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Beyond Native-Speakerism:
Teaching and Learning Criteria in ELF Use

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the implications of English as a lingua franca (ELF) in teaching and learning criteria.

After providing an overall view on the historical development of world varieties of English, the analysis of the use of present-day English highlights that ELF has its own set of lexico-grammatical, phonological and phonetic features, which are mainly shaped by non-native speakers of the language in lingua-franca contexts of use.

However, there seems to be a gap between the current use of English and the way English is taught and learned. On the one hand, even if World Englishes (WEs) and ELF-awareness raising are theoretically assessed, textbooks for teachers and learners still seem to frame the language within native-speaking-country sociocultural values, as the analysis of recent course-books shows; on the other hand, as a result, even though ELF use privileges intelligibility over native-likeness and promotes the maintenance of non-native speakers' L1 identities, native-speaker norms imposed on the language still heavily influence ELF users and learners. These results are evident from different surveys on students' experiences as English learners, such as the one carried out for the purposes of this dissertation.

Lingua-franca English is not officially taught in the classroom, nor is it assessed by international examinations of English. Yet, it *is* being spoken, used, and modeled by non-native speakers, constrained by native-speaker English norms.

Keywords: English, lingua franca, teaching, learning, ELF, ELT.

INTRODUCTION

English *is* the twenty-first-century lingua franca: obvious as this may sound, the rise of English as a global language implies that non-native speakers have come to take possession of the native speakers' language, which they now shape according to their own needs, in lingua-franca settings.

The main purpose of this dissertation is to examine the implications of ELF use on English-language teaching and learning: firstly, the spread of English and the changes in its use over the centuries shall be outlined, along with ELF lexico-grammatical features and pronunciation peculiarities. It is only by understanding who native speakers and non-native speakers are, and how their use of the language differs, that the examination of ELF teaching and learning criteria shall begin.

The second chapter, indeed, will focus on English-language teachers and teaching methods: the native-versus-nonnative debate will be reframed in an ELF perspective, and ELF-awareness-raising methods shall be considered. An analysis of today's student course-books shall also be carried out, in order to inspect whether present-day teaching materials focus on the lingua-franca use of English.

The third, and last, chapter will explore learners' needs, goals and opinions: the pursuit of intelligibility shall be contrasted with that of native-likeness in ELF contexts of use, and the significance of maintaining ELF users' lingua-cultural identity will be addressed. Finally, the results of a survey on students' experiences and beliefs on English-language learning shall be reported: the interviews with twelve Italian undergraduates studying at Sapienza University of Rome will close the examination of ELF implications on teaching and learning criteria, by providing ELF users' perspectives on how the English language is actually being taught and learned nowadays.

CHAPTER I.

THE RISE OF ENGLISH AS A GLOBAL LANGUAGE: ITS SPREAD AND CHANGES IN USE OVER TIME

In order to understand the notable position that English holds in the twenty-first century, it is necessary to briefly recount how the language spread across countries throughout time. However, the aim of this analysis is not to accurately inspect all of the features in different English varieties – as this would probably constitute an incomplete operation for it to be included in only one short chapter of a work. Instead, the goal of this opening outline is to scrutinize the way English has spread around different areas of the world, in order to give an overall view of the various native speakers of the English language, along with some of their own distinctive linguistic features. After having provided solid references to the historical development of the language, the focus will shift to the situation of present-day English. The last part of this introductory chapter will then be dedicated to the use of this language between non-native speakers, presenting the peculiar features that characterize the English language used as a tool for global communication.

Acknowledging the difficulties of defining who a native speaker of English is, as a single definition does not fit all, will be useful when discussing the advantages - or *dis*advantages, perhaps - of being a native-speaker teacher of English, and whether one should aim for a native-speaker level of proficiency – if ever there were one - in the case of today's teachers and learners of English, respectively.

I.1 The historical and geographical diffusion

How has English come to acquire its current global status, exactly? As David Crystal clearly remarks, "… the language has always been on the move."[1] Indeed, ever since it developed in England, it firstly moved within the British Isles, landing in both Scotland and Ireland, then it eventually found its way out and reached the Americas, Asia, the Antipodes, Africa, and the South Pacific, one at a time. The spread of English in each of these areas reveals some interesting linguistic features, which vary according to different groups of native speakers.

I.1.1 North America

The journey of the English language to the Americas, according to Crystal, began with a British expedition that reached Chesapeake Bay, in the southern part of the New World, in 1607. This was the first permanent settlement and it was called Jamestown, in honor of King James I, and the area was named Virginia, after the Virgin Queen Elizabeth I. Thirteen years later, in 1620, the first group of Puritans arrived on the Mayflower: these were not able to reach Virginia due to adverse weather conditions, hence they landed at Cape Cod Bay, in the North, and established a settlement in present-day Plymouth, Massachusetts - in the area that is now called New England (see figure 1).[2]

Moreover, Crystal elsewhere points out that the colonists in the South were different from those in the North in terms of language: for instance, the former, coming from the western parts of England, would strongly pronounce the /r/ after vowels, whereas the latter, who were from counties in the eastern areas, would normally omit that sound.[3] Interestingly enough,

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[1] David Crystal, *English As A Global Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 30.

[2] Ibid., 31-3.

[3] David Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia Of The English Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 93.

speakers in New England today do not pronounce the /r/ either, although American English is generally considered to be a "rhotic" variety.

Crystal, then, continues by saying that the eighteenth century saw the rise of immigration in the New World - with people coming from all different parts of the Old Continent, and a growing number of Africans as a result of the slave trade - which continued in the next century: nonetheless, the English language served as a means of unification to the American heritage, which had been undergoing a period of cultural diversification. In the twentieth century, English became the official language of the United States of America.[4]
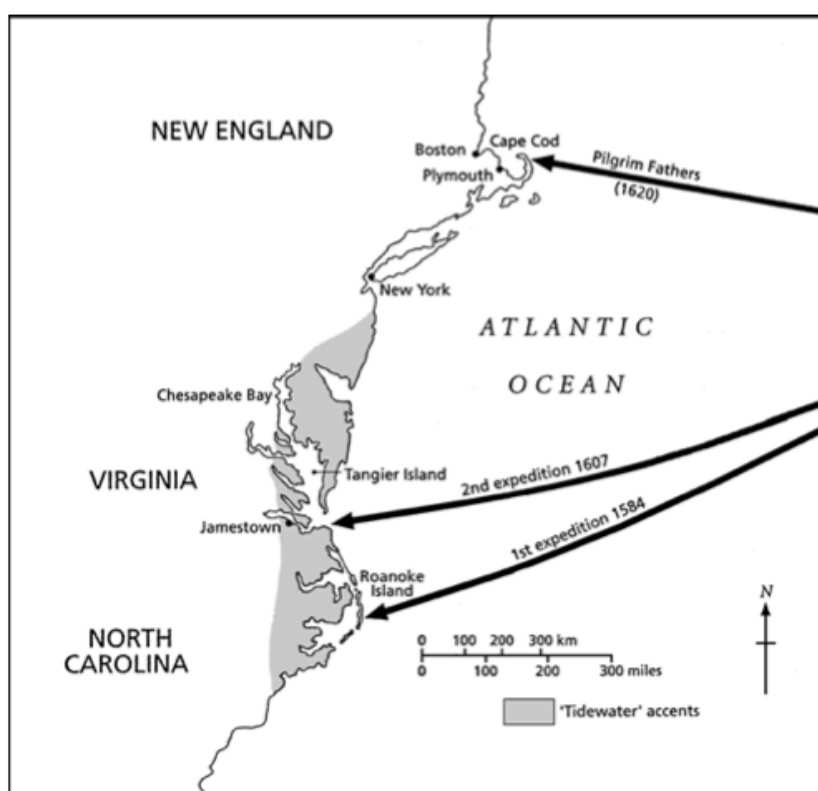
Figure 1. Early English-speaking settlement areas in America.
Source: David Crystal, *English As A Global Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 32.

