low English proficiency of English and can be reduced gradually in the process of developing English proficiency (turn 11). A subtle change of group interest thus becomes visible from acknowledging the phenomenon as a commonplace to treating the phenomenon as a problem.

Interestingly, group interaction continues, while the issue of variations remains to be controversial. DM6 makes a statement that the phenomenon “necessarily” exists, arguing for a space of variations in the use of English (turn 12). He makes an analogy of the use of English to his disciplinary subject where a value range rather than a fixed value is adopted for the measure. His point challenges the pursuit of accuracy in English and thus the treatment of “errors” as problems. Following him, DF2 flags up a position on “errors”, which can be described as tolerance (turn 13). The position is subtle, showing some complexity. DF2 makes it explicit that tolerance is different from encouragement and promotion. What can be inferred is that tolerance is far from acceptance or legitimacy. In turn, DM1 quickly echoes her with a confirmative response *right* and paraphrases the idea of tolerance, which relates to non-recognition on the basis of standard but a phenomenon that should not be resisted (turn 14).

Subsequently, a discourse marker *and* ushers DM5’s voice to the debate on variations, which are referred to as “errors” in the group discussion at times (turn 15). He proposes to view the phenomenon across different time periods rather than within a given period. He talks about the frequent occurrences of “mistakes” among generations after generations of learners of English. The discourse marker *and* seems to suggest DM5’s intention to add to the point that has been made by his peers – i.e. DF2 and DM1- and thus signals his endorsement rather than

challenge. While he agrees with DM1's point that "errors" can be corrected in the process of learning, he has in effect foregrounded a view that "errors" can always be found from time to time and from person to person. This contrast shows a subtle disagreement to DM1 and, hence, a delicate challenge to the suggestion of avoiding "errors". DM5's point on the persistence of "errors", however, has triggered DF2's consideration of an alternative solution to "errors", which relates to learner awareness of "errors" (turn 16) and illuminates a deficit view on English (Jenkins 2006).

So far, a lot of time has been spent on the discussion on variations – or "errors" in the group discourse, with the controversy mainly concentrating on the analysis of the phenomenon of "errors" in relation to the learning of English or learners of English. A turning point arrives when DM7 makes explicit his view that some "mistakes" do not hinder communication and questions the rigidity in the pursuit of correct English (turn 17). DM6 echoes to support DM7 with a short response (turn 18). Following him, DF3 proposes to view "errors" as features of English use by NNEs with an example of Indian speakers' use of English (turn 19).

The moderator sees the opportunity to push the group further in the direction of viewing "errors" as differences and, hereby, goes beyond the individual opinion to ask for the group opinion (turn 20). Notably, however, DM7 offers a response that strategically avoids the consideration of "errors" in relation to "features" by shifting the focus to the issue of how to deal with "errors". He speaks as a representative of the group, flagging up the position that "we all agree that usages like these should be allowed" (turn 21). While the moderator chooses to follow the flow of the group members' interest, she asks the group again for the group opinion (turn 22). Upon the request, DF9 returns to the point of tolerance and argues against the rigidity in pursuing accuracy again (turn 23). DM5 tries to make some room for "errors" by arguing that they do not conflict with the core principles of language (turn 24). DM1 is explicit that those "errors" are intelligible "errors", despite being defined as "errors in nature" (turn 25). The unsaid message in DM1's contribution is spoken out by DM7, whose point is soon confirmed by DM1 (turns 26–27). The co-construction between DM1 and DM7 thus becomes readily visible.

DM1 not only confirms his position in line with DM7's and but also reinforces an argument for localised "errors", a point that he raises at the beginning of the extract (turn 27). This brings out the unsaid message that "errors" are inevitable as a result of L1 transfer and serves to justify the phenomenon of "errors". Following up, DM6 and DF9 both signal their support for the tolerance of "errors" (turns 28–29). The discourse context shows the co-construction of the meaning of "variations" among a number of group members. Although no one

clearly spells out what the fundamentals are, it is inferable from the discourse context the group refers to the fundamental function of English as communication, which in their view justifies the value of some “variations” – though whether the value is sufficient for acceptance is another question, as revealed in following turns.

The moderator makes another attempt to force the group to address the issue of acceptability (turn 30). As a result, the group discussion enters another round discussion of standard and errors. Extract 7-9 shows a few exchanges after the moderator’s third attempt to ask for opinions of acceptability (turns 31–34), though the group discussion is more extensive and, still, gives no sign of a willingness to comment on acceptability. As seen from the few exchanges, group members believe that the definition of “errors” depends on reference, which is likely to be either native Englishes or an imagined English that lends support to the notion of Globish. Either way suggests an exonormative model within which “errors” are defined and fixed codes are prescribed in terms of the use of English.

In general, Extract 7-9 shows the zig-zag process of group negotiation with regard to variations or “errors”. The group negotiation, as presented in Extract 7-9, has gone through the first stage of making sense of variations as a result of L1 transfer in L2 English, the second stage of discussing variations as problems, the third stage of discussing the tolerability of “errors”, and the final stage of discussing exonormative models. While the moderator has certainly played a role in guiding the direction of group discussion, it is clearly seen in the process of group discussion that group members bring up issues to support and challenge each other, react to the moderator’s request strategically to turn the tide of discussion that suits their understanding of what is relevant for them. While the moderator has made a few attempts to make the group engage in the discussion of the acceptability of variations, the group members tend to find different ways around and give no sign of willingness to touch upon the notion of “acceptability” or “acceptance”. It is not difficult to understand the reluctance or the avoidance to engage with the notion of acceptability with reference to the issues of their interest in different stages listed above. The issue of legitimacy remains to be associated with exonormative models in the group members’ belief. The understanding of variations or “errors” as “inevitable” linguistic phenomenon resulted from L1 transfer and as intelligible to satisfy the fundamental role of English leads to the support for variations. The conflict between what is legitimate and what is meaningful is faced up by the group members. This explains the preference for the notion of “tolerance”, which seems to suggest a compromise between what is prescribed as legitimate and what has been generated in actualised linguistic practice.

In another way, the notion of “tolerance” suggests a negotiation with what is excluded from legitimacy and a struggle for a space of “errors” within the power structure centralised on exonormative Englishes.

7.5 Negotiating ownership

It has become clear that FGs tend to converge on the acceptance of “standard” as the authority of English⁶ and simultaneously argue for some room for Chinese speakers’ creativity, either for the purpose of cultural expression or with the focus on communicative effects. Digging into what is underneath the iceberg, this section will present the process through which the power of NESs in maintaining standards and the right of Chinese speakers to creativity battle in group interaction. In general, all four FGs have become the battlefields between the power of NESs in maintaining standards and the right of Chinese speakers to creativity. Three groups (namely, B, C and D) lose ground to the power of NESs rather quickly, reaching the consensus that individual Chinese speakers can do with a gap between language policy that promotes StEs and language practice that reflects Chinese speakers’ needs. Group A has gone through the long-lasting tension between the two sides of the battle to end up in a stalemate. Extract 7-10 rewinds a lengthy part of group A discussion that offers an insight into the struggle for a space in the power structure centred on NESs as the reference.

Extract 7-10 (Group A)

-
- 1 **Moderator:** How shall we deal with these usages, which as you can see are different from native speakers’ English? Accept them or correct them?
 - 2 **AF9:** I think we should correct superficial errors, because we are learning their [i.e. native English speakers’] language after all, we should learn how they use language, cannot add our own things [...] but if [we need to express] Chinese culture, there are many times, we can use English, we can add our culture, [create] a kind of variety, [creative forms] will then develop into China’s English.
-

⁶ While Chapter 5 has discussed four authority centres emerging in the interview data, Chapter 6 focuses on group opinions which are developed through group dynamics to agreement on standard as the main authority centre. The inconsistency shows attitude change in group settings.

-
- 3 **AF1:** I don't think we can accept those usages as errors, but we need to differentiate those usages, some of them can be errors, some of them can be variations in the overall process of English change, she mentioned superficial errors, [...] violate their [i.e. native English speakers'] rules and norms, they are errors, we should correct them. Some usages are [Chinese] culture-embedded, they are variations, they are created because there are no equivalents in English. They should be accepted.
- 4 **AF2:** But if those from native English-speaking countries do not accept them, they are still errors. We can say we accept them ourselves, but if native English speakers don't accept your [creative] usages, you are still making errors.
- 5 **AF1:** They don't understand the usages because they don't have expressions for cultural concepts that only China has. But how can this be justified as errors?
- 6 **AF2:** Errors should be accepted by native speakers before they can be accepted as non-errors.
- 7 **AF1:** Errors are defined in terms of existing references. But they don't have correct forms as references for (Chinese cultural concepts)
- 8 **AF2:** you have your own understanding of references. But for native speakers, they view errors because they have their references.
- 9 **Moderator:** so, whose reference do you, and other members think, should be drawn on to evaluate these errors?
- 10 **AF9:** [pointing at the examples of English on the handout] I want to ask Wang [i.e. the moderator], are those errors English?
- 11 **Moderator:** what do others think?
- 12 **AF3:** They are not English
- 13 **AF2:** I don't like such usages
- 14 **AF9:** So, these usages are not accepted by native English speakers. If they are not English because they are not accepted by native English speakers, it is native English speakers who play the leading role of language change.
- 15 **AF2:** I have always thought the leading role is theirs.
- 16 **AF6:** I think we're getting to a dead end.
- 17 **AF1:** *Give you some colour to see see* is English, it might become right or wrong in the future, depending on the development of a standard. When people in communication negotiate with each other, they approximate native English speakers' references. If they understand each other's culture, they can have a rather flexible standard, which is not necessarily native speakers' references. If they don't understand, they will have to approximate native speakers' English as much as possible.
- 18 **AF9:** Do you mean, anything goes as long as people understand each other in communication?
- 19 **AF1:** There is a range [of standard] from native speaker English to English that enables communication and comprehension.
- 20 **AF9:** I agree [...] native English speakers play the leading role in English change. But if they [i.e. NESs] could accept our way of using English, the promotion of our English would need less effort. But they acceptance is influenced by the rest ONE POINT SEVEN BILLION SPEAKERS [i.e. NNESs]-
- 21 **AF2:** -But [...] if you write these on your examination answer sheets, how do you think teachers would react?
-

-
- 22 **AF7:** [...] As she [i.e. AF9] said, native speakers don't accept these, so, so these are still wrong at present. But just like what happened to *long time no see*, which has been accepted by them. It is possible for *give you some colour to see see* to be accepted. Then it won't be wrong any more.
- 23 **AF2:** So the norm providers are always native speakers.
- 24 **AF9:** They are norm providers. But they are not dictators, they are not the boss, they can't make us do this or that. They need to communicate with us. We were talking about native speakers as a big group [that we hope to join]. But what about individual native speakers who come to China. They need to do business with us. In order to communicate with us, won't they accept this kind of English? You can't deny the possibility that more and more native speakers turn to accept this kind of English over time [...] We might never use this kind of English for our exams, as we know these are wrong. But written forms are not our major forms of communication. In oral communication, the errors in oral English are possible to be accepted.
- 25 **AF7:** oral communication is more flexible with errors.
- 26 **AF2:** So, as long as you have to wait for native speakers' approval, the standard is still made by native speakers.
- 27 **AM5:** But there is not such an institution, which makes a standard and asks everybody to follow the standard
- 28 **AF2:** The standard is not printed and posted there for you to follow. It is in people's mind, it is an ideological standard. Only when native English speakers have accepted can you treat the usages as correct. They are not making rules, but there is a standard that owes to them.
- 29 **AM5:** So, there is not a fixed standard
- 30 **AF9:** We can't deny that we need to follow their standard; but their standard needs to accommodate to many other people's needs.
- 31 **AF2:** influenced by others
- 32 **AF9:** I don't think we are conflicting with each other.
- 33 **AF2:** this is just a matter of time, their standard will be influenced, but they are still the rule makers.
- 34 **AF9:** We agreed earlier on this point. For communication, people only need to reach common ground, it is flexible. But this doesn't deny native English speakers' leading role in making the rule.
- 35 **AF7:** Do you mean, errors can become non-errors if they are approved by native English speakers?
- 36 **AF2:** This is what I meant. If what you think are errors are approved by native English speakers, they would be not errors.
- 37 **AF7:** so native English speakers have the final say.
- 38 **AF2:** they do. Anyway, English culture is their culture. They have the final say.
- 39 **AF7:** But if you think in another way, we are creating new forms of English, we are also involved in the process of creating new norms.
- 40 **AF2:** But at the end of the day, it is still native speakers who decide, approve or disapprove. Only THEIR approval can make our use acceptable [...]
-

-
- 41 **AF9:** I think our discussion was limited in the context where native speakers are present. I went to English Corner in my first year of university and met an Indian guy. I personally think his English was very bad, very non-standard, and very unpleasant [...] in that situation, I communicated with him, his English was Indian English, an acknowledged variety of English, so a standard, but when he was talking with me, I just didn't feel that I could understand him. In that situation, shall I find a British speaker and ask him to judge our English and tell us what we should do between us?
- 42 **AF2:** Indian English became an acknowledge standard because it follows the English norms, it is an Indian kind of English
- 43 **AF9:** So, can't Chinese speakers' English be approved by native English speakers?
- 44 **AF2:** So, native English speakers are still the gatekeeper. Only when native English speakers approve can your English be accepted by the world.
- 45 **AF6:** Can you stop using English if they don't approve?
- 46 **AM8:** British English is also a British kind of English
[all people laugh except AF2]
- 47 **AF2:** If you talk about British English, there is also American English. If America is not powerful enough, can American English be contesting British English? The economic power behind English is the key.
- 48 **AF3:** If China becomes powerful in the future, will Chinese become like today's English?
- 49 **AF7:** That is for sure.
- 50 **XZ:** Our teacher said Chinese will need to be promoted.
- 51 **AF2:** Language is dependent upon the power of the country where the language is used.
- 52 **AF6:** Some usages are created by us and approved by native English speakers. Who should be viewed as the creator of new rules?
- 53 **AF2:** You have to be approved by them. Can you claim the ownership?
- 54 **AF6:** So, who is the owner of the new forms?
- 55 **AF2:** New forms should be approved by native English speakers. Who do you think are gatekeepers?
- 56 **AF6:** If they don't approve, do you stop using new forms?
- 57 **AF2:** Of course nobody can stop you using them. But they are still viewed as errors, because they are not approved by native English speakers.
-

Extract 7-10 starts with the discussion of the position on usages that are different from native speakers' English. AF9 suggests to differentiate Chinese-culture-embedded usages from "errors" and argues for the acceptability of the former (turn 2). AF1 adds to AF9's argument and goes further to suggest that Chinese-culture-embedded usages should be viewed as variations in the overall change of English (turn 3). A different view emerges when AF2 reminds of the absolute power of NESs in defining errors and argues that anything outside NESs' linguistic repertoire should be considered as errors (turn 4). AF1 counters AF2 on the evaluation of Chinese-culture-embedded usages, implying that NESs' linguistic repertoire does not explain Chinese speakers' experiences (turn 5). AF2 rejects the counterargument by simply repeating the point that she makes earlier (turn 6).

In response, AF1 continues to argue that errors can only be dialogised with reference to “correct” expressions of the same experience in the linguistic repertoire (turn 7). This time, AF2 tries to sideline AF1’s view of reference by treating it as a belief personally held by the latter and turning to reiterate the absolute power of NESs for the third time (turn 8). The discussion (turns 2–8) shows a preservation of NESs’ power on one side and an argument for Chinese speakers’ creativity on the other side. The interaction makes the issue of reference a main stake underpinning the evaluation of Chinese creativities.

While AF1 and AF2 seem to have come to a deadlock, the moderator invites more members to join the interaction on the issue of “whose” reference with a question whose reference counts (turn 9). The moderator’s question, however, motivates AF9 to throw a question back to the moderator whether “errors” can be counted as English language (turn 10). Apparently, the moderator hopes to invite discussion among group members rather than having one-to-one discussion with AF9, by seeking help from other group members in response to AF9 (turn 11). AF3 and AF2 indicate negative views on “errors”, followed by AF9’s feedback to their responses (turns 12–14). AF9 makes a quick link of AF3 and AF2’s dislike of “errors” with NESs’ power in defining what are errors and what are acceptable linguistic forms (turn 14). She offers a brief reasoning and concludes that a major reason that the usages are not recognised lies in the lack of recognition by NESs (turn 14). AF2 follows up to reinforce AF9’s claim that NESs are leading the change of English (turn 15). Nonetheless, the winning argument does not attract further support. AF6’s comment implies her belief that a focus on the power of NESs in defining the legitimacy of variations is not constructive (turn 16). Although unsaid, AF6’s brief comment has an effect of calling for a breakthrough from the old-fashioned view that NESs provide standards and NNEs follow. The comment thus can be viewed as a turning point since which different members make attempts to negotiate for Chinese speakers’ creativity in the power structure centred on NESs.

In turn, AF1 suggests a flexible approach to reference depending upon the communicative need decided by the participants in interactions (turn 17). She uses *Give you some colour to see see* as an example to illustrate Chinese-culture-embedded usages and argues that the evaluation of those usages should be based on their contribution to communication. While admitting the role of native speakers’ English as the absolute reference, she attempts to suggest the co-existence of variations from the absolute reference and conformations to the absolute reference. AF9 tries to confirm with AF1 what the latter means and AF1 clarifies that she suggests viewing reference as a range rather than a point (turns 18–19). For AF1, the conformity to native speakers’ English should be the highest end and the variation from native speakers’ English that enables communication should

be the lowest end of a reference. This appears to be an attempt to negotiate with the power structure that AF2 pointed out earlier. AF9 agrees with the negotiation and further proposes to give space to Chinese speakers' creativity (turn 20). She appears to be cautious. She first tries to gain the group support by demonstrating her belief in the role of NESs in English change and discussing the positive side of NESs' authority in promoting Chinese speakers' own English. Then she gives her view that NNESSs join together to have counter impacts on NESs' imposition of power. However, the negotiation is inhospitably countered by AF2, who warns of language assessment as an institutional mechanism of promoting NES norms in China (turn 21).