As for the northern part of America, Crystal observes that the first contact between Canada and the English language was in 1497, when John

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[4] Crystal, *English Global Language*, 33-6.

Cabot, under the commission of Henry VII of England, arrived in Newfoundland. Only a century later, though, English migration developed along the Atlantic coast. Also, the initial French settlers were deported from Acadia - Nova Scotia, today - after Queen Anne's War (1702-13) and the French and Indian Wars (1754-63), and people from New England started replacing them. Moreover, with the US Declaration of Independence in 1776, loyalist supporters of Britain had to leave the new United States. The majority of them left for Canada, reaching Nova Scotia, then gradually moved inside the country (figure 2 below).[5] Hence, the origins of Canadian English explain its similarities with the variety spoken in North America in general.

Figure 2. The movement of English into Canada.
Source: David Crystal, *English As A Global Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 37.

Though Albert Baugh and Thomas Cable agree with Crystal on the undeniable American influence on Canadian English, they also argue that the

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[5] Ibid., 36-9.

latter borrows not only from American, but sometimes from British English as well: for example, words such as "chips", "serviette" and "copse" are more frequently used in the West, while the American equivalents "French fries", "napkin" and "grove" are most likely to be found in the eastern part of Canada. Lastly, they claim the existence of some words that are peculiarly Canadian, such as "salt-chuck" for "ocean", or "skookum" for "brave".[6] Thus, both in the case of American and Canadian English, a single variety defines a more complex pattern of linguistic features within itself, than might seem at first glance.

During the seventeenth century, English not only reached today's United States and Canada, but, as reported by Crystal, it also found its way into the Caribbean as a result of the slave trade (see figure 3). In fact, cheap goods from Europe started being exchanged for black slaves in the West African coast, who in turn would be swapped for commodities such as sugar, rum and molasses in the Caribbean islands and the American coasts. Finally, these ships full of products would return to England. The very first ship to arrive was full of twenty African slaves, and it reached Virginia in 1619; many were to follow. The situation on board was peculiar: in order to avoid rebellion, slaves of the same linguistic backgrounds were kept apart. As a result, various forms of communication were born by the contact between the languages the slaves spoke and the English spoken by the sailors – that is, "pidgin" languages, as they would be called today. These English pidgins continued to be used in the Caribbean, becoming the means of communication between black slaves and landowners and amongst the slaves as well. Once they started being spoken as mother tongues by the slaves' children, they turned into what one would currently call "creole" languages.[7]

[6] Albert C. Baugh and Thomas Cable, *A History Of The English Language* (London: Routledge, 2002), 312.
[7] Ibid., 39-40.

Figure 3. The English-speaking Caribbean.
Source: David Crystal, *English As A Global Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 38.

Baugh and Cable, too, analyze the linguistic situation in the Caribbean islands, stating that for most of the Anglophone Caribbean, including Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, the Leeward Islands and the Windward Islands, the languages which influenced today's different English varieties most are those of the west coast of Africa. For instance, final syllables in Jamaican creole frequently have rising tone, reflecting the West African tone language spoken by the slaves, together with many words that can clearly be traced to African languages.[8]

I.1.2 Australia and New Zealand

In the following century, English entered Australia and New Zealand (figure 4 below). Indeed, Crystal mentions that the first interaction between the language and the Southern Hemisphere was in 1770, when James Cook

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[8] Baugh and Cable, *History English Language*, 309-11.

arrived in Australia. Britain established its first penal colony in Sydney in 1788, and a high increase in immigration has followed ever since, with nearly 19 million people populating Australia in 2002. Settlers coming from the British Isles, hence, were the first to influence the English spoken in Australia. Prisoners mainly came from London and Ireland, thus traces of the London Cockney accent or the Irish brogue characterize Australian English speech patterns. Not only did British and Irish features influence the English spoken in Australia, but American ones did too, due to the arrival of different US immigrant groups over the last few decades. As for New Zealand, settlers started to arrive in the 1790s, with the first official colony being established only in 1840, following the Treaty of Waitangi between the Maori and the British. Therefore, New Zealand has a stronger historical relationship with Britain, which explains some of the similarities between the varieties found in both of these places. Moreover, the concern to recognize the rights of the Maori people is the main reason why Maori words can be found in New Zealand English today.[9]

Additionally, Crystal stresses the fact that a major issue in Australian social history has been the question of identity: the struggle between preserving British cultural values and promoting Australian independence carried over into the patterns of present-day usage of English.[10]

Along the same line of thought, Baugh and Cable comment on the striking differences in lexicon and pronunciation of Australian English from that of England. Some of these differences can sometimes be the cause of misunderstanding between Australians and speakers of other national varieties: for example, the Australians pronounce the word "hay" similarly to how the Americans pronounce the word "high", "basin" as "bison", and

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[9] Crystal, *English Global Language*, 40-3.
[10] Crystal, *Cambridge Encyclopedia English*, 98.

others.[11] Australian English pronunciation was mainly influenced by lower-class dialects of the southeastern part of England, which spread across Australia as convicts were moved from place to place; hence, traces of the southeastern influence can be found in the Australian variety of English today, and Baugh and Cable conclude that "[t]he English of Australia offers an interesting example of the changes that take place in a language transplanted to a remote and totally different environment."[12]
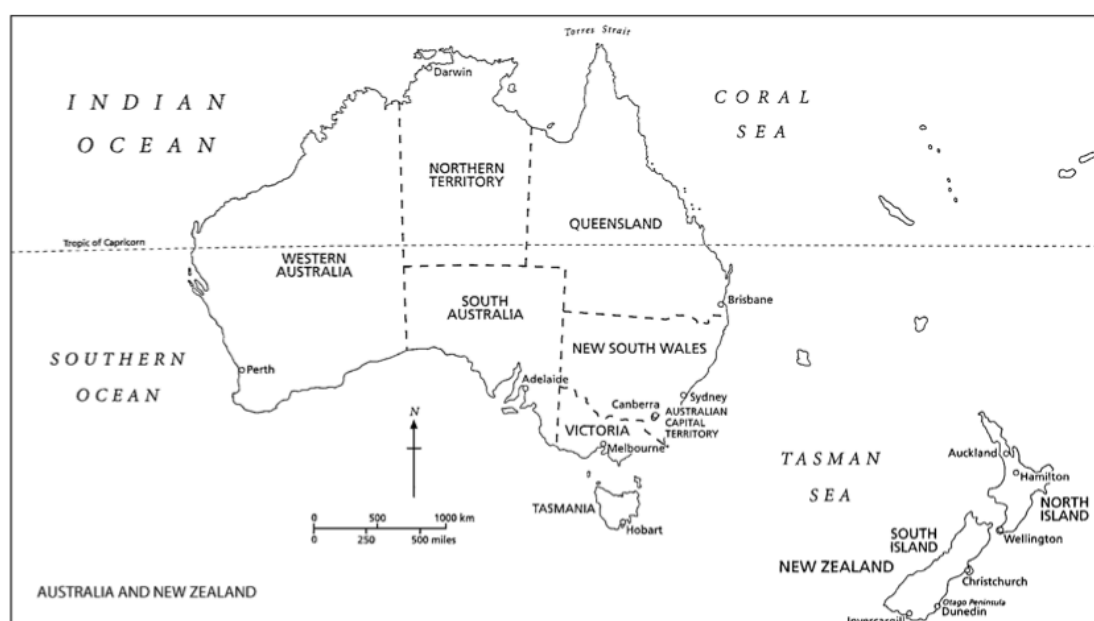
Figure 4. Australia and New Zealand.
Source: David Crystal, *English As A Global Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 42.

I.1.3 Africa

The history of the spread of English, then, continued with the invasion of South Africa at the time of the Napoleonic Wars (see figure 5). As Crystal states, the British settled in the eastern Cape in 1820, with English being recognized as official language in 1822: it became the language of law, education and other aspects of public life. Later British settlements were in Natal, during the 1840s and 1850s, and half a million immigrants reached the

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[11] Baugh and Cable, *History English Language*, 301.
[12] Ibid., 302.

country by the end of the nineteenth century, the majority of whom spoke English. Hence, different varieties of English were spoken in the region: the speech of the London area could be recognized in the Cape, whereas the English spoken in Natal was highly influenced by Midlands and northern British speech. Also, a peculiar variety of English started to be spoken by the black population, and later came to be known as African English; those with an ethnically mixed background began to use English, together with Afrikaans and other languages. Moreover, Indians arriving in the country in 1860 started using English as well. In the South African apartheid society, Afrikaans was perceived as the language of authority and repression, whereas English was the chance to achieve an international voice bonding different black communities together. However, English is also being used as the key to global communication today: many Afrikaners have a fluent command of a British-resembling variety of English, together with Afrikaans, as a result of the struggle to hold on to Afrikaans national and ethnic identity against opposition. Nowadays, eleven languages are named as official – including English and Afrikaans – though enthusiasm for the English language is growing stronger amongst the population of South Africa.[13]

Besides, as described by Baugh and Cable, the English spoken by South Africans has strongly been influenced by Dutch and Afrikaans – the latter being the evolution of the former in the African context, for South Africa had been occupied by groups of different people before the arrival of the British. Indeed, many Afrikanerisms are common in South African English, though they are probably unknown to other native speakers (for instance, words such as "lekker" for "nice", "ou" for "guy" and others). Afrikaans also influences pronunciation: indeed, one can find the modification of certain vowels (for example, [e] for "i" in words such as

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[13] Crystal, *English Global Language*, 43-6.

"pin") and the tendency to leave out one or more consonants at the end of a word (such as "tex" for "text"). Furthermore, similarly to what happens in American English, speakers in South Africa tend to pronounce the /r/ when it is present, and give full value to unaccented syllables.[14]

Figure 5. South Africa and adjacent countries.
Source: David Crystal, *English As A Global Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 44.

Instead, with regard to the spread of English in other parts of Africa, Crystal attests that the language started being used in different British settlements on the West African coast during the end of the fifteenth century (figure 6 below). With the increase in commerce and anti-slave-trade activities, then, the language gradually reached the entire coast, at the beginning of the nineteenth century. English encountered hundreds of local languages; hence, the rise of several English-based pidgins and creoles is a particular feature of the region. Five countries developed British varieties of English (Sierra Leone, Ghana, Gambia, Nigeria, Cameroon), all of which recognize English as their official language. The American Colonization

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[14] Baugh and Cable, *History English Language*, 302.

Society, instead, founded Liberia in 1822, and the constitution adopted in 1847 was based on that of the USA, with links to US African-American English that can still be found today.[15]

Figure 6. The countries of West Africa.
Source: David Crystal, *English As A Global Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 50.

On the other hand, Crystal remarks that the eastern part of Africa was only explored in the 1850s, with the expeditions led by Richard Burton, David Livingstone and John Speke. In 1888, the Imperial British East African Company was founded and English was recognized as official language in different states when they eventually obtained independence from the British - such as Botswana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Namibia, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe (see figure 7).[16]

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[15] Crystal, *English Global Language*, 49-52.
[16] Ibid., 52-54.

Figure 7. The countries of East and Southern Africa.
Source: David Crystal, *English As A Global Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 55.

As Crystal further highlights, the English varieties which developed in East Africa are largely different from the ones found in West Africa: in fact, the British model was introduced in eastern schools, with a wide range of mother-tongue English varieties as a result – more closely related to the English spoken in South Africa or Australia, rather than the one in Nigeria or Ghana.[17]

Moreover, as Baugh and Cable claim, not only is it difficult to determine the official language of some of the western nations that prefer not to declare an official language and continue to use English with one or more

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[17] Ibid., 54.

of the African languages, but it is even more complicated to deal with the question of a "standard" West African variety[18]:

> […] West African English is remarkable for its varieties. With as yet no identifiable West African standard, graders of examinations often have difficulty drawing the line between an incorrect answer and a local variant. Such practicalities illustrate the larger philosophical problem of correctness and acceptability in varieties of English that diverge markedly from the international Standard English of educated speakers in Great Britain, the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and many speakers in the West African countries.[19]

I.1.4 Asia

Another area where English took hold is South Asia (see figure 8). In fact, Crystal highlights that the first contact between English and India dates back to the 1600s, when the British East India Company was founded by a group of London merchants under the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. Then, from the British sovereignty period, which started in 1765, until independence in 1947, English gradually spread throughout the subcontinent. In 1835, English was introduced in the Indian educational system, and it later became the primary medium of instruction in the Universities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras in 1857. Due to the existence of Hindi and other regional languages, English is currently recognized as an associate official language, with Hindi being the primary one.[20]

Moreover, as Baugh and Cable point out, there are certain features of the Indian languages that carry over into the English spoken in India, such as the fact that Hindi speakers pronounce words beginning with "sk-" "st-" and "sp-" with an initial vowel, for their native language does not allow those

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[18] Baugh and Cable, *History English Language*, 304.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Crystal, *English Global Language*, 46-9.

sounds to be at the beginning of words.[21] Regardless of the differences, the number of English speakers in India is impressive: Crystal adds that, statistically, India ranks third in the world today, after the USA and the UK.[22]

Figure 8. The countries where South Asian English is spoken.
Source: David Crystal, *English As A Global Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 48.

Lastly, the spread of the English language reached South-east Asia and the South Pacific (figure 9 below). Indeed, as Crystal remarks, both American and British varieties of English are present in the South Pacific area. The Americans received the island of Guam and sovereignty over the Philippines after the Spanish-American War of 1898. In 1946, the Philippines became

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[21] Baugh and Cable, *History English Language*, 306-7.
[22] Crystal, *Cambridge Encyclopedia English*, 101.

independent, though the US dominance left its mark on the English spoken in that area. Instead, the British invasion in South-East Asia began with Captain Cook's journeys in the 1770s: the first British colonies were established in Penang (1786), Singapore (1819) and Malacca (1824). Territories such as Hong Kong Island and Kowloon were also added to Britain in 1842 and 1860, respectively. Many areas in the region became British protectorates during the end of the nineteenth century. Rapidly, English came to be used in the Asian academic, professional and literary world.[23]

Figure 9. The location of territories in South-east Asia and the South Pacific. Source: David Crystal, *English As A Global Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 58.