AF7 reacts to AF2 and defends Chinese creativity by suggesting a long-term perspective on the possibility of "errors" to become legitimate in the future (turn 22). AF7's proposal to negotiate for Chinese creativity within the power structure is challenged by AF2 immediately (turn 23), as AF2 points out that NESs have the power in gatekeeping linguistic forms. In turn, AF9 makes another attempt to negotiate the reconsideration of Chinese creativity (turn 24). She suggests viewing NESs as individuals rather than as a collective group who holds the power. She further draws attention to contingent situations where individual NESs need to fit in Chinese culture and thus counters the belief associated with native Englishes that Chinese speakers should fit in NES cultures. Nonetheless, she is still cautious and agrees with the impact of language assessment on the control of Chinese creativity. She concludes her turn by further narrowing the argument to oral communication, followed by AF7, who joins her to co-construct the point that "errors" are acceptable in oral communication (turn 25). Once again, AF2 as one of the defenders of NES norms declares her position as unchanged that NESs are still custodians of English, no matter how hard her group members try to negotiate.

AM5 goes on to challenge AF2's claim about rule-makers and expresses his scepticism of the accountability of rule-makers of English (turn 26). AF2 reacts by explaining the anonymity of standard, which echoes what Woolard (1998) has described, and claiming that native speakers are hidden rule makers (turn 28). Reluctantly, AM5 retreats from his strong position on the issue of standard to make a compromise to focus on the fixity of "standard" (turn 29). AF9 makes another attempt to negotiate on NESs' power and brings up a point that NESs' work to preserve standards "needs to accommodate" to NNESSs' needs and, in particular, Chinese speakers' needs in the current discourse (turn 30). AF2 shows her willingness to consider AF9's point and echoes that non-native speakers' influence on English will be integrated into English change (turns 31–33). But she adds to claim that an adaption to NNESSs' needs does not change the absolute authority of NESs in English. AF9's attempt to negotiate a stance in the debates on standard is visible in turn 32. However, AF2 does not like to compromise, insisting on

native speakers' ownership of English, despite the possible role that NNEs play in English change. This forces AF9 to express her agreement with NESs' authority again, emphasising that she has no doubt about NESs' authority (turn 34).

While AF2's defence persists, AF9's attempt to reach an agreed position by making compromise to AF2 is not well received by other members. AF7 makes another attempt negotiating with AF2 (turns 35–38) and proposes a new perspective on Chinese speakers' involvement in English change (turn 39). According to her, Chinese speakers' creative forms give them the *de facto* role in English change, no matter whether the institutional power is with them. Yet, AF2 continues to emphasise the authority of NESs in the use of English, without adding any new argument (turn 40). AF9 proposes to consider the situation where native speakers are not present but ELF is needed. As she argues, it is neither realistic nor helpful for NNEs to rely on NESs' authority. It is interesting to note that AF9's view echoes what Jenkins (2000) points out. However, AF9's contribution that native speakers are irrelevant for ELF communication is neglected and left unaddressed in the group discussion (turn 41). Instead, that AF9 draws upon her own experience of communicating with an 'Indian English' speaker attracts AF2's attention.

In AF2's view, Indian English is recognised because it has been approved by NESs (turn 42). Though AF2's comment shows some misunderstanding of Indian English as a variety, no other members are able to see the loophole in her argument. Yet, group members are not willing to accept AF2's argument. AF9 continues to explore the possibility for Chinese speakers' English to be recognised, on the basis of the assumption that NESs' authority is unchallengeable (turn 43). AF6 hints that it is not possible for Chinese speakers to give up on creativity (turn 46). AM8 follows AF2's logic about Indian English to imply that British English is the same as Indian English. AM8 seems to have made a joke, as his logic has triggered laughter among group members. To some extent, the joke suggests that British English should be equal to Indian English. The laughter can be interpreted as an applaud for AM8's challenge to AF2's logic, in the context that many members keep trying to challenge AF2's claim. Faced up with the challenge, AF2 extends the topic to American English instead of addressing the link between Indian English and British English (turn 47). While she seems to have interrupted the coherence of the discussion, she brings up the idea that the status of a language results from the power of the nation behind the language. She thus implicitly expresses her idea that the "Indian kind of English" is different from the "British kind of English" in terms of status and authority.

AF2's idea of the relation between language and power triggers the discussion of Chinese as a global language (turns 48–51) until AF6's question (turn 52). Apparently, AF6 is not satisfied with the result of the discussion, a discussion

that ends up with AF2's insistence on NESs' authority. She draws the group attention back to the discussion of English and makes another attempt to negotiate on the recognition of Chinese speakers' contribution in English change and directly questions the ownership of English created by Chinese speakers (turn 52). AF2 is stubborn with her position on native speakers' authority and uses a question to reject the possibility for Chinese speakers to "own" English (turn 53). AF6 continues to push her argument, by narrowing down the question of the ownership of English to the question of the ownership of English that has been changed by Chinese speakers. Notably, while she focuses on new rules emerging in new usages of English in turn 52, she retreats to focus on Chinese speakers' needs for new forms in turn 54. By contrast, AF2 is confident in defending her position and making her opponents retreat step by step. Later, AF6 gives up the recognition of Chinese creativity by the authority but turns to focus on language users' needs to be creative (turn 56).

In short, the struggle for the recognition of Chinese speakers' role in English change is seen throughout the group discussion. While AF2 keeps defending native speakers' authority in English, many members make efforts in challenging the assumption that Chinese speakers are default norm followers and fighting for the recognition of Chinese speakers' creativity. The discussion ends up with an illuminating the tension between Chinese speakers' needs for creativity and NES norms that defines non-native speakers' creativities as "errors". Nonetheless, the unremitting negotiation for the recognition of Chinese speakers' creativity appears to be the main feature of the entire group discussion, despite the relentless emphasis on NESs' authority and the status quo where NESs' authority is maintained.

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed FG data that look into the process through which the participants engage with each other with different views on the conception of ELF, standard, and variation. The chapter also probes into the process through which the participants negotiate on the understanding of Chinese speakers' role in language change, with the focus on the ownership of English in relation to Chinese speakers. While the views reflected in different groups at different moments keep resonating with the findings presented in Chapter 5 and 6, the FG data provide the opportunity to examine the process how different views interact to lead to the situation where some arguments turn to prevail while other voices become weaker or the situation where group tension increases between different voices in terms of English change in general and Chinese speakers' creativity in particular.

This chapter brings together the concept of ELF, normativity, creativity and legitimacy, each of which contributes to the participants' language ideologies, that is, the participants' understandings of power relations in relation to language forms. The conception of ELF offers a comprehensive theorisation of English change and critiques power relations that centralise native speakers' competence and designate NNEs as norm followers. However, the participants do not seem to have benefited much from the ELF concept, as seen in their interactions in terms of standard, variations and the ownership of English in relation to Chinese speakers. The concept of ELF, which encapsulates the phenomenon of English change that features ELF users' creativity and accommodation to intercultural encounters, appears to be a challenge for FG participants to a different extent. This helps to explain the participants' difficulties in making sense of English change in terms of normativity, creativity and legitimacy.

Group discussions revolving around standard and variations, which form two sides of the same coin of normativity, show tensions between those who argue for a fixed language standard and those who argue for a flexible approach to language. In addition, group discussions regarding the ownership of English in relation to Chinese speakers provide vivid representations of the tension between the insistence on the exclusive authority of NESs and the recognition of the role of Chinese speakers in language change. Despite different group dynamics, the voice for the conformity to a fixed standard tends to win over, while the voice for a flexible approach to language tends to be side-lined, though the tension persists throughout the group discussions. The factors that help to win over the debates are likely to be macro-social factors such as economic power, social bias, institutional constraints. By contrast, the factors that enter the argument for Chinese speakers' role in language change tend to align with Chinese speakers' needs and wants, the communicative and cultural value of Chinese speakers' variations, and the connection between Chinese speakers' variations and their identities. In this sense, the debates reveal the engagement of agents, who focus on Chinese speakers' individual needs, wants, creativities and identities through language use, with mainstream discourses that promote a monolithic standard, which centralises the exclusive ownership of English by NESs. Importantly, the FG processes bear out the negotiation of agency within the power structure in the world of English.

8 Ideologies about ChELF: China and compromised linguistic legitimacy

8.1 The wrap-up of the study

This monograph has been motivated by my PhD study experience under the supervision of Professor Jennifer Jenkins in the Centre for Global Englishes in the University of Southampton, which has enabled me to sense and recognise the dilemmas of and biases against Chinese speakers of English in the context of the global spread of English, a context that has given rise to ELF and thus required new thinking about English and its users. The ELF research has offered theoretical background and vital justifications to the ownership of English by NNEs including Chinese speakers, for whom ELF is relevant while EFL is obsolete. Despite the vigorous and fruitful research on ELF over decades, Chinese speakers and Chinese learners are still conflated into the same group that is presumably expected to improve English to approximate native Englishes. I cannot name those who are conflating Chinese speakers and Chinese learners. But just a few days before I finalised the monograph, I searched “Chinese speakers’ English” on the internet to find a colossal amount of results that directed me to issues of how to support Chinese speakers to learn “good” English, a term often referred to as authentic English, or how to avoid being Chinese-like speakers. The authenticity and the anonymity bring home an issue of language ideologies. The legitimacy of English – namely, ELF – used by Chinese speakers is after all an ideological issue, which evokes the understanding of power relations centring on the use of English. While the dilemmas of and biases against ChELF speakers point to them as a powerless group, the legitimation of ELF used by Chinese speakers urges the search for new power relations between Chinese speakers and NESs, the latter of whom has played the role of default norm providers as described in Kachruvian classification of English users around the world. Given the significance of agency in power relation transformation, I argue for the need to examine Chinese speakers’ own positions on their own use of ELF, which are rarely studied within the current power structure that promotes native Englishes and marginalises other Englishes.

I use the term “Chinese English as a lingua franca” (ChELF in the acronym) to conceptualise the sociolinguistic phenomenon of English being used by Chinese speakers in intercultural communication. Nobody can deny that English serves as a language that makes China connected with the other parts of the world. Sporadic description of how Chinese speakers use ELF in inter-

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501503702-008>

cultural communication is visible in ELF research that focuses on the commonality and interculturality of ELF speakers in multilingual engagements, offering evidence to the existence of ELF being used by Chinese speakers. While linguistic analysis of Chinese speakers' use of ELF can certainly help to describe the phenomenon, it is unfortunate to see a strong interest in identifying features, patterns and Chinese-styled outcomes of English lead to the entrenchment of 'Chinese learner English'. It follows that a linguistic focus on ChELF cannot fundamentally address the issue of legitimacy. By contrast, language ideologies make a qualitative difference in determining the legitimacy of Chinese speakers' use of ELF and explaining the nature of ChELF. Not only the fact that Chinese speakers use ELF instead of EFL needs to be recognised in understanding their linguistic performance, but also Chinese speakers' agentive roles in the development of English needs to be studied in understanding their ownership of English. ChELF is thus defined in ideological terms rather than linguistic terms.

This study looks into language ideologies among Chinese speakers concerning the legitimacy of ChELF and unveils intricate views, ideas and interpretations among them. The participants are found to have mixed, inconsistent, conflicting and contradictory perceptions on normativity vis-à-vis variability that underpin their evaluations and rationalisations of Chinese speakers' use of ELF in the context of the global spread of English. While it is a risky attempt to draw definite conclusions of Chinese speakers' views and ideas, the study undoubtedly provides insights into ideological issues and factors that have impacts on the development of the legitimacy of ChELF. I would like to briefly review research questions the study sets out to answer and then progress to discuss the implications of the research findings for an expansion of ELF research agendas and for future research in ChELF. Admittedly, attitudinal and ideological features which have caught my attention do not explain the whole picture of the participants' ideas and interpretations of language issues relevant to ChELF. Indeed, the complex picture of language ideologies revolving around Chinese speakers' use of ELF goes beyond what one single study can capture.

How do Chinese speakers perceive and explain their own English in intercultural communication?

First, the participants generally perceive Chinese speakers' own English in intercultural communication as different from prescriptive English. The recognition of the difference, however, is associated with a generally ambivalent attitude

towards Chinese speakers' use of ELF, which surfaces the struggle between normativity and variability. The participants tend to see both normativity and variability as important, being reluctant to indicate their preference between normativity and variability. Second, the majority aspires an endonormative English, hoping that China could have their ownership of English one day. The positivity surfaces the uncertainty about the ownership of English. The participants generally hope to have a "compromised linguistic legitimacy" and leave the decision on the legitimacy to national institutions. Third, the participants see Chinese speakers' own English as intertwined with Chinese culture, language and community. They recognise Chinese speakers' English as relevant to China, Chinese culture and Chinese speakers. The participants pay attention to China, Chinese culture, Chinese influences while discussing the role of English and describing the manifestations of Chinese speakers' use of ELF. While they are generally positive in the role of English in promoting Chinese language, culture and influence, they acknowledge the impacts of Chinese culture and language in Chinese speakers' use of English. The participants also see English within the framework of what Jenkins (2015b) conceptualises as English as a multilingual *franca*. That is, English is viewed as additional to Chinese and vice versa. The participants' explanation of their ambivalent views reveals their considerations of communication effects of Chinese speakers' use of ELF, their association of Chinese speakers' use of ELF with an imagined Chinese community, their awareness of multiple centres of authority in English, their obsession with the standard.

How do Chinese speakers consider their identities in relation to their use of ELF?

The study reveals a complicated picture of intricate relations between Chinese speakers' use of ELF and their identities from Chinese speakers' perspectives. Research participants see Chinese speakers' use of ELF in relation to their identities in social, cultural, political and ideological aspects. With the focus on the ownership of English, the study particularly draws attention to the data on the identities that address the participants' engagement with power relations that reproduce the established norms of English.

The participants see their identities in power relations which are dominated by three centres of authority, including NESs, ELT tradition and "the standard", though different participants are concerned with different authority centres. Notably, there are occasions when research participants turn away from those authority centres to focus on their own needs and wants to adapt English in real-life language practice.

A few participants tend to link native speaker competence with elite groups of Chinese speakers and regard native speaker competence in English as an index of personal success. A very few participants explicitly treat native speaker competence in English as an exclusive index of personal achievement in English learning. The participants generally tend to identify Chinese speakers of ELF as learners of native Englishes. This converges with the general acceptance of three authority centres as mentioned above. Nonetheless, the view that native speaker competence is an ideal for Chinese speakers to pursue is not widespread. Rather, the participants generally argue for the value of Chinese speakers' use of ELF in terms of the communicative effects and identifications with Chinese culture, language, and community.

The participants see Chinese speakers' use of ELF as a way of indexing their alignment with international community of practice and their identification with an imagined Chinese community in particular. The international community of practice and the imagined Chinese community are both relevant to Chinese speakers, who tend to claim memberships of both. The two are not conflicting with each other but co-exist together to help Chinese speakers to define their senses of belonging. In those participants' explanation of Chinese speakers' practice of ELF, those participants show awareness of the need to adapt to intercultural communication settings and intercultural interlocutors' language needs. In addition, the participants argue for the value of Chinese culture being embedded in Chinese speakers' language practice and thus support Chinese speakers' own English.

How do Chinese speakers discursively engage with power relations that reproduce the predominance of native English norms in China?

While Chinese speakers' use of ELF is a sociolinguistic reality, the study provides insights into how Chinese speakers perceive the reality, which shed light on the way that Chinese speakers appropriate English, either intentionally or unintentionally, and the reflections on Chinese speakers' appropriation of English. The participants' discursive engagement with power relations that reproduce the predominance of NES norms in China is examined in questionnaire responses, interviews, and FG discussions. The process through which the participants automatically and explicitly engage with current power relations in terms of the use of English is best represented by FG discussions.

Four FGs engage with the topic of ELF and make comments on examples of Chinese speakers' creativity in English, showing different dynamics of discussion processes. What can be observed in different dynamic patterns of group discussions are issues of common interest and factors that contribute to Chinese

speakers' language ideologies. While mirroring the findings of questionnaire and interview analyses, the issues and factors are brought to fore through group discourses.

Specifically, the conception of ELF, as a stimulus to elicit group discussion, appears to be a challenge to all groups, with each group focusing on one aspect of ELF. It has elicited discussions centring on the differences between ELF and native Englishes, the phenomenon of ELF, the issue of standard and the struggle in making sense of the ELF conception. Group dynamics present the negotiation for Chinese speakers' authority in English within the existing power structure that centralises the exclusive ownership of English by NESs. Three themes are found to emerge in the group dynamics. First, the debating process shows how a shared belief in the need for a standard is maintained and reinforced. Second, the debating process shows how group members struggle before they can make decisions on Chinese speakers' use of ELF. They spend time analysing Chinese speakers' use of ELF in relation to Chinese language and Chinese culture, considering problems of variations, negotiating the tolerability of variations, and exonormative models based on which English is traditionally learned and used. The notion of acceptability of Chinese speakers' use of ELF appeared to be one that group members intentionally try to avoid, while they keep using the notion of "tolerability" or "tolerance". Third, the debating process shows how group members negotiate with each other in terms of native speakers' exclusive ownership of English. While trying hard to negotiate the shared ownership of English between Chinese speakers and NESs, group members feel difficult to argue for the equal footing between NESs and Chinese speakers in the world of English, especially when the ownership of English is tied to the power in the world system. The three themes shed light on FGs' back-and-forth positions on the relationship between the standard, native speaker authority and Chinese speakers' creativity. All in all, the insistence on the need for a standard, the default acceptance of native speakers' power in the world of English, and the cautious treatment of Chinese speakers' ELF use as "tolerable" rather than acceptable, all of which are presented in the group discussion process, combine to suggest a thorny embrace of Chinese speakers' creativity by Chinese speakers themselves.