However, Crystal remarks that there is no South-east Asian English variety to date, for the political histories of Singapore and Malaysia, after independence, have been highly divergent.[24]

Indeed, Baugh and Cable analyze the history of the English language in these areas as well: with the recognition of Bahasa Malay as official

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[23] Crystal, *English Global Language*, 54-9.
[24] Ibid., 59.

language in Malaysia, the use of English declined; on the other hand, English remained as one of the four official languages in Singapore, where it has been used as a medium for law, trade and within academia. Interestingly enough, some features of English in Malaysia and Singapore are similar to those found in African American English in the USA: for instance, the lack of an ending to mark the third person singular present tense of the verb, and the omission of "be" both as a copula and auxiliary.[25] Last but not least, Baugh and Cable affirm that the linguistic situation in Hong Kong is peculiar as well. In fact, English and Chinese have joint official status in Hong Kong, though the latter is prominently used, while English is limited to administration, law, business and the media – contrary to what happens in Singapore, where English is often used within the Chinese community itself.[26]

Overall, the peculiarities of pronunciation and vocabulary, which resulted from the adaptation of the language of England to the new environments wherein it spread, provide a way to determine areal varieties from that of the mother country and from one another. However, it is of the utmost significance to note that these are characteristics pertaining to native speakers of the same language, which could result in potential barriers to communication, not only with non-native speakers, but amongst native ones as well. If there are so many varieties of the English language, what is it, then, that makes a difference between a native and non-native teacher? Also, what are the features of a language with such a wide range of varieties that a learner should focus on more than others? Before exploring such multifaceted issues, the current use of English has to be presented – for it allows a thorough understanding of what teachers and learners must manage.

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[25] Baugh and Cable, *History English Language*, 308-9.
[26] Ibid., 309.

I.2 Present-day English

As argued in the previous paragraphs, the English language reached almost every continent in the world throughout the centuries. The main reasons for its spread are summed up by Crystal, who argues that today's English world-wide prominent position is a result of both the expansion of the British colonial domains during the end of the nineteenth century, and the emergence of the US as the leading economic power in the following century.[27]

Nevertheless, people in the areas where English is recognized as a first language are not the only ones who use it. So, who are the actual users of English nowadays?

I.2.1 ENL, ESL, EFL

Today's users of the English language are usefully divided into three groups, as Jennifer Jenkins remarks, following Braj B. Kachru's three-circle model of English. Even though sometimes it can be hard to assign a speaker to one of them exclusively, this division turns out to be convenient when approaching the currently intricate situation. Indeed, she speaks of:

• users of English as "a Native Language" (ENL), who were born and raised in the United Kingdom, United States of America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, as English is the first language to be adopted in these places;

• users of English as "a Second Language" (ESL), who are the speakers in areas such as India, Bangladesh, Nigeria and Singapore, where British colonizers once settled;

• users of English as "a Foreign Language" (EFL), who represent learners and, subsequently, speakers of the language in countries where English is not recognized officially. Indeed, EFL users' main goal is to

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[27] Crystal, *English Global Language,* 59.

communicate with English native speakers, though it more recently has evolved into connecting with further non-native ones. What Jenkins clearly points out, is that while the number of ENL and ESL speakers is on average 350 million, EFL users are far more difficult to estimate. Indeed, which level of proficiency should be used for them to be calculated? On a much questionable "reasonable competence" standard, they would number circa one billion.[28]

However, the lines encircling these three groups of speakers soon begin to blur: for example, as already discussed, even the speech of a single country where English is the official language has a range of features that varies from one area to the other. More than that, it has briefly been shown that English differs from one country to the other, even if it is recognized as a first language in each; nor is the existence of the already-mentioned pidgins and creoles taken into account according to this division. Finally, the implicit fallacy in grouping EFL users together relies on the very fact that the use of English they make has been changing over the years, and may also change from one speaker to the next: this specific usage is going to be at the heart of the debate in the next chapters.

I.2.2 Spreading Models

Many linguists have represented the continuous spread of English graphically.

One of the oldest models to be developed is Peter Strevens' (see figure 10). That of Strevens is a world-map model, which dates back to 1980, where a family tree of English is drawn: indeed, he wants to emphasize the relation

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[28] Jennifer Jenkins, "Who Speaks English Today?," *World Englishes. A Resource Book for Students* (London: Routledge, 2003), 14-5.

amongst all of the different varieties of the language, which are a result of the initial separation between British and American English.[29]
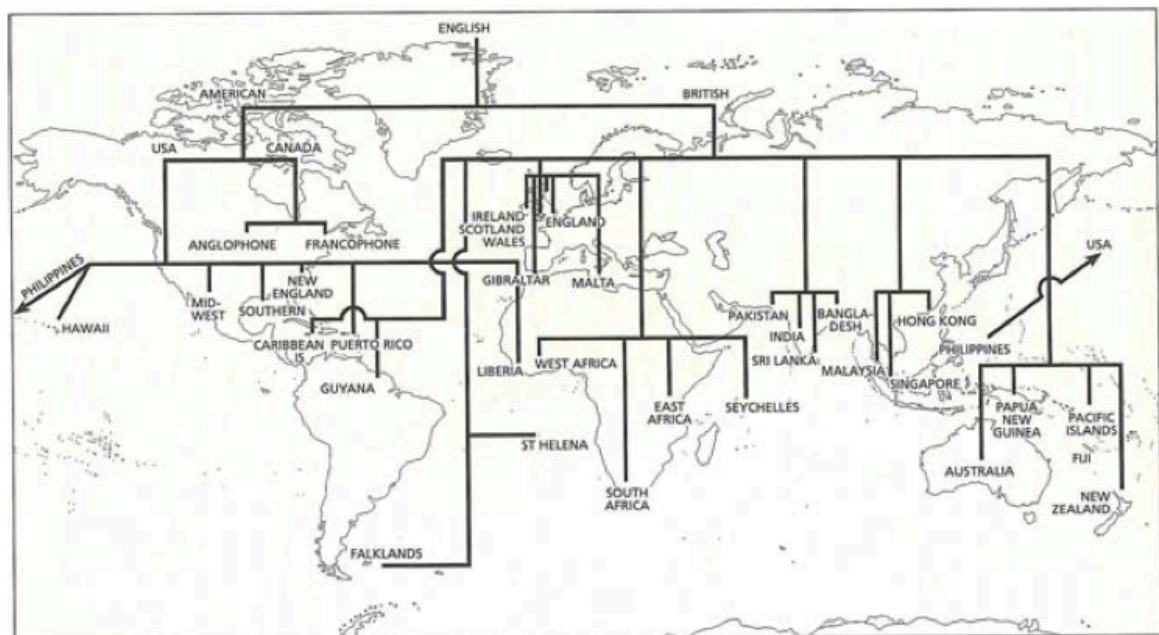
Figure 10. The influence of American and British English on all subsequent varieties, according to Strevens' world map of English in 1980.
Source: Braj B. Kachru, *The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992, 33.