The answers to the three research questions point to a recurrent thorny position on ChELF, as seen in the data, which repeatedly show the participants' ambivalence, uncertainty and hesitance in deciding the legitimacy of ChELF. The participants' explanation, justification, identification, and debating on variability vs normativity show a few forces that are operating in driving the participants' engagement with the power structure where Chinese individuals are situated. The forces reproducing current power relations are 1) commonsense beliefs about

standardness that apply to everybody's use of English and 2) national policies/institutions that regulate Chinese speakers' use of English which take the form of ELT tradition. By contrast, the counterforces are 1) respect for Chinese culture, which has influences on Chinese speakers' use of English and 2) individual Chinese speakers' needs and wants through the use of English. In the situation featuring those forces, while the participants show awareness of the conflict between normativity and variability, which seems to explain their struggle and hesitation, the participants generally insist that both normativity and variability are so important that the integration of the two should be pursued. The attempted integration boils down to two issues. One issue relates to the role of China as a sociolinguistic construct in conceptualising ChELF and legitimising it. The other issue concerns the notion of compromised linguistic legitimacy. The next two sections will focus on these issues respectively.

8.2 ChELF: China as a conceptual factor

I use the term "ChELF" to show my position that the phenomenon of ChELF should be recognised and the legitimacy of ChELF should be established. I approach the construct of legitimacy by focusing on language users' agencies in pursuing new power relations that determine language norms. That is, while current power relations make ChELF speakers as a powerless group who are expected to follow native Englishes, the legitimisation of ChELF would imply new power relations that equalise ChELF speakers and NESs in the use of English and recognise the ownership of English by Chinese speakers. Indeed, the current study shows Chinese speakers' positions on the issue of ChELF, which appear to be dependent upon many factors. For the participants, China and Chinese institutions appear to be a significant factor in addressing the power asymmetry between Chinese speakers and NESs. This view gives support to ChELF users' group identities that are connected to an imagined Chinese community. In this sense, China appears to be an essential conceptual factor of ChELF in two ways. In one way, China is powerfully relevant to ChELF speakers' identity needs. In another way, China is highly relevant to establishing the legitimacy of ChELF in respect of language as an ideological issue.

The data show a linkage between ChELF and China. The participants see China as a construct that group Chinese speakers of ELF together and differentiate them from other speakers of ELF. While a nation is an imagined community in Anderson's sense, the participants' discourses about ChELF reveal that they consider ChELF as exclusively tied to an imagined Chinese community of which members have shared Chinese culture, history, social background and English learning trajectories that feed into their sharedness in using ChELF. The participants see Chinese speakers in

collective rather than individual terms, drawing a boundary around Chinese speakers to define their collective identities. The role of “China” illuminates in defining ChELF users and finds its way to the explanation of the sharedness among ChELF users in ChELF practice in ideological terms.

In a sense, the role of China as a conceptual factor in the participants’ discourses about the legitimacy of ChELF reproduces a nationalist language ideology, which emphasises conformity, standardness, and national identity through the use of language. Indeed, the nationalist language ideology tends to focus on “one nation, one language” that ascribes the national language as the symbol of national identity. The nationalist language ideology, however, often enters the discussion of English in relation to NNES nations. In Park’s (2009) study, for example, Koreans tend to keep English “foreign”, as they have their own national languages and do not like to include English in their national identity repertoires. While the uncertainty about the legitimacy of ChELF relates to the firm belief in normativity, which is currently focused on native speaker Englishes, the legitimacy of ChELF, which is underpinned by the issue of the ownership of English, might relate to China’s position on Chinese as the national language in relation to other languages. It is beyond the scope of the monograph to explore China’s language policy, though it would certainly be a direction for further research.

While I set out to research the legitimacy of ChELF from an ELF perspective, the participants’ identities and ideologies reveal some nationalist and essentialist elements. I was frustrated when I first recognize the nationalist and essentialist elements in the data, as I was hoping to see the participants’ agencies as ELF users, who focused on the interculturality that downplayed national boundaries. However, researchers certainly should not focus on what they want to see but report what they see (Dörnyei 2007). The data show an orientation towards Chinese-based identities and simultaneously an orientation towards interculturality-oriented CoPs. While the former is likely to be connected by the participants to culture, value, identity, power and ideology, the latter is often focused on communicative effects, linguistic efficiency and intercultural solidarity. While the data consistently show the participants’ respect for different authority centres, it is not surprising that the participants tend to highlight the role of Chinese institutions in rebalancing their power in the use of English when the issue of legitimacy arises. The power rebalance between ChELF speakers and NESs is, in the views of many participants, dependent upon power relations between nations.

Importantly, ChELF users in the current study insist on a compromised linguistic legitimacy, leaving the decision of the ownership of English to an imagined group identity that connects ChELF speakers together. The factor of China in defining ChELF users and their legitimacy of ChELF practice thus adds

complexity to the research on ELF used by Chinese speakers, which suggests the need to expand ELF research agendas.

8.3 Compromised linguistic legitimacy

The study provides rich data regarding how the participants mediate between normativity and variability. The participants are reluctant to talk about the legitimacy of ChELF, showing different strategies to beat around the bush. For example, they tend to replace the word of *acceptance* with the word *tolerance* and cautiously leave the thorny issue to be addressed by an imagined authority that represents them as a community. While they vigorously defend the value of ChELF, they insist that a standard is important, while they are open to who defines the standard. The term “tolerable error” appears in the data frequently, with one FG particularly engaging with the discussion of it. It is related to the common-sense assumption that variations are, essentially, “errors”, an assumption which cannot be challenged in the participants’ view. The arguments for the tolerability revolve around the functional value of variations and the connection of variations with Chinese culture, language, social background and learning trajectories, all of which form part of ChELF users’ past experiences and their identities. That is, the defence of the tolerability connects with the linguistic viability of ChELF.

What is associated with the term “tolerable error” is the belief that the conformity to the standard is an idealised situation while ChELF is actualised practice. The discrepancy between what is idealised and what is actualised does not bother the participants, who even see it as a solution to the conflict between normativity and variability. One FG overtly states that variations should be tolerated but not promoted so as to strike a balance between normativity and variability. The statement is not only welcomed by all group members in that FG, but also finds its way into other parts of the data from time to time. It seems that the participants neither aspire full legitimacy of ChELF nor reject ChELF but, instead, they insist on compromised linguistic legitimacy. That is, while the idealised situation cannot be achieved, compromise to the ideal is a reasonable choice. Notably, however, the aspiration for the idealised model of English is not necessarily tied to StEs, which are currently established models. The aspiration for fixed codes implies the pursuit of linguistic security, as seen in the participants’ focus on authorities.

The data show a strong aspiration to have the cake and eat it in terms of the legitimization of ChELF. The metaphor of cake is compared to the ownership of English by ChELF users. On the one hand, the participants generally struggle for the ownership of English, trying hard to justify the value of ChELF by drawing

links between ChELF and Chinese culture. On the other hand, the participants tend to position ChELF as secondary and prioritise NESs in defining norms of English, feeling difficult to overcome a desire for standardness. They show firm beliefs in multiple centres of authority in English, which promote StEs. While the conflicts that ChELF have with established norms of English cause dilemmas in legitimising ChELF, the participants come to converge on a firm belief that a standard is necessary and prioritise the role of China's institutions as the centre of authority in English among different authority centres. Particularly, some participants explicitly expressed the view that they follow the norms of English prescribed by China's ELT.

The "cake" metaphor captures the complexity of the legitimation of ChELF. While the adherence to NESs continues to be effective, it would be constructive to pay attention to another side of the complexity that presents new possibilities for the discussion of the legitimacy of ChELF. This interesting side implies a disconnect of English from its original home and a sense of shifted ownership of English. Indeed, the data generally show reluctance to discuss the acceptability of ChELF directly. In the context that the participants tend to express their pride in Chinese culture and Chinese influence embedded in ChELF, the reluctance to directly address the issue of acceptability should relate to the current uncertainty of the legitimacy of ChELF. On the basis of these findings, it is possible to say that the participants are not secure about the legitimacy of ChELF but are willing to see possible changes initiated by China's institutions to integrate the influences of Chinese culture, language, social backgrounds and other Chinese dimensions in the legitimation of English that is relevant to Chinese speakers. That is, Chinese speakers leave the decision of the legitimacy to national institutions. In this sense, the ownership of English is not seen to connect with individual Chinese users of English. Instead, the ownership of English is seen to be connected with China as a community of Chinese users of English. Clearly, China plays a role in mediating the relationship between Chinese individuals and international CoPs where ELF is used. In short, China is an ideological factor in Chinese individuals' understanding of power relation (re)constructions in terms of the use of English in intercultural communications.

The belief that the establishment of the legitimacy of ChELF lies in the strength of Chinese institutions confirms the pursuit of a sense of security. While language is essentially an ideological construct, the belief in the role of Chinese institutions in legitimising ChELF drives home ChELF users' sense-making of power relations centring on English in the world. The notion of compromise thus suggests the uncertainty of the ideological value of ChELF. However, it is because of the uncertainty that researchers have every good reason to work further to seek ways of empowering ChELF speakers.

8.4 Implications and future research

Previous research on ELF tends to focus on individuals in ELF communication where national boundaries are blurred. As seen in the present study, however, national institutions serve as a mediating force between individual users of ELF and predominant norms based on StEs. The factor of “nation” cannot be ignored when understanding ELF users’ language ideologies and, in turn, their language practice. While ELF researchers argue for the understanding of ELF practice by adopting a perspective that disconnects language from location, ChELF users’ understanding of their language practice, continues to be tied with bounded nation, culture and language to suggest nationalism and essentialism. Notably, what is seen as contradictory in the conception of ELF is accepted by ChELF users as harmonious. It would be simplistic to treat ChELF users’ approach to ELF as problematic because it does not “fit in” the existing conception of ELF. If we seek to understand the reality of English in the world, differences should be addressed rather than unrepresented. While ELF research has a long history in Europe, the ELF research on China is yet an underexplored area, with studies on ELF in relation to China tend to focus on how to apply the ELF concept, which is developed on the basis of research in Europe (e.g. Jenkins 2007, Mauranen 2012, Mortensen 2013, Seidlhofer 2011), to explain the use of English by Chinese speakers and suggest pedagogical changes. It is my hope that the current study, which might be revealing somewhat “inharmonious” voice, could contribute to the expansion of ELF agendas to empirically address the link between ELF users and their senses of belonging to their imagined communities. The ELF research agenda should be expanded to include the dimension of L1-relevant ideologies. I do not regard my research as conflicting with an intercultural perspective but believe that the participants’ ideologies are more than interculturality-based understandings of English. The power of national institutions exists to exert impacts on their ideologies. As ELF researchers, we should address this force. By acknowledging the existence of the power and nationalism in language users’ ideologies, can we provide appropriate interpretations of their language choice and find ways of empowering them.

Researchers interested in ELF awareness tend to propose ways to raise ELF awareness and criticise the lack of criticality in approaching English in the contemporary world (e.g. Fang and Baker 2018, Sifakis et al. 2018, Wang 2015b). ELF awareness is, basically, awareness of ELF in terms of its nature, strategies of using it, and ownership of English. The notion of ELF, as discussed in many places of the monograph, is often approached by ELF researchers with the focus on interculturality and dynamic CoPs (Ehrenreich 2018) – or alternatively, TIGs (Pitzl 2018b) – among multilingual speakers. The current study suggests that ELF has another dimension,

that is, L1-based imagined communities, which needs to be addressed in the case of ChELF, a language used by Chinese speakers who are involved in intercultural communication and engage with non-Chinese multilingual speakers. Admittedly, the data reveal a lack of awareness of interculturality, which, however, is apparently not unique to Chinese participants in ELF research. Otherwise, there would not be a great body of research on ELF awareness (Lopriore and Vettorel 2015, Sifakis 2014, 2019, Sifakis and Bayyurt 2018) including my own research (Wang 2015a, 2015b). Given the importance of interculturality for ELF communication, it is undoubtedly constructive to increase ChELF speakers' awareness of interculturality in making ChELF users appreciate the value of variability and flexibility. However, the current study shows that ChELF users automatically tend to defend the value of ChELF and rationalise the need to use ChELF but simultaneously defer to standard and struggle with institutional constraints. The nationalist and essentialist elements in the participants' language ideologies revealed in the current study are associated with the issue of power, posing challenges to the research on ELF awareness-raising which currently focuses on interculturality and blurring boundaries between nations, languages and cultures in the traditional sense. Initiatives to raising ELF awareness that invoke the irrelevance of national boundaries and essentialist cultures might conflict with nationalism that sits deeply with ChELF users and thus lack the power of supporting ChELF speakers. I am not suggesting that ELF awareness-raising should accommodate nationalism or essentialism but that ELF researchers should consider the complexity of ChELF users' ideologies in order to support them efficiently. It is my hope that identifying the challenge could open the discussion and invite creative initiatives regarding how to empower ChELF speakers.

The engagement with language policy is necessary in order to address the unequal power structure that centres NESs' English and marginalise NNESS' English. While there are studies on language policy in the field of ELF (e.g. Jenkins 2014, Jenkins and Leung 2019), the focus tends to be placed on language policy and institutional power. I argue that the focus on the engagement of ELF users as agents in the power structure that is actualised through language policy would be beneficial. While language awareness and language policy are two important areas of interest in ELF, not much has been done to integrate the two areas together. Future research might proceed in this direction to allow for the understanding of the interaction between agents and power structure in the research on language awareness and/or language policy. Clearly, the mere focus on ELF awareness and interculturality in interactional events have limitations in empowering ELF users, who are situated in power relations that can place constraints on them regarding how much they can be flexible. A transformative perspective on ELF would require a consideration of power relations where ELF

users are situated. This suggests the significance of conducting empirical work in different contexts.

Given the assumed role of China in the establishment of the legitimacy of ChELF, China's language policy in relation to internationalisation appears to be an important area that deserves further research from an ELF perspective. First, how China thinks of English as a global language in relation to Chinese as a global language needs to be examined in language policy. Bolton and Tong (2002: 180) predicted that "with China's emergence as a world power, with its increasing integration into the world system, China will need English to project its own presence on the regional and the international scene". As Zhou (2019: 17) notes, however, "China began to explore its global promotion of Chinese in 2003 and formally launched the project in the form of Confucius Institutes in 2004, the mission of which is to teach the Chinese language and culture to non-native speakers (of Chinese) on every continent". Despite the role of ELF around the world, China promotes Chinese as a global language among international students registered on programmes in Chinese universities through a few measures, for example, studentships and other sorts of funds (Wang 2017, 2019). The policy of Chinese medium instruction, however, does not lead successful implementation. While international students participate in Chinese language and culture courses, teachers and international students switch to use English for classroom communication and assessment on other disciplinary programmes (Wang 2017, 2019). It is possible to see a subtle competition between English as a global language and Chinese as a global language, though further research is needed to provide an insightful understanding of the two languages in China's language policy so as to explore the possibility of establishing ChELF in language policy. Second, the investigation of English as a global language in China should go further to deconstruct "English" in English as a global language from an ELF perspective. Recent research on English in language education has been conducted to reveal the treatment of "English" as native Englishes and critique a lack of awareness of ELF in English language education policies (Wang and Wang 2020, Wang, Weng and Li 2019). The cited two studies converge to show some teachers' constraints under the current language education policies that focus on native Englishes. More studies would be needed to investigate how teachers and learners engage with the policies and negotiate for their needs for ELF, given the importance of agency in establishing new power relations.

A relevant direction for future research is the exploration of Chinese language ideologies in relation to Chinese speakers' ideologies about ELF. In Park's (2009) work, language ideologies about English as a global language entail a focus on "correctness". Park (2009: 63) sees a link between the promotion of the standard Korean language and the ideologies about English: "Television in Korea plays

a major role in reproducing the imagined purity and cultural value of Korean not only by broadcasting in the standard Korean language, but also by explicitly promoting ‘correct’ ways of using it”. What Park discusses mirrors English in relation to Chinese in China. The Standard Mandarin Chinese is promoted, and the emphasis on standardness and correctness prevails in China. The emphasis on standardness is also deep-rooted in the Confucius philosophy, which has far-reaching implications for Chinese speakers’ ideologies. The research into how Chinese language ideologies inform of Chinese speakers’ ideologies about ELF will be significant. Language contact between English and Chinese becomes increasingly intriguing. Not only Chinese initiatives are taken to promote Chinese language, culture and impacts at the international scale, but also Chinese individuals are embracing increasing mobility beyond the national boundary. It would be meaningful to study how Chinese language ideologies interact with Chinese speakers’ ideologies about ELF in the Chinese context as well as in the global context.

The study on ChELF speakers who are studying or working abroad should have the potential to enhance or complement the understanding of language ideologies underpinning the legitimacy of ChELF. The participants in the current study were either studying or working in China during the data collection. For them, Chinese institutions operated as an immediate power structure where the participants were situated and affected. It would be constructive to research language ideologies among ChELF speakers in international settings where international institutions become the immediate power structure that might have impacts on language practice, for example, those Chinese overseas students enrolled in international universities. While the current research has constructed a useful theoretical framework for the analysis of language ideologies pinpointing the legitimacy of ChELF, I believe further studies of power structures at different scales will help to broaden the horizon of ChELF research.

8.5 Conclusion

This study sets out to address Chinese speakers’ dilemmas about English and the prevailing bias against Chinese speakers’ use of English from an ELF perspective. Towards the end of the monograph, I feel difficult to conclude, not only because the dilemmas and the bias continue to abound, but also because the findings point to competing discourses revolving around the legitimacy of ChELF. Overall, the competing discourses converge towards the point that it is necessary to regulate Chinese speakers’ use of English. Among multiple authority centres, Chinese institutions are prioritised by Chinese speakers of English. This shows a

departure from the established and exonormative authority of English residing with NESs. Further evidence of the departure lies in the participants' attitudes towards and reflections on their language practice. While Chinese speakers' use of ELF conflicts with established norms that prevail globally, the participants show awareness of Chinese speakers' needs and wants at the individual scale. However, the role of ELF for individual Chinese speakers' expression is still within the constraints of power, though a different power structure. The study shows a compromised linguistic legitimacy of ChELF. Interestingly, the compromised linguistic legitimacy not only corresponds with the current situation of Chinese speakers' use of English but also reflects Chinese speakers' in-between position on the legitimation of ChELF, that is, a middle-place between rejection and acceptance. The role of China is highlighted in mediating between globally operating norms and individually valued practice. The legitimation of ChELF, a medium of communication that Chinese speakers employ at the international scale, resides with the position of China on the issue of ELF at the national scale. This has implications for an expansion of the ELF research agendas, the research on ELF awareness and ELF-related language policy. In addition, this calls for China's education sector and language policy to address the role of ELF for China and to consider how ELF can benefit Chinese individuals in general and China as a whole. While the monograph concludes, it is time to research ChELF-informed language policy, language awareness and pedagogy so as to advance ELF research in its ideological dimension and empower L1-based ELF speakers who are struggling between nationalism and internationalism, though they might not be aware.