However, Strevens' representation is exclusively based on the geographical diffusion of the language following the expansion of British colonial power, which has already been discussed; it only outlines the relation between one variety and the other, graphically connected with the use of branches.

A few years later, in 1987, Tom McArthur provides his own model of English varieties (figure 11 below). He highlights the centrality of what he calls "World Standard English" (WSE), which is not easily detectable today, by representing a circle where WSE is in the middle, and both standard and standardizing forms of English are placed around it.

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[29] Peter Strevens "English as an International Language," in *The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures*, ed. Braj B. Kachru (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 33.
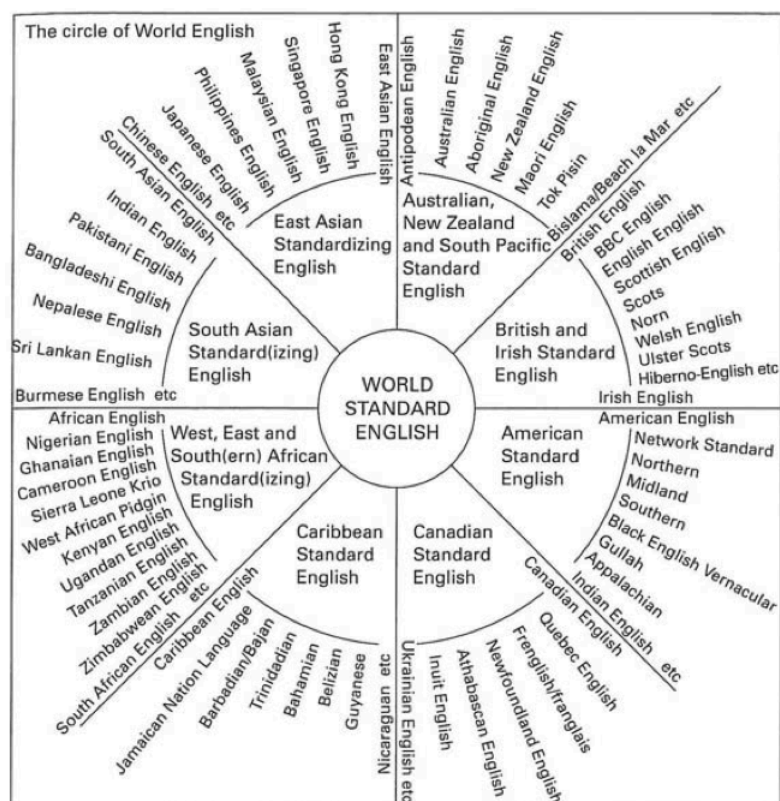
Figure 11. McArthur's circle of World English.
Source: David Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia Of The English Language*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, 111.

Jenkins comments on the similarities between McArthur's model and that of another linguist, Manfred Görlach, by saying that the latter places at the center of his representation a not-so-clearly identifiable "International English" core, which resembles McArthur's World Standard English inner circle.[30] Similarly to Strevens', in both McArthur's and Görlach's models the use of English is not shown, only its geo-historical diffusion and subsequent varieties are.

The first illustration of the English situation with reference to its use is Braj B. Kachru's (see figure 12). He argues that worldwide English can be divided into three circles: the Inner, the Outer and the Expanding Circles. Countries where English is used as a first language are included in the Inner Circle, whereas those where English is adopted as a second language belong

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[30] Jenkins, "Who Speaks English", 19-20.

to the Outer Circle; as for the Expanding one, it contains the areas of the world where English is learned and used as a foreign language. As a result, ENL countries are "norm-providing", meaning that they determine standards, together with ESL "norm-developing" ones, which will have to be adopted by EFL countries, considered to be "norm-dependent".[31]

Kachru's representation of English is very much in accordance with the ENL, ESL and EFL division, as already remarked, though it also shares its limits. Beyond what has been pointed out in relation to the three-group division already, Jenkins correctly notes that "[t]he fact that English is somebody's second or third language does not of itself imply that their competence is less than that of a native speaker."[32] Indeed, an EFL speaker may be a highly competent user of English, though it would not be shown by Kachru's model itself.
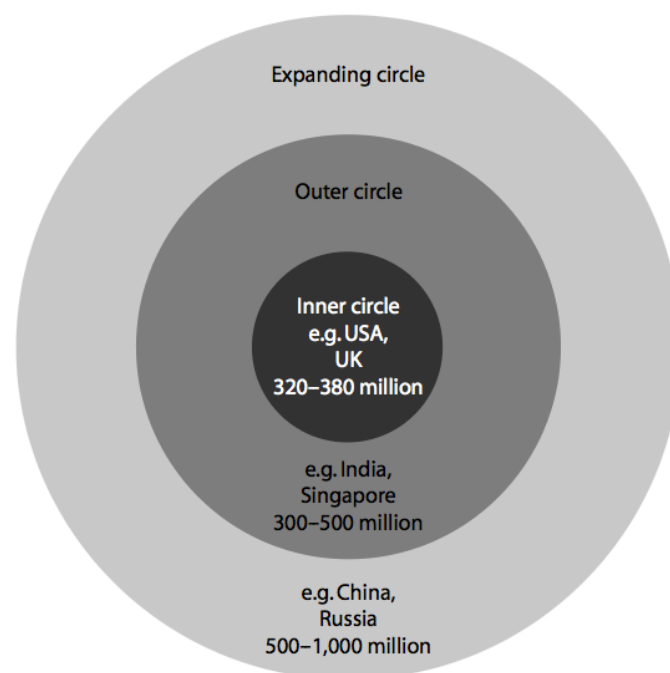
Figure 12. Kachru's three concentric circles of English, with estimates of speaker numbers according to Crystal.
Source: David Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia Of The English Language*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, 107.

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[31] Braj B. Kachru, *The Other Tongue* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 356.
[32] Jenkins, "Who Speaks English", 17.

The models of English that have been reported so far all include references to the geo-historical expansion of the language to a greater or lesser extent. The first model to break with this sort of tradition, as Jenkins notices, is Mark Modiano's, at the end of the twentieth century: the first of the two models he presents focuses on what can commonly be understood by both native and non-native speakers of English (figure 13 below).[33]
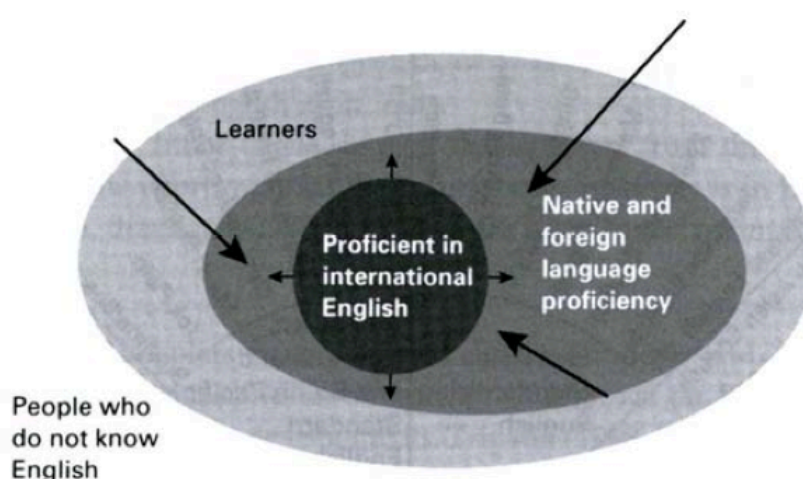
Figure 13. Modiano's centripetal circles of international English.
Source: Jennifer Jenkins, "Who Speaks English Today?," in *World Englishes. A Resource Book for Students* (London: Routledge, 2003), 20.