Appendix A

Questionnaire design

问卷调查:您怎么看待中国人使用的英语?

请根据您的真实情况与想法选择相应的选择项,并对问答题自由回答。您的参与纯属自愿。您的答卷内容将被匿名保密处理。

1. 年龄:18-22 23-29 30-35 36-40 41以上
2. 性别:男/女
3. 职业:_____
4. 教育状况:大学(包括大专)/ 硕士 / 博士
5. 你阅读英语(包括文章资料网页等各类读物)吗?经常 有时候 极少 从不
6. 你收听收看英语电影电视广播节目吗?经常 有时候 极少 从不
7. 你所听所看的英语通常属于下列哪种英语,请用数字1、2、3排序,最常接触的排第一位,最少接触的排第三位。没有接触的则空格。
_____国内人说的英语
_____以英语为母语的人(包括英国人、美国人、澳大利亚人,加拿大人,新西兰人)所说的英语
_____其他国家的人所说的英语
8. 你说英语吗?经常 有时候 极少 从不
9. 你用英语写东西(比如短信,电邮,书信,日记,文章等)吗?
经常 有时候 极少 从不
10. 你掌握或使用英语是为了和下列哪组人群打交道?请用数字1、2、3排序,最有可能打交道的人群排第一位,没有可能的人群则空格。
_____国内人
_____以英语为母语的人(包括英国人、美国人、澳大利亚人,加拿大人,新西兰人)
_____其他国家的人
11. 请选出符合你的一种情况。
A. 我希望我说起英语来一听就知道我是中国人。

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501503702-009>

B. 我希望我的英语听起来像英美等以英语为母语的人一样。

12. 你会为了哪种目的而选择说英语? 可多选, 请选出所有符合你情况的答案。

- A. 交换信息
- B. 显示时尚
- C. 表示你受过良好教育
- D. 显示你跟国内人不一样
- E. 因为交谈对方说英语
- F. (还有其他目的? 请注明) _____

13. 就目前情况来说, 你认为英语对于国内人来说有什么功能和作用?

14. 你预期在将来, 英语对于国内人来说有什么功能和作用?

15. 你听说过 **Chinglish** 这个名词吗? 听过 / 没听过

16. 你听说过 **China English** 这个名词吗? 听过 / 没听过

17. 看到 **Chinglish** 和 **China English** 这两名词, 你想到了什么? (你的任何想法对于我来说都会很有价值, 请自由回答。)

18. 你希望自己能说下列哪种英语? (可多选)

- A. **China English**
- B. **British English**
- C. **Chinglish**

- D. American English
- E. Australian English
- F. 随便哪种都可以
- G. 上述选项都不符合, 请补充你的答案: _____

19. 你认为你自己实际上所说的英语可以被称作是..... (可多选)

- A. China English
- B. British English
- C. Chinglish
- D. American English
- E. Australian English
- F. 上述选项都不符合, 请补充你的答案: _____

20. 你认为国内人说的英语在整体上可以被称作是..... (可多选)

- A. American English
- B. China English
- C. British English
- D. Chinglish
- E. Canadian English
- F. 上述选项都不符合, 请补充你的答案: _____

21. 国内人说的英语在整体上给你什么样的印象？你的任何想法与回答对于我来说都会具有很大价值，请自由回答。

22. 英国人有 **British English**, 美国人有 **American English**, 印度人有 **Indian English**, 你希望有一天中国的英语使用者也发展出自己的英语模式吗？
- A. 非常希望
 - B. 希望
 - C. 有点希望
 - D. 有点不希望
 - E. 不希望
 - F. 非常不希望
23. 在你对一个人的英语口语水平进行评价时，你认为下列标准重要吗？请根据你的看法打分：5=非常重要，4=重要，3=有点重要，2=不太重要，1=不重要 0=根本不重要

A. 说话流利	5 4 3 2 1 0
B. 语法像以英语为母语的使用者那样准确	5 4 3 2 1 0
C. 能够清楚表达意思	5 4 3 2 1 0
D. 用词地道	5 4 3 2 1 0
E. 口音像以英语为母语的人那样地道	5 4 3 2 1 0
F. 符合英语为母语的人的思维表达方式	5 4 3 2 1 0
G. 符合中国人的思维表达方式	5 4 3 2 1 0

24. 请你评价在你大学时期的中国英语老师的英语。你同意下列表述吗? 5=完全同意, 4=同意, 3=有点同意, 2=有点不同意, 1=不同意, 0=完全不同意。

A. 他/她的英语听起来舒服	5 4 3 2 1 0
B. 他/她的英语让人听得懂	5 4 3 2 1 0
C. 他/她的英语口音跟英美等英语母语使用者一样	5 4 3 2 1 0
D. 与来自英美等以英语为母语的国家的老师相比, 你更愿意跟这中国老师学习英语	5 4 3 2 1 0

25. 就你个人来说, 你可以接受下列英语用法吗? 请根据你个人的可接受程度打分。5=完全可以接受; 4=可以接受; 3=勉强可以接受; 2=不太可以接受; 1=不可以接受; 0=根本不可以接受。

(1) Good good study, day day up.	5 4 3 2 1 0
(2) People mountain, people sea.	5 4 3 2 1 0
(3) I will give you some colour to see see.	5 4 3 2 1 0
(4) She go to school everyday.	5 4 3 2 1 0
(5) Your daughter will attend Beijing University next year, isn't it?	5 4 3 2 1 0
(6) Informations	5 4 3 2 1 0
(7) Although it's not as big as Beijing, but I like it.	5 4 3 2 1 0
(8) Some of my college classmates they like to dress up very much.	5 4 3 2 1 0
(9) Some other kind of jobs I also want to try.	5 4 3 2 1 0
(10) Last year, I write a letter to my parents.	5 4 3 2 1 0

对于上述10个表达你有什么想法? 或者说, 你认为什么样的英语表达是可以或者应该被接受的, 什么样的英语表达是不可以或不应该被接受的。你的任何想法与回答对于我来说都会具有很大价值, 请务必跟据你的想法自由回答。

如果愿意让我了解您的更多想法，请留下您的联系方式，我将不胜感激。您的姓名及联系方式将被匿名保密处理，并将只用于研究目的。除了研究者本人，不会泄露给任何第三方。

姓名： 电话： 电子邮件：

Questionnaire: How do you perceive Chinese speakers' English?
(English translation)

Please complete the questionnaire truly according to your own situation and your own thinking. Feel free to answer open questions. Your participation is completely voluntary. Your answers to the questions will be kept confidential and anonymous.

1. Age : 18–22 23–29 30–35 36–40 41+
2. Gender : male / female
3. Occupation (Subject, if you are a student) : _____
4. Education : undergraduate / master / PhD
5. Do you read English materials (including books, articles, those on websites and others)?
often sometimes rarely never
6. Do you watch or listen to English-medium TV or radio programme?
often sometimes rarely never
7. Which type/s of English have you been exposed to? Please use numbers to rank the types of English according to your experience with them. Use 1 to indicate the type of English with which you have the most experience, use 2 to indicate the type of English with which you have less experience, and use 3 to indicate the type of English with which you have least experience. If you have never been exposed to any type of English, just leave the gap before the type of English blank.

_____ Chinese speakers' English

_____ Native speakers' English (native speakers include Britons, Americans, Australians, Canadians and New Zealanders)

_____ Other speakers' English

8. Do you speak English?

often sometimes rarely never

9. Do you write (for example, text messages, emails, letters, diary or essays) in English?

often sometimes rarely never

10. Which of the following groups of speakers are your target interlocutors when you learn or use English? Please use numbers to rank the groups. Use 1 to indicate the group with which you think you are most likely to communicate, use 2 to indicate the group with which you think you are more likely to communicate, and use 3 to indicate the group with which you are least likely to communicate. If you do not think you are going to communicate with a particular group, please leave the gap before the group of people blank.

_____ Chinese speakers' English

_____ Native speakers' English (native speakers include Britons, Americans, Australians, Canadians and New Zealanders)

_____ Other speakers' English

11. Please circle which statement suits you.

A. I hope I could be easily recognized as a Chinese when I was speaking English.

B. I hope my English would sound like native speakers' English.

12. For what purpose/s, would you choose to speak English? Please choose as many as applicable.

A. To exchange information

B. To show that you are fashionable

C. To show that you are well educated

D. To show that you are distinguishable from other Chinese

E. Because the people who you are speaking with are speaking English.

F. Other purposes? (Please specify) _____

13. In terms of the current situation, what do you think of the function and role of English for Chinese speakers?

14. How could you predict the function and role of English for Chinese speakers in the future?

15. Have you ever heard of the term Chinglish? Yes/ No.

16. Have you ever heard of the term China English? Yes / No.

17. What ideas come to your mind when you see or hear the terms Chinglish or China English? (Any of your ideas will be invaluable for me and my research. Please feel free to write anything.)

18. Which type of English would you like to speak if you can choose? (Please feel free to choose as many as applicable.)

- A. China English
- B. British English
- C. Chinglish
- D. American English
- E. Australian English
- F. Any kind of English
- G. None of the given choices is applicable. I have my own answer (if so, please specify) _____

19. How do you label your own English (please feel free to choose as many as applicable)

- A. China English
- B. British English
- C. Chinglish
- D. American English
- E. Australian English
- F. None of the given choices is applicable. I have my own answer (if so, please specify) _____

20. How do you label Chinese speakers' English in general? (please feel free to choose as many as applicable)
- A. American English
 - B. China English
 - C. British English
 - D. Chinglish
 - E. Canadian English
 - F. None of the given choices is applicable. I have my own answer (if so, please specify) _____

21. What ideas come to your mind if I would like you to say something about Chinese speakers' English in general? (Any of your ideas will be invaluable for me and my research. Please feel free to write anything.)

22. British people have British English, American people have American English, Indian people have Indian English. Do you anticipate one day when Chinese speakers have their own English model?
- A. I strongly anticipate.
 - B. I anticipate.
 - C. I slightly anticipate.
 - D. I don't strongly anticipate.
 - E. I don't anticipate.
 - F. I don't anticipate at all.

23. Do you think the following criteria important if you are to evaluate a person's spoken English? Please choose appropriate numbers to indicate. 5=very important, 4=important, 3=a little important, 2=not very important, 1=not important, 0=not important at all.

1) His/her English sounds/sounded comfortable.	5 4 3 2 1 0
2) His/her English is/was intelligible.	5 4 3 2 1 0
3) He/she has/had native speaker-like accent.	5 4 3 2 1 0
4) In comparison with native-speaker English teachers, I prefer Chinese teachers of English. (Native speakers include Britons, Americans, Australians, Canadians and New Zealanders.)	5 4 3 2 1 0

24. Could you evaluate your Chinese (as opposed to foreign) college English teachers' English according to the following statements. 5= strongly agree, 4=agree, 3= mildly agree, 2=mildly disagree, 1=disagree, 0=strongly disagree.

1. Speaking fluently.	5 4 3 2 1 0
2. Using grammar in the accurate way that native speakers of English do. (Native speakers include Britons, Americans, Australians, Canadians and New Zealanders.)	5 4 3 2 1 0
3. expressing ideas.	5 4 3 2 1 0
4. Authentic native English expressions and idioms	5 4 3 2 1 0
5. (native speaker-like accent)	5 4 3 2 1 0
6. Agreeing with the way native speakers of English think (Native speakers include Britons, Americans, Australians, Canadians and New Zealanders.)	5 4 3 2 1 0
7. Agreeing with the way Chinese speakers think.	5 4 3 2 1 0

25. Do you **personally** accept the following English expressions? Please state your evaluation of their acceptability. 5=completely acceptable, 4=acceptable, 3=a little acceptable, 2=a little unacceptable, 1=unacceptable, 0=completely unacceptable.

1) Good good study, day day up.	5 4 3 2 1 0
2) People mountain, people sea.	5 4 3 2 1 0
3) I will give you some colour to see see.	5 4 3 2 1 0
4) She go to school everyday.	5 4 3 2 1 0
5) Your daughter will attend Beijing University next year, isn't it?	5 4 3 2 1 0
6) informations	5 4 3 2 1 0
7) Although it's not as big as Beijing, but I like it.	5 4 3 2 1 0
8) Some of my college classmates they like to dress up very much.	5 4 3 2 1 0
9) Some other kind of jobs I also want to try.	5 4 3 2 1 0
10) Last year, I write a letter to my parents.	5 4 3 2 1 0

26. Do you have any comments or something that you would like to say regarding the above expressions? Or, what kinds of English expressions do you think are acceptable or should be accepted? What kinds of expressions do you think are not acceptable or should not be accepted? Whatever you think will be of great value for me and my research. Please feel free to write anything that comes to your mind.

If you feel happy to let me know more about what you think, please let me know how I can contact you. I highly appreciate your interest in, your ideas about and your comments on this study. Your contact details will be treated as confidential data and only used for research purposes. Except me, no other party would have the opportunity to your data.

Name: _____ Phone/mobile No.: _____

Email: _____

Appendix B

Interview design

Interview prompts

1. Opening topics:
 - a) The feeling about the questionnaire survey
 - b) The feeling about the research topic as described in the information sheet
 - c) Any question about the research
2. Issues to be explored:
 - a) Experience of using English
 - b) Social context of English for Chinese speakers
 - c) Social context of their attitudes
 - d) The function of English for Chinese speakers
 - e) Attitudes towards English, towards their own English, and towards native speaker English
 - f) Awareness of ELF, awareness of different Englishes
 - g) Attitudes towards Chinese speakers' English in intercultural communication
 - h) Native-like or Chinese-like?
 - i) Would you like to be recognized as a Chinese speaker of English or be misrecognized as a native speaker of English?
 - j) Do you consider yourself as a user or a learner?
3. Closing remarks:
 - a) Any free comments stimulated by the project
 - b) Thanks for the contribution

Appendix C

Focus group design

Stimuli

1. the spread of English (see handout for the figures of English speakers around the world)
2. the ELF concept (based on Jenkins 2009a)
 - a) What is a lingua franca? A language which is used between people who share no first language in order to achieve communication.
 - b) Communicative success justifies the use of forms
 - c) Accommodation and code-switching can be useful
 - d) Co-construction of meaning between two parties of conversation
 - e) Flexibility rather than fixed forms in terms of language use
3. Chinese speakers' variations in English (see handout for examples)

Focus group guide

1. Self-introduction
2. Video-recording information and consent form
3. Discussion structure: Be explicit with group members that the moderator will not join the discussion
4. Present the stimuli
5. Let the discussion start
6. Ideas to be explored through discussion include:
 - a) Feelings about English as a lingua franca
 - b) Feelings about Chinese speakers' linguistic outcome
 - c) Attitudes towards difference between native speaker Englishes and non-native speakers' use of English in real life
 - d) Attitudes towards the goal of English
 - e) Attitudes towards Chinese speakers' own English (see handout for the examples of Chinese speakers' variations in English)
7. Closing focus group

Handout

1. The spread of English
 - a) Görlach (2002): 370 million native English speakers, 220 million second language English speakers, 240 million other speakers of English
 - b) Jenkins (2003): 337,407,300 native English speakers, 235,351,300 second language English speakers.
 - c) Jenkins (2009b): 329,140,800 native English speakers, 430,614,500 second language English speakers.
 - d) Crystal (2008): 2 billion English users around the world

2. Examples of Chinese speakers' English
 - a) Extra vowel: and /ændə/.
 - b) Nasalized vowels
 - c) /ʒ/ pronounced as /r/
 - d) indistinguishable between /v/ and /z/
 - e) indistinguishable between /l/ and /n/
 - f) Stress on final pronouns
 - g) Syntax:
 - i) This morning I bought a book.
 - ii) Before I left the office, I had finished the work.
 - h) Pragmatics: Have you eaten?

Appendix D

Interview participants' bio-data

Participants	Age group	Gender	Job title/Academic discipline	Institution
PM1	36–40	M	Project Manager	Joint venture
PM2	36–40	M	Legal Consultant	Joint venture
PM3	23–29	M	Export Salesman	State-owned company
PM4	36–40	M	Manufacturing technician	Joint venture
PF1	23–29	F	International Business Department Secretary	State-owned company
PF2	23–29	F	Domestic Business Department Saleswoman	State-owned company
PM5	30–35	M	Export Salesman	State-owned company
PM6	30–35	M	Domestic Business Department Saleswoman	Joint venture
PF3	23–29	F	Manager	Joint venture
PF4	23–29	F	International Business Department Secretary	State-owned company
PM7	30–35	M	Export Salesman	Joint venture
MM1	23–29	M	MA Education	University
MM2	23–29	M	MSc Civil Engineering	University
MM3	23–29	M	MSc Materials Engineering	University
MM4	23–29	M	MSc Electronic Engineering	University
MM5	23–29	M	MSc Ecology and Conservation	University
MM6	23–29	M	MSc Structural Engineering	University
MM7	23–29	M	MSc Hydropower Development	University
MF1	23–29	F	MA Education	University
MF2	23–29	F	MSc Medical Engineering	University
MM8	23–29	M	MSc Electronic Engineering	University
MM9	23–29	M	MSc Hydropower Development	University

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501503702-012>

Participants	Age group	Gender	Job title/Academic discipline	Institution
MM10	23–29	M	MSc Mechanical Engineering	University
UM1	18–22	M	BA English	University
UM2	18–22	M	BA English	University
UF1	18–22	F	BA English	University
UF2	18–22	F	BA English	University
UF3	23–29	F	MA English	University
UF4	18–22	F	BA English	University
UM3	18–22	M	BA English	University
UF5	18–22	F	BA English	University
UF6	18–22	F	BA English	University
UF7	18–22	F	BA English	University
UF8	18–22	F	BA English	University
UM4	18–22	M	BA English	University

Appendix E

Focus group participants' bio-data

Focus group	Participants	Gender	Major	Education background	Interviewed?
Group A (9 members)	AF1	F	English	MA	No
	AF2	F	English	BA	No
	AF3	F	English	BA	No
	AM4	M	English	MA	No
	AM5	M	English	MA	No
	AF6	F	English	MA	No
	AF7	F	English	BA	No
	AM8	M	English	BA	No
	AF9	F	English	BA	No
Group B (11 members)	BF1	F	Non-English	MA	No
	BF2	F	Non-English	MA	No
	BM3	M	Non-English	MA	No
	BM4	M	Non-English	MA	No
	BF5	F	Non-English	MA	No
	BF6	F	Non-English	MA	No
	BF7	F	Non-English	MA	No
	BM8	M	Non-English	MA	No
	BM9	M	Non-English	MA	No
	BF10	F	Non-English	MA	No
	BM11	M	Non-English	MA	No
Group C (8 members)	CF1	F	English	BA	Yes
	CF2	F	English	BA	Yes
	CM3	M	English	BA	Yes
	CM4	M	English	BA	Yes
	CF5	F	Non-English	MA	Yes
	CM6	M	Non-English	MA	Yes
	CM7	M	Non-English	MA	Yes
	CM8	M	Non-English	MA	Yes

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501503702-013>

Focus group	Participants	Gender	Major	Education background	Interviewed?
Group D (9 members)	DM1	M	English	MA	No
	DF2	F	English	MA	No
	DF3	F	English	MA	No
	DF4	F	English	BA	No
	DM5	M	Non-English	MA	No
	DM6	M	Non-English	MA	No
	DM7	M	Non-English	MA	No
	DF8	F	Non-English	MA	No
	DF9	F	Non-English	MA	No

Appendix F

Key to transcription

[Overlapping speech starts
@	Laughter
Full stop.	To indicate termination
[...]	Author's gaps
(.)	Pause of less than a second
(3)	Approximate length of pause in seconds
<speaking mode> text<speaking mode>	Other modes of speaking
CAPITAL	In a louder voice
(Chinese speakers' English)	Guess the words in contexts
[author's commentary]	Author's commentary
Hyphen-	Interruption, the beginning of interrupter's turn
Utter-	Abrupt cut-off, unfinished utterance
<i>Italics</i>	Linguistic examples

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501503702-014>

References

- Adamson, Bob. 2004. *China's English: A history of English in Chinese education*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Agha, Asif. 2007. Recombinant selves in mass mediated spacetime. *Language & Communication* 27. 320–335.
- Agha, Asif. 2011. Large and small scale forms of personhood. *Language & Communication* 31. 171–180.
- Ahearn, Laura. 2001. Language and agency. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30. 109–137.
- Aitchison, Jean. 2013. *Language change: Progress or decay?* (4th ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Albury, Nathan J. 2016. National language policy theory: Exploring Spolsky's model in the case of Iceland. *Language Policy* 15. 355–372.
- Alsagoff, Lubna. 2010. English in Singapore: Culture, capital and identity in linguistic variation. *World Englishes* 29(3). 336–348.
- Ammon, Ulrich. 2000. Towards more fairness in international English: Linguistic rights of non-native speakers. In Robert Phillipson (ed.), *Rights to language: Equity, power, and Education*, 111–116. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Ammon, Ulrich. 2012. Linguistic inequality and its effects on participation in scientific discourse and on global knowledge accumulation – with a closer look at the problems of the second-rank language communities. *Applied Linguistic Review* 3(2). 333–355.
- Anderson, Benedict. 2006. *Imagined communities*. London & New York: Verso.
- Auer, Peter & Frans Hinskens. 2005. The role of interpersonal accommodation in a theory of language change. In Peter Auer, Frans Hinskens & Paul Kerswill (eds.), *Dialect change: Convergence and divergence in European languages*, 335–357. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Auer, Peter, Frans Hinskens & Paul Kerswill (eds.). 2005. *Dialect change: Convergence and divergence in European languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Baker, Will. 2011. Intercultural awareness: Modelling an understanding of cultures in intercultural communication through English as a lingua franca. *Language and Communication* 11(3). 197–214.
- Baker, Will. 2015. *Culture and identity through English as a lingua franca: Rethinking concepts and goals in intercultural communication*. Berlin, DE: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Baker, Will & Wisut Jarunthawatchai. 2017. English language policy in Thailand. *European Journal of Language Policy* 9(1). 27–44.
- Bailey, Richard W. 1991. *Images of English: A cultural history of the language*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Baird, Rob, Will Baker & Mariko Kitazawa. 2014. The complexity of ELF. *Journal of English as a lingua franca* 3(1). 171–196.
- Bamgbose, Ayo. 1998. Torn between the norms: Innovations in world Englishes. *World Englishes* 17(1). 1–14.
- Barbour, Rosaline. 2014. Quality of data analysis. In Uwe Flick (ed.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative data analysis*, 496–506. SAGE.
- Batzidakas, Vasileios. 2016. *Investigating meaning-making in English as a lingua franca (ELF)*. London: King's College London doctoral thesis.

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501503702-015>

- Beck, Lewis C., William Trombetta & Sarah Share. 1986. Using focus group sessions before decisions are made. *North Carolina Medical Journal* 47(2). 73–74.
- Beck, Ulrich. 1997. *The reinvention of politics*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Becker, Howard S. 1963. *Outsiders: Studies in the sociology of deviance*. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe.
- Bendix, Eward. 1979. Linguistic models as political symbols: Gender and the generic “he” in English. *ANNALS of the New York Academy of Sciences* 327. 23–39.
- Berg, Bruce L. 2007. *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*. Essex: Pearson Education, Inc.
- Berns, Margie. 2009. English as lingua franca and English in Europe. *World Englishes* 28(2). 192–199.
- Björkman, Beyza. 2011. Pragmatic strategies in English as an academic lingua franca: Ways of achieving communicative effectiveness? *Journal of Pragmatics* 43(4). 950–964.
- Björkman, Beyza. 2014. An analysis of polyadic English as a lingua franca (ELF) speech: A communicative strategies framework. *Journal of Pragmatics* 66. 122–138.
- Block, David. 2006. Identity in applied linguistics. In Tope Omoniyi & Goodith White (eds.), *The sociolinguistics of identity*, 34–49. London & New York: Continuum.
- Block, David. 2013. The structure and agency dilemma in identity and intercultural communication research. *Language and Intercultural Communication* 13(2). 126–147.
- Blommaert, Jan. 1999. The debate is open. In Jan Blommaert (ed.), *Language ideological debates*, 3–38. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Blommaert, Jan. 2005. *Discourse: A critical introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blommaert, Jan. 2006. Language ideology. In Keith Brown (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of language and linguistics* (2nd ed.), Volume 6, 510–522. Oxford: Elsevier.
- Blommaert, Jan. 2007a. Sociolinguistic scales. *Intercultural pragmatics* 4(1). 1–19.
- Blommaert, Jan. 2007b. Sociolinguistics and discourse analysis: Orders of indexicality and polycentricity. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses* 2(2). 115–130.
- Blommaert, Jan. 2010. *The sociolinguistics of globalisation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blommaert, Jan & Jef Verschueren. 1998. *Debating diversity: Analysing the discourse of tolerance*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Bloor, Michael, Jane Frankland, Michelle Thomas & Kate Robson. 2001. *Focus groups in social research*. London: SAGE.
- Bolton, Kingsley. 2000. Language and hybridization: Pidgin tales from the China coast. *Interventions* 2(1). 35–52.
- Bolton, Kingsley. 2003. *Chinese Englishes: A sociolinguistic history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bolton, Kingsley & David Graddol. 2012. English in China today. *English Today* 28(3). 3–9.
- Bolton, Kingsley & Shirley Lim. 2000. Futures for Hong Kong English. *World Englishes* 19(3). 429–443.
- Bolton, Kingsley & Q. S. Tong. 2002. Introduction: Interdisciplinary perspectives on English in China. *World Englishes* 21(2). 177–180.
- Bonacina-Pugh, Florence. 2020. Legitimizing multilingual practices in the classroom: The role of the “practiced language policy”, *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. 23(4). 434–448.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977a. The economics of linguistic exchanges. *Social Science Information* 16 (6). 645–668.

- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977b. *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1991. *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge & Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Briggs, Charles. L. 1998. “You’re a liar – you’re just like a woman!”: Constructing dominant ideologies of language in Warao Men’s gossip. In Bambi. B. Schieffelin, Kathryn. A. Woolard & Paul. V. Kroskrity (eds.), *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*, 308–344. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brown, James D. 2001. *Using surveys in language programs*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brumfit, Christopher. 2006. *Individual freedom in language teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brutt-Griffler, Janina. 2002. *World English: a study of its development*. Clevedon, Buffalo, Toronto & Sydney: Multilingual Matters.
- Bryman, Alan. 2006. Integrating quantitative and qualitative research: How is it done?. *Qualitative Research* 6(1). 97–113.
- Callahan, Laura. 2006. English or Spanish?! Language accommodation in New York City service encounters. *Intercultural Pragmatics* 3(1). 29–53.
- Cameron, Deborah. 2005. Communication and commodification: Global economic change in sociolinguistic perspective. In Guido Erreygers & Geert Jacobs (eds.), *Language, communication and the economy*, 9–23. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Canagarajah, Suresh A. 1999a. Interrogating the “native speaker fallacy”: Non-linguistic roots, non-pedagogical results. In George Braine (ed.), *Non-native educators in English language teaching*, 77–92. New York & London: Routledge.
- Canagarajah, Suresh. 1999b. On EFL teachers, awareness, and agency. *ELT Journal* 53(3). 207–214.
- Canagarajah, Suresh. 2007. *Resisting linguistic imperialism in English teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Canagarajah, Suresh. 2013. Agency and power in intercultural communication: Negotiating English in translocal spaces. *Language and Intercultural Communication* 13(2). 202–224.
- Carvalho, Anabela. 2007. Ideological cultures and media discourses on scientific knowledge: Re-reading news on climate change. *Public Understanding of Science* 16(2). 223–243.
- Chen, Wencun. 1999. Qianxi “Chinglish” [A short analysis of “Chinglish”]. *Sichuan shifan xueyuan xuebao [Journal of Sichuan Teachers College]* 4. 68–72.
- Choi, Lee J. 2016. Revisiting the issue of native speakerism: ‘I don’t want to speak like a native speaker of English’. *Language and Education* 30(1). 72–85.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1965. *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1975. *Reflections on language*. New York: Pantheon.
- Cogo, Alessia. 2008. English as a lingua franca: Form follows function. *English Today* 24(3). 58–61.
- Cogo, Alessia. 2010. Strategic use and perceptions of English as a lingua franca. *Poznan Studies in Contemporary Linguist* 46(3). 295–312.
- Cogo, Alessia. 2012. ELF and super-diversity: A case study of ELF multilingual practices from a business context. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 1(2). 287–313.
- Cogo, Alessia & Martin Dewey. 2006. Efficiency in ELF communication: From pragmatic motives to lexico-grammatical innovation. *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 5(2). 59–93.

- Cogo, Alessia & Dewey, Martin. 2012. *Analysing English as a lingua franca: A corpus-driven investigation*. London: Continuum.
- Cogo, Alessia & Patchareerat Yanaprasart. 2018. "English is the language of business": An exploration of language ideologies in two European corporate contexts. In Tamah Sherman & Jiri Nekvapil (eds.) *English in business and commerce*, 96–116. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Collins, James. 1998. Our ideologies and theirs. In Bambi. B. Schieffelin, Kathryn. A. Woolard & Paul. V. Kroskrity (eds.), *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*, 345–363. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cook, Vivian. 2016. Where is the native speaker now? *TESOL Quarterly* 50(1). 186–189.
- Coupland, Nikolas & Hywel. Bishop. 2007. Ideologised values for British accents. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 11(1). 74–93.
- Craith, Máiréad N. 2000. Contested Identities and the Quest for Legitimacy. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 21(5). 399–413.
- Crawford, James. 2000. *At war with diversity: U. S. Language policy in an age of anxiety*. Blue Ridge Summit, PA: Multilingual Matters.
- Creswell, John W. 2009. *Research design: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles, London, New Delhi & Singapore: SAGE.
- Crystal, David. 1997. *English as a global language* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crystal, David. 2008. Two thousand million? *English Today* 24(1). 3–6.
- Davies, Alan. 2004. The native speaker in applied linguistics. In Alan Davies & Catherine Elder (eds.), *The Handbook of Applied Linguistics*, 431–450. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Davies, Bronwyn. 2008. Agency as a form of discursive practice: A classroom scene observed. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 11(3). 341–361.
- Dawe, Alan. 1979. Theories of social action. In Thomas B. Bottomore & Robert Nisbet (eds.), *A history of sociological analysis*, 362–417. London: Heinemann.
- Deterding, David. 2006. The pronunciation of English by speakers from China. *English World-Wide* 27(2). 175–198.
- Dewey, Martin. 2007. English as a lingua franca and globalization: An interconnected perspective. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 17(3). 332–354.
- Dewey, Martin. 2009. English as a lingua franca: Heightened variability and theoretical implications. In Anna Mauranen & Elina Ranta (eds), *English as a lingua franca: Studies and findings*, 60–83. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Dewey, Martin. 2012. Towards a post-normative approach: Learning the pedagogy of ELF. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 1(1). 141–170.
- Dörnyei, Zoltán. 2007. *Research methods in applied linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Drisko, James & Tina Maschi. 2015. *Content analysis*. Oxford Scholarship online. <https://global.oup.com/academic/product/content-analysis-9780190215491?cc=gb&lang=en&> (accessed 20 December 2018).
- Duff, Patricia. 2012. Identity, agency, and second language acquisition. In Susan Gass & Alison Mackey (eds.), *The Routledge handbook of second language acquisition*, 410–426. Oxon & New York: Routledge.
- Eagleton, Terry. 1991. *Ideology: An introduction*. London & New York: Verso.
- Eckert, Penelope. 2000. *Language variation as social practice: The linguistic construction of identity in Belten High*. Malden, Mass: Blackwell.
- Eckert, Penelope & Sally McConnell-Ginet. 1992. Think practically and look locally: Language and gender as community-based practice. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21. 461–490.

- Edwards, John. 2009. *Language and identity: An introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ehrenreich, Susanne. 2009. English as a lingua franca in multinational corporations-Exploring business communities of practice. In Anna Mauranen & Elina Ranta (eds), *English as a lingua franca: Studies and findings*, 126–151. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Ehrenreich, Susanne. 2010. English as a business lingua franca in a German MNC: Meeting the challenge. *Journal of Business Communication* 47(4). 408–431.
- Ehrenreich, Susanne. 2016. English as a lingua franca (ELF) in international business contexts: key issues and future perspectives. In Kumiko Murata (ed.), *Exploring ELF in Japanese academic and business contexts*, 135–155. London: Routledge.
- Ehrenreich, Susanne. 2018. Communities of practice and English as a lingua franca. In Anna Mauranen & Elina Ranta (eds), *English as a lingua franca: Studies and findings*, 37–50. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Emirbayer, Mustafa & Ann Mische. 1998. What is agency? *The American Journal of Sociology*. 103(4). 962–1023.
- Errington, Joseph. 1998. Indonesian('s) development: On the state of a language of state. In Bambi. B. Schieffelin, Kathryn. A. Woolard & Paul. V. Kroskrity (eds.), *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*, 364–380. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Errington, Joseph. 2001. Ideology. In Alessandro Duranti (ed.), *Key terms in language and culture*, 110–112. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Fairclough, Norman. 1989. *Language and power*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, Norman. 1992. *Critical language awareness*. London & New York: Longman.
- Fang, Fan. 2016. Investigating attitudes towards English accents from an ELF framework. *The Asian Journal of Applied Linguistics* 3(1). 68–80.
- Fang, Fan. 2019. *Re-positioning accent attitude in the Global Englishes paradigm: A critical phenomenological case study in the Chinese context*. Oxton & New York: Routledge.
- Fang, Fan & Baker, Will. 2018. A more inclusive mind towards the world: English language teaching and study abroad in China from intercultural citizenship and English as a lingua franca perspectives. *Language Teaching Research* 22(5). 608–624.
- Fang, Fan & Wei Ren. 2018. Developing students' awareness of Global Englishes. *ELT Journal* 72(4). 384–394.
- Ferguson, Charles. 1983. Language planning and language change. In Juan Cobarrbias & Joshua Fishman (eds.), *Progress in language planning: International perspectives*, 29–40. Berlin: Mouton.
- Ferguson, Gibson & Carmen Pérez-Llantada. 2011. English as an international language of scientific publication: A study of attitudes. *World Englishes* 30(1). 41–59.
- Fern, Edward. 2001. *Advanced focus group research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Fielding, Nigel. 2008. "Analytic density, postmodernism, and applied multiple method research". In Manfred M. Bergman (ed.), *Mixed method research design: Advanced issues and debates*, 37–52. London: SAGE.
- Fielding, Nigel G. & Jane L. Fielding. 1986. *Linking data: The articulation of qualitative and quantitative methods in social research*. Beverly Hills, CA: SAGE.
- Flowerdew, John. 1999. Writing for scholarly publication in English: The case of Hong Kong. *Journal of Second Language Writing* 8. 123–145.
- Flowerdew, John. 2001. Attitudes of journal editors to non-native speaker contribution. *TESOL Quarterly* 35. 121–150.