Modiano's representation consists of three centripetal circles: the inner one is where he places users proficient in international English - provided that they do not have a strong regional accent, for it would result in communicational difficulties; next comes the circle that includes users of English as a first (L1) or second language (L2); the third band is made up of general learners of English, who are not yet proficient; lastly, outside the model, are those who do not know any English.

According to Modiano, users' proficiency and the use of English as an international language are more relevant than any other feature in order to

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[33] Jenkins, "Who Speaks English", 20.

describe the present-day situation. However, his first model is not exempt from criticism: for instance, Jenkins later questions the boundary between a strong and non-strong regional accent. If a speaker were to have a strong one, he or she would be placed in the second circle, thus automatically implying their non-proficiency in international English. Also, she asks, "[…] given that international English is not defined, what does it mean to be proficient in 'international English' other than the rather vague notion of communicating well?"[34]

In order to respond to this sort of critique, Modiano takes an even more comprehensive approach, as he creates a second model based on a core of English features that recur in different varieties of the language (see figure 14).
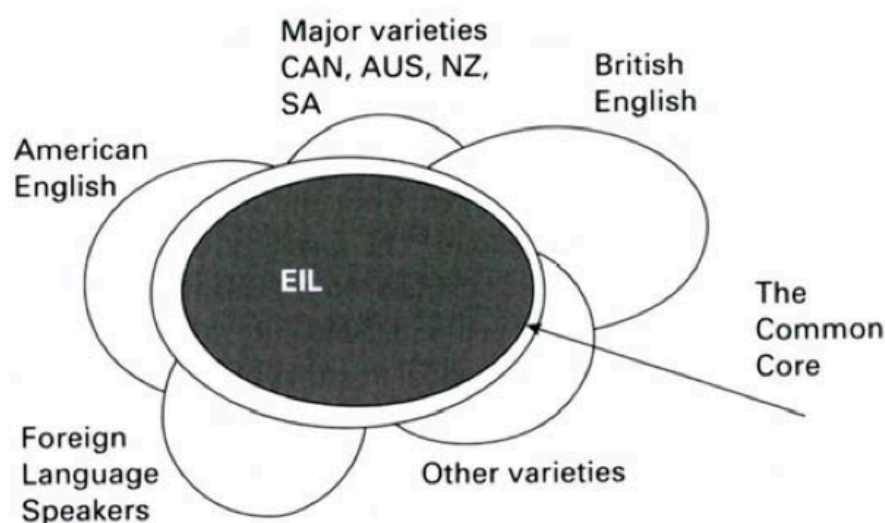
Figure 14. Modiano's second model of international English.
Source: Marko Modiano, "Standard English(es) and educational practices for the world's lingua franca" *English Today* 15, no. 4 (1999), 10.

The inner circle of Modiano's updated representation consists of a common core, which he names "English as an International Language" (EIL). This type of English can be understood by a great part of native and

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[34] Jenkins, "Who Speaks English", 21.

proficient non-native speakers of the language. The second circle, then, comprises those features of English that may eventually be shared internationally or, on the other hand, become unknown in time. Finally, he places five outer petals, each of which correspond to a group of speakers with their own peculiar features (American English, British English, major varieties, other varieties, and Foreign Language Speakers), which may not be fully understood by users belonging to other groups.

Nonetheless, Jenkins also criticizes this second model, affirming that by grouping native speakers of English with competent non-natives, Modiano implies that all native speakers are competent users of the language. Moreover, she believes it is hard to operate a distinction between core and non-core features, and between "major" and "other" varieties.[35]

Regardless of the questionable points in Modiano's model, his argument is significant: his ideal standard of spoken English (for the written form of the language has been standardized to some extent) is increasingly diversified around the world. This is the reason why he does not believe speakers with strong regional accents can be included in his questionable notion of Standard English:

> Standard English, as a spoken standard, must by definition only include forms of the language which are comprehensible to competent speakers of the language worldwide. Native speakers who speak with strong regional accents (and certainly dialects) are not, in my definition, speakers of Standard English. […] The designation 'standard English' should be rooted in the communicative value of language […].[36]

Hence, Modiano's model not only breaks with those concerned with the geo-historical expansion of English (such as Strevens', McArthur's and Görlach's),

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[35] Jenkins, "Who Speaks English", 21.
[36] Marko Modiano, "Standard English(es) and educational practices for the world's lingua franca," *English Today* 15, no. 4 (1999), 10. *Publisher Provided Full Text Searching File*, EBSCO*host* (accessed May 1, 2016).

but it also provides an inner circle focused more on the international use of the language, rather than on the use of English in countries where it is recognized as the official language (such as in Kachru's).

More recently, Jan Svartvik and Geoffrey N. Leech, too, have illustrated the importance of English as a means of international communication in their tri-dimensional model of world English (figure 15 below).
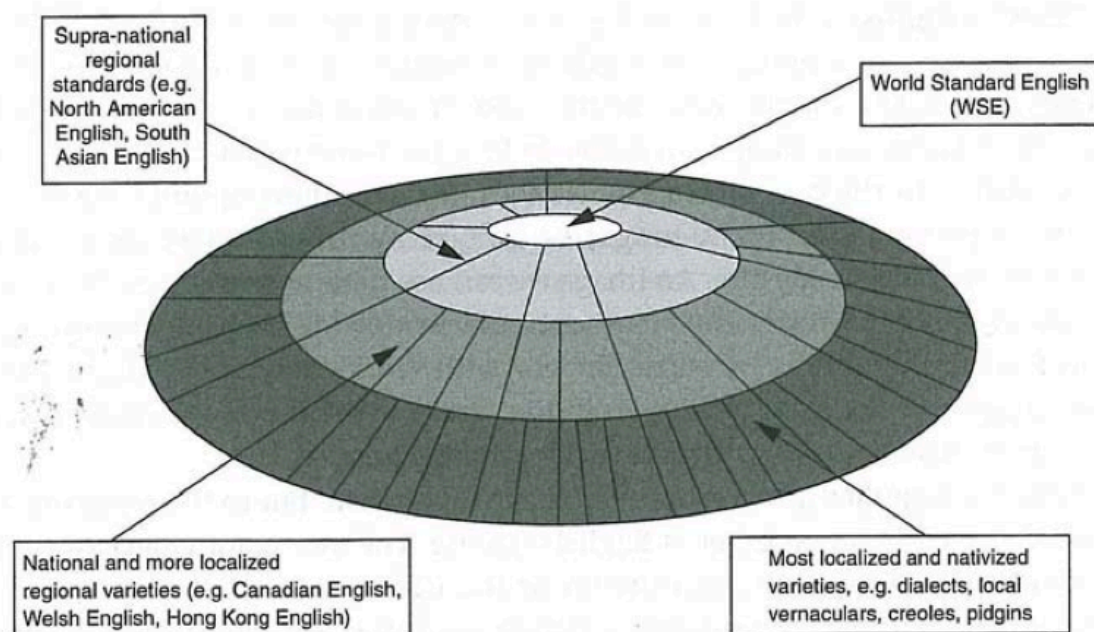
Figure 15. Jan Svartvik and Geoffrey N. Leech's model of world English.
Source: Jan Svartvik and Geoffrey N. Leech, *English: One Tongue, Many Voices* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 226.