- Foddy, William. 1993. *Constructing questions for interviews and questionnaires: Theory and practice in social research*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Foucault, Michel. 1973. *The order of things: An archaeology of the human sciences*. Vintage Books.
- Friedrich, Paul. 1989. Language, ideology and political economy. *American Anthropologist* 91. 295–312.
- Fraser, Bruce. 2010. Pragmatic competence: The case of hedging. In Gunther Kaltenböck, Wiltrud Mihatsch & Stefan Schneider (eds.), *New approaches to hedging*, 15–34. Bingley, England: Emerald.
- Fuchs, Stephan. 2001. Beyond agency. *Sociological Theory* 19(1). 24–40.
- Gal, Susan. 1998. Multiplicity and contention among ideologies. In Bambi. B. Schieffelin, Kathryn. A. Woolard & Paul. V. Kroskrity (eds.), *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*, 423–442. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Galinsky, Adam D., Cynthia S. Wang, Jennifer A. Whitson, Eric M. Anicich, Kurt Hugenberg, & Galen V. Bodenhausen. 2013. The reappropriation of stigmatising labels: the reciprocal relationship between power and self-labelling. *Psychological Science* 24(10). 2020–2029.
- Galloway, Nicola. 2017. *Global Englishes and change in English language teaching: Attitudes and impact*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Galloway, Nicola & Heath Rose. 2013. “They envision going to New York, not Jakarta”: The differing attitudes toward ELF of students, teaching assistants, and instructors in an English-medium business program in Japan. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 2(2). 229–254.
- Galloway, Nicola & Heath Rose. 2014. Using listening journals to raise awareness of Global Englishes in ELT. *ELT Journal* 68(4). 386–396.
- Gao, Yihong. 2007. Legitimacy of foreign language learning and identity research: Structuralist and constructivist perspectives. *Intercultural Communication Studies* XVI-1. 100–112.
- Gao, Yihong. 2009. Sociocultural contexts and English in China: Retaining and reforming the cultural habitus. In Joseph Lo Bianco, Jane Orton & Gao Yihong (eds.), *China and English: Globalisation and the dilemmas of identity*, 56–78. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Gao, Yihong. 2012. *University students’ motivation on learning English and their identity development: A four-year longitudinal study*. Beijing: Higher Education Press. (大学生英语学习动机与自我认同发展——四年五校跟踪研究。高等教育出版社，北京。)
- Gardiner, Ishamina A. & David Deterding. 2018. Pronunciation and miscommunication in ELF interactions: An analysis of initial clusters. In Jennifer Jenkins, Will Baker & Martin Dewey (eds.), *The Routledge handbook of English as a lingua franca*, 224–232. London & New York: Routledge.
- Gardner, Robert C., & Lambert, Wallace. E. 1972. *Attitude and Motivation in Second Language Learning*. Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House.
- Garrett, Petter. 2010. *Attitudes to language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gass, Susan M. 1988. Second language acquisition and linguistic theory: the role of language transfer. In Suzanne Flynn & Wayne O’Neil (eds.), *Linguistic theory in second language acquisition*, 384–403. Studies in theoretical psycholinguistics. 8. Springer: Dordrecht.
- Ge, Chuangui. 1980. Mantan you han yi ying wenti [Talking about some issues in Chinese-English translation]. *Fanyi tongxun [Translator’s Notes]*, 2, 1–8.
- Gibbs, Jack P. 1972. Issues in defining deviant behaviour. In Robert A. Scott & Jack D. Douglas (eds.), *Theoretical perspectives on deviance*, 39–68. New York: Basic Books.

- Giddens, Anthony. 1984. *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. London: Polity Press.
- Giles, Howard, Nikolas Coupland & Justine Coupland. 1991. Accommodation theory: Communication, context, and consequence. In Howard Giles, Justine Coupland & Nikolas Coupland (eds.), *Contexts of accommodation*, 1–68. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gillham, Bill. 2000. *Developing a questionnaire*. London & New York: Continuum.
- Gimenez, Telma, Luciana C.S. Calvo & Michele S. El Kadri. 2015. Beyond Madonna: Teaching materials as windows into pre-service teachers' understanding of ELF. In Yasemin Bayyurt & Sumru Akcan (eds.), *Current perspectives on pedagogy for English as a lingua franca*, 225–238. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Gnutzmann, Claus, Jenny Jakisch & Frank Rabe. 2014. English as a lingua franca: A source of identity for young Europeans? *Multilingua* 33(3–4). 437–457.
- Gonzalez, Andrew. 1976. Content in English language materials in the Philippines: A case study of cultural and linguistic emancipation. *Philippine Studies* 24. 443–454.
- Görlach, Manfred. 2002. *Still more Englishes*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publication.
- Graddol, David. 1996. Global English, global culture? In Sharon Goodman & David Graddol (eds.), *Redesigning English: New texts, new identities*, 184–218. London: The Open University/Routledge.
- Graddol, David. 1997. *The future of English?* London: British Council.
- Greene, Jennifer C., Valerie J. Caracelli & Wendy F. Graham. 1989. "Toward a conceptual framework for mixed-method evaluation designs". *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* 11(3). 255–274.
- Grønnerød, Jarna S. 2004. On the meanings and uses of laughter in research interviews. *Young Nordic Journal of Youth Research* 12(1). 31–49.
- Groom, Chloe. 2012. Non-native attitudes towards teaching English as a lingua franca in Europe. *English Today* 28(1). 50–57.
- Gui, Lin. 2010. 论英语全球化趋势下的语言帝国主义特征. *山东外语教学*, 2: 16–19.
- Guido, Marie G. 2008. *English as a lingua franca in cross-cultural immigration domains*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Gupta, Anthea F. 1986. A standard for written Singapore English? *English World-Wide* 7(1). 75–99.
- Hall, Robert A. 1944. Chinese pidgin English grammar and texts. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 64(3). 95–113.
- Heath, J. G. 1984. Language contact and language change. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 13. 367–384.
- Heath, Shirley B. 1977. Social history. *Bilingual Education: Current Perspectives*. v.1. Social Science. Arlington, VA: Centre for Applied Linguist. 53–72.
- Heller, Monica. 1996. Legitimate Language in a Multilingual School. *Linguistics and Education* 8. 139–157.
- Hennink, Monique M. 2007. *International focus group research: A handbook for the health and social sciences*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hickey, Raymond (ed.) 2003. *Motives for language change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Holborow, Marnie. 1999. *The politics of English: A Marxist view of language*. London: SAGE.
- Holborow, Marnie. 2007. Language, ideology and neoliberalism. *Journal of Language and Politics* 6(1). 51–73.

- Holliday, Adrian. 1994. *Appropriate methodology and social context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Holliday, Adrian. 2006. Native-speakerism. *ELT Journal* 60(4). 385–387.
- House, Juliane. 2003. English as a lingua franca: A threat to multilingualism? *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7. 556–578.
- House, Juliane. 2014. English as a global lingua franca: A threat to multilingual communication and translation? *Language Teaching* 47(3). 363–376.
- Hu, Ran & Bob Adamson 2012. Social ideologies and the English curriculum in China: A historical overview. In Jiening Ruan & Cynthia B. Leung (eds.) *Perspectives on teaching and learning English literacy in China*. Springer. 1–17.
- Hu, Xiaoqiong. 2004. China English, at home and in the world. *English Today* 21(3). 27–38.
- Hu, Xiaoqiong. 2005. Why China English should stand alongside British, American, and the other “world Englishes”. *English Today* 20(2). 26–33.
- Hu, Xiaoqiong. 2016. Keep off the grass? No way!: The use of indirect translation for public signs will never result in ‘an attractive linguistic landscape’ unless it promotes and spreads the cultural values of the literal translation. *English Today* 32(1). 21–27.
- Hyland, Ken. 2016. Academic publishing and the myth of linguistic injustice. *Journal of Second Language Writing* 31. 58–69.
- Hynninen, Niina. 2011. The practice of ‘mediation’ in English as a lingua franca interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics* 43(4). 965–977.
- Hynninen, Niina. 2016. *Language regulation in English as a lingua franca*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hynninen, Niina & Anna Solin. 2018. Language norms in ELF. In Jennifer Jenkins, Will Baker & Martin Dewey (eds.), *The Routledge handbook of English as a lingua franca*, 267–278. London & New York: Routledge.
- Irvine, Judith. 1989. When talk isn’t cheap: Language and political economy. *American Ethnologist* 16(2). 248–267.
- Irvine, Judith. 1998. Ideologies of honorific language. In Bambi B. Schieffelin, Kathryn A. Woolard & Paul V. Kroskrity (eds.), *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*, 88–108. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Irvine, Judith & Susan. Gal. 2000. Language ideology and linguistic differentiation. In Paul V. Kroskrity (ed.), *Regimes of language: ideologies, politics, and identities*, 35–84. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.
- Ishikawa, Tomokazu. 2017. Japanese university students’ attitudes towards their English and the possibility of ELF awareness. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 6(2). 237–263.
- Jefferson, Gail, Harvey Sacks & Emanuel Schegloff. 1987. Notes on laughter in the pursuit of intimacy. In Graham Button & John R. E. Lee (eds.), *Talk and social organisation*, 152–205. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Jeffrey, Alex, Fiona McConnell & Alice Wilson. 2015. Understanding legitimacy: Perspectives from anomalous geopolitical spaces. *Geoforum* 66. 177–183.
- Jenkins, Jennifer. 2000. *The phonology of English as an international language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jenkins, Jennifer. 2003. *World Englishes: A resource book for students*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Jenkins, Jennifer. 2006. Points of view and blind spots: ELF and SLA. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 16(2). 137–162.

- Jenkins, Jennifer. 2007. *English as a lingua franca: Attitude and identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jenkins, Jennifer. 2009a. English as a lingua franca: Interpretations and attitudes. *World Englishes* 28(2). 200–207.
- Jenkins, Jennifer. 2009b. *World Englishes: A resource book for students*(2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Jenkins, Jennifer. 2014. *English as a lingua franca in the international university: The politics of academic English language policy*. Abington, GB: Routledge.
- Jenkins, Jennifer. 2015a. *Global Englishes*. Abington, GB: Routledge.
- Jenkins, Jennifer. 2015b. Repositioning English and multilingualism in English as a lingua franca. *Englishes in Practice* 2(3). 49–85.
- Jenkins, Jennifer, Alessia Cogo, & Martin Dewey. 2011. Review of developments in research into English as a lingua franca. *Language Teaching* 44(3). 281–315.
- Jenkins, Jennifer & Constant Leung. 2017. Assessing English as a lingua franca. In Elana Shohamy, Iair Or & Stephen May (eds.), *Language testing and assessment* (3rd ed.), (Encyclopedia of Language and Education), 103–118. Heidelberg, DE: Springer.
- Jenkins, Jennifer & Constant Leung. 2019. From mythical ‘standard’ to standard reality: The need for alternatives to standardised English language tests. *Language Testing* 52(1). 86–110.
- John, Deborah A. F. 2015. Language choice and ideology: examining the use of the Malay language in English newspaper advertisements in Malaysia. *Language & Communication* 43. 87–101.
- Johnson, R. Burke & Anthony J. Onwuegbuzie. 2004. Mixed methods research: A research paradigm whose time has come. *Educational Researcher* 33(7).14–26.
- Jørgensen, J. Normann. 2008. Polylingual languaging around and among children and adolescents. *International Journal of Multilingualism* 5(3). 161–176.
- Joseph, John Earl. 2004. *Language and identity: National, ethnic, religious*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kachru, Braj. 1986. *The alchemy of English: The spread, functions and models of non-native Englishes*. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Kachru, Braj B. 1991. Liberation linguistics and the Quirk concern. *English Today* 7(1). 3–13.
- Kachru, Braj. 1992. Teaching world Englishes. In Braj. B. Kachru (ed.) *The other tongue: English across cultures* (2nd ed.) 355–364. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Kachru, Braj. 1996. The paradigms of marginality. *World Englishes* 15(3). 241–255.
- Kachru, Braj. 1998. English as an Asian language. *Links & Letters* 5. 89–108.
- Kachru, Braj. 2005. *Asian Englishes: Beyond the canon*. New Delhi & New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kalocsai, Karolina. 2011. The show of interpersonal involvement and the building of rapport in an ELF community of practice. In Alasdair Archibald, Alessia Cogo & Jennifer Jenkins (eds.), *Latest trends in English as a lingua franca research*, 113–138. Newcastle Upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Kalocsai, Karolina. 2014. *Communities of practice and English as a lingua franca: A study of Erasmus students in a Central-European context*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Kankaanranta, Anne & Leena Louhiala-Salminen 2013. “What language does global business speak?” – The concept and development of BELF. *Iberica* 26(26). 17–34.
- Kappa, Katherine. 2016. Exploring solidarity and consensus in English as lingua franca interactions. *Journal of Pragmatics* 95. 16–33.

- Karrebæk, Martha S., Andreas Stæhr & Piia Varis. 2015. Punjabi at heart: Language, legitimacy, and authenticity on social media. *Discourse, Context and Media* 8. 20–29.
- Kaur, Paramjit. 2014. Attitudes towards English as a lingua franca. *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences* 118. 214–221.
- Kim, Hyejeong & Rosey Billington. 2018. Pronunciation and comprehension in English as a lingua franca communication: Effect of L1 influence in international aviation communication. *Applied Linguistics* 39(2). 135–158.
- Kirkpatrick, Andy. 2010a. Researching English as a lingua franca in Asia: The Asian corpus of English (ACE) project. *Asian Englishes* 13(1). 4–18.
- Kirkpatrick, Andy. 2010b. *English as a lingua franca in ASEAN: A multilingual model*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Kirkpatrick, Andy & Xu Zhichang. 2002. Chinese pragmatic norms and ‘China English’. *World Englishes* 21(2). 269–279.
- Klassen, Robert M., Wan H. Chong, Vivien S. Huan, Isabella Wong, Allison Kates & Wanwisa Hannok. 2008. Motivation beliefs of secondary school teachers in Canada and Singapore: A mixed methods study. *Teaching and Teacher Education* 24. 1919–1934.
- Kohn, Kurt. 2018. My English: A social constructivist perspective on ELF. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 7(1). 1–24.
- Kramsch, Claire. 2012. Authenticity and legitimacy in multilingual SLA. *Critical Multilingualism Studies* 1(1). 107–128.
- Kramsch, Claire & Lihua Zhang. 2015. *The multilingual instructor*. Oxford University Press.
- Kroskrity, Paul V. 2000. Regimenting languages: language ideological perspectives. In Paul V. Kroskrity. (ed.), *Regimes of language: Ideologies, politics, and identities*, 1–34. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press. 1–34.
- Kroskrity, Paul V. 2004. Language ideologies. In Alessandro Duranti (ed.), *A companion to linguistic anthropology*, 496–517. Wiley.
- Kroskrity, Paul V. 2009. Embodying the reversal of language shift: agency, incorporation, and language ideological change in the western mono community of central California. In Kroskrity, Paul V. & Margeret C. Field (eds.), *Native American language ideologies: Beliefs, practices, and struggles in Indian country*, 190–210. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.
- Kroskrity, Paul V. & Margaret C. Field. 2009. *Native American language ideologies: Beliefs, practices, and struggles in Indian country*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.
- Kroskrity, Paul V., Bambi. B. Schieffelin & Kathryn. A. Woolard. 1992. (eds.) Special issue on language ideologies. *Pragmatics* 2(3). 235–453.
- Kumaravadivelu, B. 2008. *Cultural globalization and language education*. Yale University Press.
- Kuo, I-Chun. 2006. Addressing the issue of teaching English as a lingua franca. *ELT Journal* 60(3). 213–221.
- Kvale, Steinar. 1994. Ten standard objections to qualitative research interviews. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology* 25(2). 147–173.
- Labov, William. 1966. *The social stratification of English in New York city*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lass, Roger. 1980. *On explaining language change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lass, Roger. 1990. Exaptation in language evolution. *Journal of Linguistics* 26. 79–102.
- Lass, Roger. 1997. *Historical linguistics and language change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lave, Jean & Etienne Wenger. 1991. *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Le-Ha, Phan. 2013. Issues surrounding English, the internationalisation of higher education and national cultural identity in Asia: A focus on Japan. *Critical Studies in Education* 54(2). 160–175.
- Le Page, Robert B. 1988. Some premises concerning the standardisation of languages, with special reference to Caribbean Creole English. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 71. 25–36.
- Lemert, Edwin. G. 1967. *Human deviance, social problems and social control*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Li, Wenzhong. 1993. Zhongguo yingyu yu Zhongguo shi yingyu [China English and Chinglish]. *Waiyu jiaoxue yu yanjiu [Foreign Language Teaching and Research]*, 96(4). 18–24.
- Li, Wei. 2016. New Chinglish and the Post-Multilingualism challenge: Translanguaging ELF in China. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 5(1). 1–25.
- Li, Wei. 2018. Translanguaging as a practical theory of language. *Applied Linguistics* 39(1). 9–30.
- Lillis, Theresa & Mary J. Curry 2006. Professional academic writing by multilingual scholars: Interactions with literacy brokers in the production of English-medium texts. *Written Communication* 23(1). 3–35.
- Lillis, Theresa & Mary J. Curry 2010. *Academic writing in a global context*. London: Routledge.
- Lim, Lisa. 2013. Kaduva of privileged power, instrument of rural empowerment? The politics of English (and Sinhala and Tamil) in Sri Lanka. In Lionel Wee, Robbie B. H. Goh & Lisa Lim. (eds.), *The politics of English: South Asia, Southeast Asia and the Asia Pacific*, 61–80. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Lin, Angel & Peter W. Martin. 2005. *Decolonisation, globalisation: Language-in-education policy and practice*. Clevedon, Buffalo, Toronto: Multilingual Matters.
- Lin, Nan. 2001. *Social capital: A theory of social structure and action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lippi-Green, Rosina. 1994a. Accent, standard language ideology, and discriminatory pretext in the courts. *Language in Society* 23(2) 163–189.
- Lippi-Green, Rosina. 1994b. *Language ideology and language change in early modern German: A sociolinguistic study of the consonantal system of Nuremberg*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Lippi-Green, Rosina. 2012. *English with an accent* (2nd edition). London & New York: Routledge.
- Liss, Miriam & Mindy J. Erchull. 2010. Everyone feels empowered: understanding feminist self-labeling. *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 34. 85–96.
- Liu, Junshuan. 2014. 语言帝国主义：对英语全球化的再审视。黑龙江高教研究 5. 171–173.
- Lu, Yuanwen. 2017. *A corpus study of collocation in Chinese learner English*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Lopriore, Lucilla & Paola Vettorel. 2015. Promoting awareness of Englishes and ELF in the English language classroom. In Hugo Bowles & Alessia Cogo (eds.), *International perspectives on English as a lingua franca: Pedagogical insights*, 13–34. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Makihara, Miki & Bambi B. Schieffelin. 2007. *Consequences of contact: Language ideologies and sociocultural transformations in Pacific Societies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Manoukian, Jennifer. 2017. In search of linguistic legitimacy: Western Armenian and the new speaker. In Maryam Borjian (ed.), *Language and globalisation: An autoethnographic approach* 195–206. New York & Oxon: Routledge.

- Martin-Jones, Marilyn & Monica Heller. 1996. Introduction to the special issues on education in multilingual settings: Discourse, identities, and power. Part II: Contesting legitimacy. *Linguistics and Education* 8. 127–137.
- Mathison, Sandra. 1988. 'Why triangulate?'. *Educational Researcher* 17(2). 13–17.
- Matsumoto, Yumi. 2014. Collaborative co-construction of humorous interaction among ELF speakers. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 3(1). 81–107.
- Mauranen, Anna. 2003. Academic English as lingua franca – a corpus approach. *TESOL Quarterly* 37. 513–527.
- Mauranen, Anna. 2012. *Exploring ELF*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mauranen, Anna. 2018. Second language acquisition, world Englishes, and English as a lingua franca (ELF). *World Englishes* 37.106–119.
- Mauranen, Anna & Elina Ranta (eds.). 2009. *English as a lingua franca: Studies and findings*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Mauranen, Anna, Niina Hynninen & Elina Ranta. 2010. English as an academic lingua franca: The EFLA project. *English for Specific Purposes* 29(3). 183–190.
- McDermott, Phillip. 2019. From ridicule to legitimacy? “contested languages” and devolved language planning. *Current Issues in Language Planning* 20(2). 121–139.
- Medgyes, Peter. 1994. *The non-native teacher*. London: MacMillan.
- Milroy, James. 2001. Language ideologies and the consequences of standardisation. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 5(4). 530–555.
- Milroy, James. 2003. On the role of the speaker in language change. In Raymond Hickey (ed.), *Motives for language change*, 143–157, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Milroy, James & Lesley Milroy. 2012. *Authority in language: Investigating standard English* (4th ed.). London & New York: Routledge.
- Modell, Sven. 2010. Bridging the paradigm divide in management accounting research: The role of mixed methods approaches. *Management Accounting Research* 21. 124–129.
- Moran-Ellis, Jo, Victoria D. Alexander, Ann Cronin, Mary Dickinson, Jane Fielding, Judith. Steney & Hilary Thomas. 2006. Triangulation and integration: Processes, claims and implications. *Qualitative Research* 6(1). 45–59.
- Morán-Panero, Sonia. 2018. Global languages and lingua franca communication. In Jennifer Jenkins, Will Baker & Martin Dewey (eds.), *The Routledge handbook of English as a lingua franca*, 556–569. London & New York: Routledge.
- Morán-Panero, Sonia. 2019. “It’s more fashionable to speak it badly”: Indexicality and metasemiotic awareness among users of English from the Spanish-speaking world. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 8(2). 297–332.
- Morse, Janice M. & Lory J. Maddox. 2014. Analytic integration in qualitatively driven (QUAL) mixed and multiple methods designs. In Uwe Flick (ed.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative data analysis*, 524–539. London: SAGE.
- Mortensen, Janus. 2013. Notes on English used as a lingua franca as an object of study. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 2(1). 25–46.
- Mucchi-Faina, Angelica. 2005. Visible or influential? Language reforms and gender (in)equality. *Social Science Information* 44(1). 189–215.
- Murata, Kumiko & Masakazu Iino. 2018. EMI in higher education: an ELF perspective. In Jennifer Jenkins, Will Baker & Martin Dewey (eds.), *The Routledge handbook of English as a lingua franca*, 400–412. London & New York: Routledge.
- Murray, Heather. 2006. The globalisation of English and the English language classroom. *ELT Journal* 60(2). 204–206.

- Niedzielski, Nancy & Dennis Preston. 2003. *Folk linguistics*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Niglas, Katrin. 2004. *The combined use of qualitative and quantitative methods in educational research*. Tallinn, Estonia: Tallinn Pedagogical University Dissertation on Social Sciences.
- Norton, Bonny. 1997. Language, identity, and the ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly* 31(3). 409–429.
- Norton, Bonny. 2000. *Identity and language learning*. London: Pearson.
- Norton, Bonny. 2010. Language and identity. *Sociolinguistics and Language Education* 23(3). 349–369.
- Omoniyi, Tope. 2006. Hierarchy of identities. In Tope Omoniyi & Goodith White (eds.), *The sociolinguistics of identity*, 11–33. London & New York: Continuum.
- Omoniyi, Tope & Goodith White. 2006. *The sociolinguistics of identity*. London & New York: Continuum.
- Onwuegbuzie, Anthony J. & Nancy L. Leech. 2005. On becoming a pragmatic researcher: The importance of combining quantitative and qualitative research methodologies. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 8(5). 375–387.
- Oppenheim, Abraham N. 1992. *Questionnaire design, interviewing and attitude measurement*. London & New York: Continuum.
- Orna-Montesinos, Concepción. 2018. Language practices and policies in conflict: An ELF perspective on international military communication. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 7(1). 89–111.
- Otsu, Akiko. 2019. The shifting perception of Japanese BELF users towards English: A case study. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 8(1). 67–95.
- Ovando, Carlos J. & Peter McLaren. 2000. *The politics of multiculturalism and bilingual education: Students and teachers caught in the crossfire*. Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Pan, Lin. 2014. *English as a global language in China: Deconstructing the ideological discourses of English in language education*. London: Springer.
- Park, Haesoon. 2012. Insight into learners' identity in the Korean English as a lingua franca context. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education* 11(4). 229–246.
- Park, Joseph S. Y. 2009. *The local construction of a global language: Ideologies of English in South Korea*. Berlin, Germany: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Park, Joseph S. & Lionel Wee. 2011. A practice-based critique of English as a lingua franca. *World Englishes* 30(3). 360–374.
- Parker, Frank. 1976. Language change and passive voice. *Language* 52(2). 449–460.
- Pavlenko, Aneta. 2003. 'I never knew I was a bilingual': reimagining teacher identities in TESOL. *Journal of Language, Identity, & Education* 2(4). 251–268.
- Pavlenko, Aneta & Adrian Blackledge. 2004. *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts*. Blue Ridge Summit, PA: Multilingual Matters.
- Pennycook, Alastair. 2010. *Language as a local practice*. London: Routledge.
- Pennycook, Alastair. 2013. Language policies, language ideologies and local language practices. In Lionel Wee, Robbie B. H. Goh & Lisa Lim (eds.), *The politics of English: South Asia, Southeast Asia and the Asia Pacific*, 1–18. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Phillipson, Robert. 1992. *Linguistic imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pietikäinen, Kaisa S. 2018. ELF in social contexts. Jennifer Jenkins, Will Baker & Martin Dewey (eds.), *The Routledge handbook of English as a lingua franca*, 321–332. London & New York: Routledge.

- Pitzl, Marie-Luise. 2012. Creativity meets convention: Idiom variation and remetaphorisation in ELF. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 1(1). 27–55.
- Pitzl, Marie-Luise. 2018a. Creativity, idioms and metaphorical language in ELF. In Jennifer Jenkins, Will Baker & Martin Dewey (eds.), *The Routledge handbook of English as a lingua franca*, 233–243. London & New York: Routledge.
- Pitzl, Marie-Luise. 2018b. Transient international groups (TIGs): Exploring the group and development dimension of ELF. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 7(1). 25–58.
- Ploywattanawong, Phanyamon & Wannapa Trakulkasemsuk. 2014. Attitudes of Thai graduates toward English as a lingua franca of ASEAN. *Asian Englishes* 16(2). 141–156.
- Politzer-Ahles, Stephen, Jeffrey J. Holliday, Teresa Girolamo, Maria Spsychalska, & Kelly H. Berkson. 2016. Is linguistic injustice a myth? A response to Hyland. *Journal of Second Language Writing* 34. 3–8.
- Preston, Dennis. 1989. *Perceptual dialectology: Nonlinguists' views of areal linguistics*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Preston, Dennis. 1996. Whaddayaknow? The modes of folk linguistic awareness. *Language awareness* 5(1). 40–74.
- Pringle, Dennis G. 1998. Globalisation, reterritorialization and national identity. *Geopolitics* 3(3). 1–13.
- Prodromou, Luke. 2006. A reader responds to J. Jenkins's "Current perspectives on teaching World Englishes and English as a lingua franca". *TESOL Quarterly* 41. 409–413.
- Proshina, Zoya G. 2016. Legitimacy of Russian English. *Procedia: Social and Behavioral Sciences* 236. 201–206.
- Qiu Lizhong & Quanxin Ning. 2002. "Zhongguo yingyu zhiyi: yu Du Ruiqing, Jiang Yajun Shangque" [Challenging "China English": A discussion with Du Ruiqing and Jiang Yajun]. *Waiyu jiaoxue [Foreign Language Education]* 23(6). 23–27.
- Quirk, Randolph. 1985. The English language in a global context. In Quirk, Randolph & Widdowson, Henry (eds.), *English in the world: teaching and learning the language and literatures*, 1–30. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Quirk, Randolph. 1990. Language varieties and standard language. *English Today* 6(1). 3–10.
- Ra, Jaewon Jane. 2019. Exploring the spread of English language learning in South Korea and reflections of the diversifying sociolinguistic context for future English language teaching practices. *Asian Englishes* 21(3). 305–319.
- Rajagopalan, Kanavillil. 1997. Linguistics and the myth of nativity: Comments on the controversy over "new/non-native Englishes". *Journal of Pragmatics* 27. 225–231.
- Ranta, Elina. 2010. English in the real world vs. English at school: Finnish English teachers' and students' views. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 20(2). 156–177.
- Rapley, Tim & Uwe Flick. 2007. *Doing conversation, discourse and document analysis*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Reagan, Timothy. 1997. When is a language not a language? Challenges to "linguistic legitimacy" in educational discourse. *Educational Foundations* 11(3). 5–28.
- Reagan, Timothy. 2016. The conceptualisation of language legitimacy. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies* 13(1). 1–19.
- Reinecke, John E. 1964. Trade jargons and creole dialects as marginal languages. In Dell Hymes (ed.), *Language in culture and society*, 534–546. New York: Harper & Row.
- Ren, Rong. 2005. The Chinese purity under the background of English linguistic imperialism. *Journal of Shanxi Agricultural University (Society Science Edition)*. http://en.cnki.com.cn/Article_en/CJFDTotal-SXND200502031.htm (accessed 20 December 2018)

- Ren, Wei, Yuan-shan Chen & Chih-Ying Lin. 2016. University students' perceptions of ELF in mainland China and Taiwan. *System* 56. 13–27.
- Ricento, Thomas. 2000. Ideology, politics and language policies: Introduction. In Thomas Ricento (ed.), *Ideology, politics and language policies: Focus on English*, 1–8. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Ricento, Thomas & Barbara Rumaby. 1998. *Language and politics in the United States and Canada: Myths and realities*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Riley, Philip. 2006. Self-expression and the negotiation of identity in a foreign language. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 16(3). 295–318.
- Robertson, Roland. 1992. *Globalisation, social theory and global culture*. London: Sage.
- Romaine, Suzanne. 1989. *Bilingualism*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Rosa, Jonathan & Christa Burdick. 2015. 'Language ideologies' in Ofelia Garcia, Nelson Flores & Massimiliano Spotti (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Language and Society*, 103–123. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rotenberg, Mordechai. 1975. Self-labelling theory: Preliminary findings among mental patients. *British Journal of Criminal* 15(4). 360–375.
- Rubdy, Rani. 2005. Remaking of Singapore for the new age: Official ideology and the realities of practice in language-in-education. In Angel Lin & Peter Martin (eds.), *Decolonisation, globalisation: Language-in-education policy and practice*, 55–75. Clevedon & Buffalo: Multilingual Matters.
- Rubdy, Rani & Mario Saraceni. 2006. Introduction. In Rani Rubdy & Mario Saraceni. (eds.) *English in the world: Global rules, global roles*, 5–16. London: Continuum.
- Ruecker, Todd & Lindsey Ives 2015. White native English speakers needed: The rhetorical construction of privilege in online teacher recruitment spaces. *TESOL Quarterly* 49(4). 733–756.
- Rumsey, Alan. 1990. Wording, meaning and linguistic ideology. *American Anthropologist* 92(2). 346–361.
- Sankoff, Gillian & H el ene Blondeau. 2007. Language change across the lifespan: /r/ in Montreal French. *Language* 83(3). 560–588.
- Saraceni, Mario. 2008. English as a lingua franca: Between form and function. *English Today* 24(2). 20–26.
- Schieffelin, Bambi B., Kathryn A. Woolard & Paul V. Kroskrity (eds.). 1998. *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schieffelin, Bambi B. and Rachele C. Doucet. 1998. The "real" Haitian creole: Ideology, metalinguistics, and orthographic choice. In Bambi B. Schieffelin, Kathryn A. Woolard & Paul V. Kroskrity (eds.), *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*, 381–422. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schoon, Eric W. 2016. Rethinking legitimacy and illegitimacy in violent political conflict. *Sociology Compass* 10.2. 143–152.
- Schreier, Margrit. 2014. Qualitative content analysis. Uwe Flick (ed.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative data analysis*, 170–183. London: SAGE.
- Schuman, Howard & Stanley Presser. 1981. *Questions and answers in attitude surveys: Experiments on question form, wording, and context*. New York: Academic Press.
- Schur, Edwin. M. 1971. *Labelling deviant behaviour*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Sergeant, Philip. 2009. *The idea of English in Japan: Ideology and the evolution of a global language*. Bristol & Buffalo: Multilingual Matters.

- Seidlhofer, Barbara. 2003. *A concept of international English and related issues: From 'real English' to 'realistic English'?* Language Policy Division, Council of Europe, Strasbourg.
- Seidlhofer, Barbara. 2004. Research perspectives on teaching English as a lingua franca. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 24. 209–239.
- Seidlhofer, Barbara. 2009. Common ground and different realities: World Englishes and English as a lingua franca. *World Englishes* 28(2). 236–245.
- Seidlhofer, Barbara. 2011. *Understanding English as a lingua franca*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Seidlhofer, Barbara. 2018. Standard English and the dynamics of ELF variation. In Jennifer Jenkins, Will Baker & Martin Dewey (eds.), *The Routledge handbook of English as a lingua franca*, 85–100. London & New York: Routledge.
- Shohamy, Elana. 2006. *Language policy: Hidden agendas and new approaches*. London: Routledge.
- Si, Jinghui. 2018. English as a native language, world Englishes and English as a lingua franca-informed materials: Acceptance, perceptions and attitudes of Chinese English learners. *Asian Englishes* 21(2).190–206.
- Si, Jinghui. 2019. The practicality of ELF-informed teaching: attitudes and perceptions of Chinese business English teachers. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 8(2). 269–296.
- Sifakis, Nicos C. 2014. ELF awareness as an opportunity for change: A transformative perspective for ESOL teacher education. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 3(2). 317–335.
- Sifakis, Nicos & Yasemin Bayyurt. 2018. ELF-aware teaching, learning and teacher development. In Jennifer Jenkins, Will Baker & Martin Dewey (eds.), *The Routledge handbook of English as a lingua franca*, 456–467. London & New York: Routledge.
- Sifakis, Nicos C. 2019. ELF awareness in English language teaching: Principles and processes. *Applied Linguistics* 40(2). 288–306.
- Sifakis, Nicos C., Lucilla Lopriore, Martin Dewey, Yasemin Bayyurt, Paola Vettorel, Lili Cavalheiro, Domingos Siqueira & Stefania Kordia. 2018. ELF-awareness in ELT: Bringing together theory and practice. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 7(1). 155–209.
- Silverstein, Michael. 1979. 'Language structure and linguistic ideology'. In Paul R. Clyne, William F. Hanks & Carol. L. Hofbauer (eds.), *The elements: A parasection on linguistic units and levels*, 193–247. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Silverstein, Michael. 1998. The uses and utility of ideology. In Bambi B. Schieffelin, Kathryn A. Woolard & Paul V. Kroskrity (eds.), *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*, 179–205. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Silverstein, Michael. 2003. Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life. *Language and Communication* 23(3–4).193–229.
- Smit, Ute. 2010. *English as a lingua franca in higher education: A longitudinal study of classroom discourse*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Smith, Jeremy.1996. *An historical study of English: Function, form, and change*. London: Routledge.
- Smithson, Janet. 2008. Focus group. In Pertti Alasuutari, Leonard Bickman & Julia Brannen (eds.) *The SAGE handbook of social research methods*, 357–370. London: SAGE.
- Søvik, Margrethe B. 2010. Language Practices and the Language Situation in Kharkiv: Examining the Concept of Legitimate Language in Relation to Identification and Utility. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 201. 5–28.
- Spolsky, Bernard. 2009. *Language management*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Steger, Manfred. 2009. *Globalisation: A very short introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Strauss, Susan & Parastou Feiz. 2014. *Discourse analysis: Putting our worlds into words*. New York & London: Routledge.
- Stevens, Patricia E. 1996. Focus groups: collecting aggregate-level data to understand community health phenomena. *Public Health Nursing* 13(3). 170–176.
- Suchman, Mark. 1995. Managing legitimacy: Strategic and institutional approaches. *The Academy of Management Review* 20(3). 571–670.
- Sung, Chit. C. M. 2014a. Global, local or glocal? Identities of L2 learners in English as a lingua franca communication. *Language, Culture and Curriculum* 27. 43–57.
- Sung, Chit C. M. 2014b. Hong Kong university students' perceptions of their identities in English as a lingua franca contexts: An exploratory study. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication* 24(1). 94–112.
- Swain, Merrill. 2009. Languaging, agency and collaboration in advanced second language proficiency. In Heidi Byrnes (ed.), *Advanced language learning: The contribution of Halliday and Vygotsky*, 95–108. London & New York: Continuum.
- Swan, Michael. 2012. ELF and EFL: Are they really different?. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 1(2). 379–389.
- Swigart, Leigh. 2001. The limits of legitimacy: Language ideology and shift in contemporary Senegal. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 10(1). 90–130.
- Szundy, Carrera & Paula Tatlanne. 2017. Language ideologies on English as a lingua franca in Brazil: Conflicting positions expressed by undergraduate students. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 6(1). 167–192.
- Talib, Ismail S. 2013. The encroachment of English in Malaysian cultural expression. In Lionel Wee, Robbie B. H. Goh & Lisa Lim (eds.), *The politics of English: South Asia, Southeast Asia and the Asia Pacific*, 145–166. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Tan, Ying-Ying 2017. Singlish: An illegitimate conception in Singapore's language policies. *European Journal of Language Policy* 9(1). 85–104.
- Tajfel, Henri. 1981. *Human groups and social categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Timmis, Ivor. 2002. Native-speaker norms and international English: A classroom view. *ELT Journal* 56(3). 240–249.
- Tinio, Maria T. 2013. Nimble tongues: Philippine English and the feminisation of labour. In Lionel Wee, Robbie B. H. Goh & Lisa Lim (eds.), *The politics of English: South Asia, Southeast Asia and the Asia Pacific*, 205–244. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Tomlinson, John. 2007. Cultural globalisation. In George Ritzer (ed.), *The Blackwell companion to globalisation*, 352–366. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Tracy, Karen. 1984. Staying on topic: An explication of conversational relevance. *Discourse Processes* 7(4). 447–464.
- Truggill, Peter. 2002. *Sociolinguistic variation and change*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Tsou, Wenli & Fay Chen. 2014. EFL and ELF college students' perceptions towards Englishes. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 3(2). 363–386.
- Tupas, T. & Ruanni. F. 2008. World Englishes or worlds of English? Pitfalls of a postcolonial discourse in Philippine English. In Lourdes. S. Bautista & Kingsley Bolton (eds.), *Philippine English: Linguistic and literary perspectives*, 67–86. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