Borrowing from McArthur's model, Svartvik and Leech place World Standard English (WSE) at the center of their representation. However, the inner circle they draft is not as big as McArthur's, for the majority of feature variation happens within the other circles, where they place supra-national regional standards, national and more localized regional varieties, and the most localized and nativized varieties. In opposition, WSE is perceived as a

language with no native speakers, used only as a means of international and intercultural communication. The two linguists take Modiano's separation from Kachru's inner circle even further as they do not place ENL users in the middle, but around it. Indeed, they do not think of ENL countries as "norm-providing" anymore, as Kachru did, because of the rise of English as a global language:

> […] as English becomes a global language, the differences between the circles are getting less clear, and also less important. At the same time, the native-speaking communities of the Inner Circle countries are arguably beginning to lose their status as the normative models for learning English around the world. So WSE […] cannot be identified with any native speaker variety.[37]

All in all, it has been shown how users of the English language are normally identified. Also, various graphic representations of present-day English around the world have been provided. Necessarily, one must notice that it is hard to come up with a flawless definition of who English speakers are today and how they differ from one another. However, what the spreading models of the language clearly suggest is that non-native speakers are now largely using English as a tool for global communication. Furthermore, the focus has shifted drastically from describing how a native speaker used to set norms upon the language, to how this is now a non-native speaker's task. Indeed, English as a global language has its own set of features, which are peculiarly distinct from those pertaining to one variety of the language or the other, and must hence be analyzed carefully in order to present what teaching and learning English in the twenty-first century should be concerned with.

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[37] Jan Svartvik and Geoffrey N. Leech, *English: One Tongue, Many Voices* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 225-6.

I.3 English as a lingua franca (ELF): the global communication tool

As a result of the spread of English throughout space and time, this language has come to be used by an ever-increasing number of people coming from various linguistic backgrounds. The impact that users have on a language is profound: Joseph A. Foley remarks that "[l]anguage changes with the people that use it. For the first time in history, a language has reached truly global dimensions and is being shaped in its international uses, at least as much by its non-native speakers as by its native-speakers."[38]

Hence, what needs to be outlined now is how the language has and is being changed by its global native and, most importantly, non-native speakers.[39] Defining and characterizing English for what it is today will open up a new scenario with theoretical and practical implications for English language teaching and learning, which will be explored in chapters two and three.

I.3.1 Definitions

The rise of English as a global language is a phenomenon that linguists describe using a wide range of terms, which are not always unambiguous. Indeed, David Graddol affirms that "[g]lobal English has led to a crisis of terminology."[40]

The English used as a tool for global communication is commonly referred to as "English as a lingua franca" (ELF). But what, exactly, is a lingua franca? Juliane House comments on its authentic meaning, which proves to be far from what ELF is today:

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[38]Joseph A. Foley, "English as a Global Language: My Two Satangs' Worth," *RELC Journal* 38, no. 1 (April 2007), 13. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCO*host* (accessed February 29, 2016).

[39] Approximately one out of four users of English in the world is a native speaker. See. Crystal, *English Global Language*, 69.

[40] David Graddol, *English Next* (London: British Council, 2006), 110.

In its original meaning, a *lingua franca* – the term comes from Arabic 'lisan-al-farang' - was simply an intermediary language used by speakers of Arabic with travelers from Western Europe. Its meaning was later extended to describe a language of commerce, a rather stable variety with little room for individual variation. This meaning is clearly not applicable to today's global English, whose major characteristics are its functional flexibility and its spread across many different domains.[41]

Specifically, the English used as a lingua franca is different from what was meant by the Arabic term originally, for it serves many more functions "among speakers who come from different linguacultural backgrounds", as Jenkins notes.[42] Barbara Seidlhofer, too, believes that the very fact that ELF users share neither the same L1, nor the same culture, is what makes this language "[…] a vibrant, powerful, and versatile shared resource that enables communication across linguistic and geographic boundaries."[43]

It follows that English as a lingua franca should be considered as a part of the much wider field of World Englishes (WEs), which, at least in Jenkins' opinion, includes all of the different local varieties of English that can be found in Kachru's Inner, Outer and Expanding circles without any distinction.[44] By acknowledging that ELF is a part of WEs, the former language acquires its own independence from all other varieties constituting the latter.

What both Jenkins and Seidlhofer agree on, is that English as a lingua franca is far from being "monolithic" or "monocentric": for instance, Jenkins asserts that the "monomodels" *par excellence* are British and American English

[41] Juliane House, "English as a global lingua franca: A threat to multilingual communication and translation?," *Language Teaching* 47, no. 3 (July 2014), 557. *Publisher Provided Full Text Searching File*, EBSCO*host* (accessed February 29, 2016). Emphasis in the original.

[42] Jennifer Jenkins, "English as a lingua franca: interpretations and attitudes," *World Englishes* 28, no. 2 (June 2009), 200. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCO*host* (accessed March 2, 2016).

[43] Barbara Seidlhofer, "Common ground and different realities: world Englishes and English as a lingua franca," *World Englishes* 28, no. 2 (June 2009): 242. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCO*host* (accessed March 3, 2016).

[44] Jennifer Jenkins, "English interpretations attitudes", 200.

varieties, along with their standard accents – respectively, Received Pronounciation (RP) and General American (GA). [45] Seidlhofer, indeed, believes that both of these, and all native-speaker varieties in general, should be kept apart from lingua franca English, due to their irrelevance. [46] By definition, ELF is characterized by a plethora of features (especially in pronunciation), which are often condemned as being wrong according to ENL standards only. Jenkins argues that ELF should be separated from different forms of ENL, and from EFL as well – that is, "English as a foreign language" – for they serve two different functions: indeed, the latter involves communication with English native speakers, whereas the former does not.[47] To put it in Seidlhofer's words:

> […] [I]t is highly problematic to discuss aspects of global English, however critically, while at the same time passing native speaker judgments as to what is appropriate usage in ELF contexts. […] 'English' does not simply transfer intact from one context to another – the 'E' in *English as a Native Language* is bound to be something very different from the 'E' in *English as a Lingua Franca*, and must be acknowledged as such.[48]

Instead, other linguists, such as Modiano, argue that such a view of ELF tends to be "exclusive", in the sense that it precludes native speakers from taking part in the interactions and development of the language, whereas a lingua franca should *per se* be "inclusive".[49] In fact, Modiano replies to Jenkins' and Seidlhofer's remarks by saying that the categories they are suggesting are not so different from the ones which frame English-language use in Kachruvian circles: he argues that outlining the use of English amongst

[45] Jennifer Jenkins, "English interpretations attitudes", 202.

[46] Barbara Seidlhofer, "Closing a conceptual gap: the case for a description of English as a lingua franca," *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 11, no. 2 (2001): 138.

[47] Jennifer Jenkins, "English interpretations attitudes", 202-3.

[48] Barbara Seidlhofer, "Closing conceptual gap", 137-8. Emphasis in the original.