- Van Leeuwen, Theo. 2008. *Discourse and practice: New tools for critical discourse analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Vessey, Rachele. 2017. Corpus approaches to language ideology. *Applied Linguistics* 38(3). 277–296.
- Vettorel, Paola. 2014. *ELF in wider networking: Blogging practices*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Virkkula, Tina & Tarja Nikula. 2010. Identity construction in ELF contexts: A case study of Finnish engineering students working in Germany. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 20(2). 251–273.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1983. *Historical capitalism with capitalist civilisation*. London: Verso.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. 2001. *Unthinking social science: the limits of nineteenth-century paradigms* (2nd ed.). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Wang, Cynthia S., Jennifer A. Whitson, Eric M. Anicich, Laura J. Kray, & Adam D. Galinsky. 2017. Challenge your stigma: How to reframe and revalue negative stereotypes and slurs. *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 26(1). 75–80.
- Wang, Rongpei. 1991. Zhongguo Yingyu shi keguan cunzai [China English is an objective existence]. Jiefangjun waiguoyu xueyuan xuebao [Journal of PLA University of Foreign Languages] 1(1).
- Wang, William. S.-Y. 1979. Language change – a lexical perspective. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 8. 353–371.
- Wang, Ying. 2012. *Chinese speakers' perceptions of their English in intercultural communication*. Southampton: University of Southampton doctoral thesis.
- Wang, Ying. 2013. Non-conformity to ENL norms: A perspective from Chinese English users. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 2(2). 255–282.
- Wang, Ying. 2015a. Chinese university students' ELF awareness: Impacts of language education in China. *Englishes in Practice* 2(4). 86–106.
- Wang, Ying. 2015b. Language awareness and ELF perceptions of Chinese university students. In Hugo Bowles & Alessia Cogo (eds.), *International perspectives on English as a lingua franca*, 96–116. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wang, Ying. 2016. Native English speakers' authority in English. *English Today* 32(1). 35–40.
- Wang, Ying & Jennifer Jenkins. 2016. "Nativeness" and intelligibility: Impacts of intercultural experience through English as a lingua franca on Chinese speakers' language attitudes. *Chinese Journal of Applied Linguistics* 39(1). 38–58.
- Wang, Ying. 2017. Language policy in Chinese higher education: A focus on international students in China. *European Journal of Language Policy* 9(1). 45–66.
- Wang, Ying. 2018. Chinese English as a lingua franca: An ideological inquiry. Jennifer Jenkins, Will Baker & Martin Dewey (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of English as a lingua franca*, 151–164. London & New York: Routledge.
- Wang, Ying. 2019. The role of English in the internationalisation of Chinese higher education: A case study of English medium instruction in China. In Kumiko Murata (ed.), *English-medium instruction from an English as a lingua franca perspective*, 201–218. London: Routledge.
- Wang, Ying & Yang-Yu Wang. 2020 (in press). A critical review of 'English' in China's English education: How far can Chinese teachers embrace ELF? *Status Quaestionis*. Special Issue: Language contact: The case of English as a lingua franca.
- Wang, Ying, Hui Weng & Yuren Li. 2019. Language ideologies and English in Chinese primary education. *Asian Englishes*, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13488678.2019.1681719> (accessed 1 November 2019)

- Wardhaugh, Ronald & Janet Fuller. 2015. *An introduction to sociolinguistics* (7th ed.) West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Waring, Hansun Z. 2003. "Also" as a discourse marker: Its use in disjunctive and disaffiliative environments. *Discourse Studies* 5(3). 415–436.
- Warren, Carol A. B. & Johnson, John M. 1972. A critique of labelling theory from the phenomenological perspective. In Robert A. Scott & Jack D. Douglas (eds.), *Theoretical perspectives on deviance*, 69–92. New York: Basic Books.
- Wassink, Alicia Beckford & Judy Dyer. 2004. Language ideology and the transmission of phonological change: Changing indexicality in two situations of language contact. *Journal of English Linguistics* 32(1). 3–30.
- Wee, Lionel. 2013. Governing English in Singapore: Some challenges for Singapore's language policy. In Lionel Wee, Robbie B. H. Goh & Lisa Lim (eds.), *The politics of English: South Asia, Southeast Asia and the Asia Pacific*, 105–124. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Wen, Qiu Fang. 2012. English as a lingua franca: A pedagogical perspective. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 1(2). 371–376.
- Wenger, Etienne. 1998. *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Whitson, Jennifer, Eric M. Anicich, Cynthia S. Wang & Adam D. Galinsky. 2017. Navigating stigma and group conflict: Group identification as a cause and consequence of self-labelling. *Negotiation and Conflict Management Research* 10(2). 88–106.
- Wibeck, Victoria, Madeleine A. Dahlgren & Gunilla Öberg. 2007. 'Learning in focus groups: an analytical dimension for enhancing focus group research'. *Qualitative Research* 7(2). 249–267.
- Widdowson, Henry. 1994. The ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly* 28(2). 377–389.
- Widdowson, Henry. 2003. *Defining issues in English language teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wiley, Terrence G. 2002. Accessing language rights in education: A brief history of the U.S. context. In James W. Tollefson (ed.), *Language policies in education: Critical issues*, 39–64. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Wiley, Terrence G. & Marguerite Lukes. 1996. English-Only and Standard English ideologies in the U.S. *TESOL Quarterly* 30(3). 511–535.
- Wilkinson, Sue. 1998. Focus group methodology: A review. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 1(3). 181–203.
- William, S. W. 1836. Jargon spoken at Canton. *Chinese Repository* 4. 428–435.
- Willing, Carla. 2014. Discourses and discourse analysis. In Uwe Flick (ed.), *The SAGE Handbook of qualitative data analysis*, 341–353. London: SAGE.
- Wodak, Ruth. 2012. Language, power and identity. *Language Teaching* 45(2). 215–233.
- Wolfartsberger, Anita. 2011. ELF business/business ELF: form and function in simultaneous speech. In Alasdair Archibald, Alessia Cogo & Jennifer Jenkins (eds.), *Latest trends in ELF research*, 163–184. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Wolff, Hans. 1959. Intelligibility and Inter-Ethnic Attitudes. *Anthropological Linguistics* 1(3). 34–41. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30022192> (accessed 20 December 2018).
- Woolard, Kathryn A. 1998. Introduction: language ideology as a field of inquiry. In Bambi B. Schieffelin, Kathryn A. Woolard & Paul V. Kroskrity (eds.), *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*, 3–50. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Woolard, Kathryn. 2005. Language and identity choice in Catalonia: The interplay of contrasting ideologies of linguistic authority. Paper presented at the Workshop on Language Ideology and Change in Multilingual Communities. UC San Diego. <https://escholarship.org/content/qt47n938cp/qt47n938cp.pdf> (accessed 7 January 2019)
- Woolard, Kathryn & Bambi B. Schieffelin. 1994. Language ideology. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23. 55–82.
- Wortham, Stanton. 2008. Linguistic anthropology of education. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 37(1). 37–51.
- Wortham, Stanton & Angela Reyes. 2015. *Discourse analysis beyond the speech event*. New York: Routledge.
- Wright, Sue. 2004. *Language policy and language planning: From nationalism to globalisation*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Xiao, Zhonghua & Dai Guangrong. 2010. Using corpora in language pedagogy: A case study of passive constructions in Chinese learner English. *Journal of Zhejiang University (Humanities and Social Sciences)*.
- Xu, Xiuling & Jiajin Xu. 2017. An overview of the use of corpus for foreign language teaching in China. *China Foreign Language Education* 4.
- Xu, Ying. 2017. The teaching strategies of college English under the background of linguistic imperialism. *Journal of Huizhou University* 37(1). 120–124.
- Xu, Zhichang. 2008. Analysis of syntactic features of Chinese English. *Asian Englishes* 11(2). 4–31.
- Xu, Zhichang. 2010. Chinese English: A future power? In Andy Kirkpatrick (ed.), *The Routledge handbook of World Englishes*, 282–290. London & New York: Routledge.
- Xu, Zhichang, David Deterding & Deyuan He. 2018. What we know about Chinese English: Status, issues and trends. In Xu, Zhichang, Deyuan He & David Deterding (eds.), *Researching Chinese English: The state of the art*, 1–14. Switzerland: Springer.
- Xu, Zhichang & Farzad Sharifian. 2017. Unpacking cultural conceptualisations in Chinese English. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication* 27(1). 65–84.
- Xu, Zhichang & Farzad Sharifian. 2018. Cultural conceptualisations of Chinese zodiac animals in Chinese English. *World Englishes* 37. 590–606.
- Yashima, Tomoko. 2009. International posture and the ideal L2 self in the Japanese EFL context. In Zoltán Dörnyei & Ema Ushioda (eds.), *Motivation, language identify and the L2 self*, 144–163. PA: Channel View Publications.
- Ye, Weiguo. 2008. Quanqiu Yingyu jiaoxue duoyuanhua geju xia de bentuhua yishi peiyang [The sense of nativeness in the context of pluralism in global English teaching]. *Guangdong haiyang daxue xuebao [Journal of Guangdong Ocean University]* 28(2). 111–115.
- Zhang, Peicheng. 1995. Shiyong mudi yu guobie bianti [The international or intranational use of English and its national varieties]. *Xiandai waiyu [Modern Foreign Languages]* 69(3). 16–21.
- Zhao, Xiao-lin. 2009. Expression of stance in Chinese learner English: stance adverbs. *Journal of PLA University of Foreign Languages*.
- Zheng, Xin-min M. & Chris Davison. 2008. *Changing pedagogy: Analysing ELT teachers in China*. London: Continuum.
- Zheng, Yongyan. 2013. An inquiry into Chinese learners' English-learning motivational self-images: ENL learner or ELF user? *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 2(2). 341–364.
- Zhou, Minglang. 2019. *Language ideology and order in rising China*. Springer Verlag & Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan.

Index

- Agency 21, 26, 27, 29, 43, 44, 65, 67, 68, 69, 72, 82, 83, 84, 87, 95, 96, 98, 105, 106, 107, 109, 110, 115, 162, 171, 172, 184, 188, 205, 207, 210, 211, 256, 257, 262, 263, 268
- Authenticity 20, 51, 76, 91, 103, 141, 143, 257
- Authentic English 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 224, 226, 227, 233, 234, 235, 236, 240, 257
- Authority 2, 28, 51, 65, 70, 78, 81, 82, 88, 96, 97, 103, 106, 121, 134, 154, 155, 156, 160, 161, 172, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 187, 188, 196, 197, 201, 202, 204, 205, 207, 208, 209, 210, 213, 214, 232, 241, 248, 253, 254, 255, 256, 260, 261, 263, 264, 269, 270
- Authority centre 96, 172, 177, 259, 265, 269
- Boundary 10, 11, 15, 17, 18, 20, 26, 28, 31, 33, 34, 40, 53, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 73, 76, 84, 91, 95, 104, 133, 152, 155, 156, 159, 162, 164, 165, 169, 170, 171, 183, 190, 196, 213, 263, 266, 267, 269
- Chinese English as a lingua franca (ChELF) 5, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 35, 50, 54, 56, 57, 60, 61, 62, 73, 75, 79, 80, 98, 110, 111, 121, 122, 123, 125, 134, 160, 167, 168, 171, 172, 185, 187, 200, 201, 212, 213, 214, 215, 217, 257, 258, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270
- Chinese learner English 1, 5, 12, 47, 48, 50, 138, 258, 302, 311
- Chinese variety of English
- China English 5, 12, 49, 90, 120, 134, 135, 137, 138, 139, 141, 142, 157, 186, 208, 230, 233, 238, 272, 273, 278, 279, 296, 300, 301, 302, 305, 309, 311
 - Chinese English 5, 12, 13, 49, 137, 138, 173, 174, 183, 236, 237, 238, 257, 296, 307, 309, 311
- Chinglish 5, 12, 47, 49, 50, 134, 135, 137, 138, 139, 141, 142, 272, 273, 278, 279, 295, 296, 299, 300, 302
- Common sense 75, 78, 107, 121, 181, 195, 201, 202, 203, 205, 206, 213, 214
- Commonsense assumptions/beliefs 2, 6, 29, 75, 78, 201, 202, 203, 206, 214, 236, 237, 261, 264
- Community
- Community of practice (CoP) 10, 16, 34, 56, 95, 101, 156, 164, 165, 167, 172, 190, 193, 196, 200, 260, 263, 265, 266
 - Imagined community VII, 17, 35, 52, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 164, 167, 169, 170, 171, 196, 197, 198, 199, 262, 266, 267
 - Speech community 164
- Creativity 12, 15, 26, 27, 29, 35, 45, 53, 61, 68, 69, 84, 97, 110, 113, 115, 116, 118, 120, 121, 142, 143, 144, 150, 151, 156, 162, 181, 183, 185, 189, 214, 218, 248, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 260, 261
- Identity 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 21, 22, 23, 24, 28, 29, 33, 48, 49, 51, 52, 58, 60, 61, 69, 79, 82, 83, 84, 91, 93, 95, 100, 101, 107, 108, 117, 129, 134, 135, 137, 138, 152, 153, 154, 156, 160, 161, 169, 171, 172, 173, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 195, 196, 197, 199, 200, 201, 205, 206, 207, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 262, 263
- ELF identities 34, 50
- Indexicality 65, 79, 80, 81
- Orders of indexicality 17, 72, 74, 82, 84, 92, 96, 97, 107, 108
- Language attitude 50, 52, 104, 113, 204
- ELF attitudes 24, 27, 51, 100, 101, 115, 124, 193, 201
- Language awareness 30, 104, 267, 270, 296
- ELF awareness 50, 51, 52, 58, 101, 102, 103, 190, 233, 266, 267, 268, 270
- Language ideology 4, 6, 7, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 38, 42, 44, 46, 47, 50, 56, 59, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68,

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501503702-016>

- 70, 71, 73, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 89, 90, 91, 92, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 103, 104, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 120, 121, 122, 125, 126, 130, 133, 134, 136, 138, 144, 151, 158, 160, 170, 171, 172, 176, 182, 184, 188, 198, 199, 201, 202, 204, 205, 207, 214, 216, 217, 228, 256, 257, 258, 261, 262, 263, 266, 267, 268, 269
- Standard English ideology 41, 42, 60, 85, 103, 104, 108, 109
- Standard language ideology 73, 75, 76, 77, 86, 104, 106
- Language legitimacy 4, 16, 19, 61, 64, 159
 - Compromised linguistic legitimacy 30, 185, 212, 257, 259, 262, 263, 264, 270
 - Legitimacy of ELF 11, 12, 18, 22, 24, 59, 97, 99, 133, 167, 232
- Language perception 27, 114, 143, 177

- Normativity
 - Conformity to NES norms 3, 12, 162, 182, 196, 252
 - Endonormative English 28, 157, 158, 159, 259
 - Endonormative orientation 109, 156
 - Endonormativity 13, 18, 135, 136, 150, 151, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159
 - Exonormative English 28, 50, 92, 93, 151, 157, 159
 - Exonormative orientation 109, 144, 156
 - Non-conformity to NES norms 2, 3, 5, 9, 23, 24, 32, 39, 42, 43, 49, 53, 60, 61, 81, 91, 105, 113, 155, 156, 173, 188, 196, 204, 207, 209

- Power
 - Power relation 17, 19, 20, 35, 36, 41, 83, 201, 202, 203, 205, 257, 265
 - Power structure 2, 4, 17, 22, 23, 24, 29, 43, 59, 64, 69, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 79, 81, 84, 94, 96, 97, 106, 107, 115, 116, 117, 121, 122, 134, 153, 154, 159, 184, 185, 198, 199, 200, 213, 215, 217, 248, 252, 253, 256, 257, 261, 267, 269, 270

- Territoriality 59, 60
 - Deterritorialisation 59, 60, 61, 62, 96, 169
 - Deterritorialised 34, 35
 - Reterritorialisation 60