[49] Marko Modiano, "Inclusive/exclusive? English as a lingua franca in the European Union," *World Englishes* 28, no. 2 (June 2009), 208-23. *Academic Search Complete* (accessed March 3, 2016).

L2 users of the language could be seen as means for discrimination of L1 users if it were employed in the development of a new "norm-providing" circle.[50] These are the reasons why Modiano opts for another idea of English as a lingua franca:

> *A lingua franca is a language which has considerable utility in multicultural settings, among people with differing linguistic profiles.* This sense of 'inclusion' promotes situational adaptation across the three circles. It is an alternative to native-speakerism. But it is also a reaction to theoretical thinking which envisions the language exclusively in L2 contexts.[51]

As for the role of the native speaker, its (*ir-*)relevance(?) in ELF teaching shall be extensively discussed in the following chapter.

However, considering English as a lingua franca as a variety on its own is an operation that should be avoided, as far as other language researchers are concerned. One of them is Margie Berns, who points out that ELF refers to the function of a language, thus being independent from the forms it takes.[52] Indeed, she argues that "form follows function" - borrowing the expression from architecture and design talk – by stating that ELF forms are something specific to a certain context, for they are negotiated amongst some ELF users only in a particular time and place. For instance, a report of an ELF conversation would only show how a "[…] particular group came to terms with negotiating meaning in a particular situation for a particular audience and with a particular goal in mind."[53] That is to say, other users of the language, in a different context, may or may not use the same forms of language, but they certainly would use English as a lingua franca – hence, the same function of language.

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[50] Ibid., 212.
[51] Ibid. Emphasis in the original.
[52] Margie Berns, "English as lingua franca and English in Europe," *World Englishes* 28, no. 2 (June 2009), 192. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCO*host* (accessed March 1, 2016).
[53] Ibid, 197.

Along the same line of thought, Vladimir M. Smokotin, Anna S. Alekseyenko, and Galina I. Petrova take Berns' approach to ELF function-over-form debate even further, stating that focusing on the peculiarities of grammatical, lexical and phonetic forms of English as a lingua franca is not useful, for its function is what matters the most.[54] In fact, Smokotin et al. claim that "ELF, unlike major national standards of English, is not used for expressing one's national or ethnic identity, and it is culturally neutral."[55]

Yet, it is a matter of fact that ELF users do express their own, peculiar identities through the use of English as a lingua franca, and it is due to this evidence that a more in-depth look at ELF interactions could prove to be helpful in the process of accepting the concept of ELF as a "legitimate alternative" to ENL, according to Seidlhofer.[56] Moreover, the linguist claims that analysis of not only features of ELF, but also an investigation on their underlying significance, show how ELF users "[…] find ways of exploiting and exploring the meaning potential of the language as a communicative resource, and realize (in both senses of the word) the significance of the forms they use, their relative functional usefulness."[57] In this sense, form and function are not two separate things, but work together as one.

I.3.2 Characteristics

The study of English language use has been conducted in different ways. One of them is through the use of a *corpus*, which is "[…] a large and principled collection of natural texts"[58]. Corpus linguistics scrutinizes the way people use the language, by investigating the speech of English users. Different

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[54] Vladimir M. Smokotin, Anna S. Alekseyenko, and Galina I. Petrova, "The Phenomenon of Linguistic Globalization: English as the Global Lingua Franca (EGLF)," *Procedia - Social And Behavioral Sciences* 154 (2014): 511. *ScienceDirect, EBSCOhost* (accessed March 1, 2016).

[55] Ibid.

[56] Barbara Seidlhofer, "Common ground and different realities", 239.

[57] Ibid., 241.

[58] Douglas Biber, Susan Conrad, and Randi Reppen, *Corpus linguistics: Investigating language structure and use* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 12.

corpora have been compiled throughout the years, such as the International Corpus of English (ICE), the British National Corpus (BNC), and the American National Corpus (ANC), to name a few.

As for the description of English as a lingua franca, however, there is only the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) and the English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (ELFA), and, indeed, ELF corpus-based research is not keeping pace with the spread and changes in the use of English. The reason for this delay is to be found, according to Seidlhofer, in "[…] the difficulty that seems to be inherent in accepting a language that is not anybody's native tongue as a legitimate object of investigation and descriptive research."[59]

Nonetheless, the relatively few studies conducted on ELF users' interactions show some peculiar lexico-grammar features of English as a lingua franca. Seidlhofer, for instance, reports the following[60]:

- the use of 3rd person singular zero marking – for instance, in "he look very sad";

- the extension of "which" instead of "who" and vice versa - for example, in "the picture who" and "a person which";

- a shift in the use of articles – such as, "our countries have signed agreement about this";

- the use of a universal question tag – for instance, "isn't it?" instead of "aren't you?" as in "You're very busy today, isn't it?".

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[59] Barbara Seidlhofer, "Common ground and different realities", 237.

[60] Marko Modiano, Barbara Seidlhofer, and Jennifer Jenkins, "Euro-English: A New Variety of English; Towards Making 'Euro-English' a Linguistic Reality; 'Euro-English' Accents," *English Today: The International Review Of The English Language* 17, no. 4 (October 2001), 16. *MLA International Bibliography*, EBSCO*host* (accessed May 1, 2016).

If these are features that do not lead to communication problems, there are others that in turn do, in Seidlhofer's opinion[61]:

- limits in lexical knowledge, which speakers may not overcome due to their potential paraphrasing inability;

- "unilateral idiomaticity" – that is, the use of idiomatic expressions, which may result in failure of communication if the receiver is not familiar with them; such as, "Would you like us to give you a hand?" for "Can we help you?".

Further ELF lexico-grammar peculiarities that do not interfere with successful communication have been outlined by Jenkins as well[62]:

- a shift in the use of prepositions – for instance, in "to discuss about";

- the countable use of uncountable nouns – for example, "informations", "advices" and "staffs";

- an increase in explicitness – such as, in "How long *time*…?" and "black *colour*".

Moreover, some ELF studies carried out by Jenkins analyze pronunciation in non-native speakers interactions. As a result, the linguist provides what she names the "Lingua Franca Core" (LFC) – that is, a set of phonological and phonetic features that promote intelligibility amongst ELF (or, using her words, "EIL") users – which is reported below [63].

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[61] Ibid.

[62] Jennifer Jenkins, *English as a Lingua Franca*, JACET 47th Annual Convention (Waseda University: September 11-13, 2008). Available at: http://www.jacet.org/2008convention/JACET2008_keynote_jenkins.pdf.

[63] Jennifer Jenkins, "A sociolinguistically based, empirically researched pronunciation syllabus for English as an international language," *Applied Linguistics* 23, no. 1 (2002): 96-7. *Arts & Humanities Citation Index*, EBSCO*host* (accessed March 2, 2016).

1. The English consonant inventory with the following conditions:

- some substitutions of "th" sounds - [θ] and [ð] - are allowed;

- rhotic "r" is suggested, rather than its non-rhotic variant;

- the intervocalic British English /t/ is preferred, rather than American English flapped [r];

- allophonic variation within phonemes is permissible when the pronunciation does not resemble that of another phoneme – such as, in the Spanish pronunciation of /v/ in initial word position, which resembles /b/.

2. Phonetic requirements:

- aspiration after word-initial voiceless stops /p/, /t/ and /k/ is required, in order not to mistake them for the voiced /b/, /d/ and /g/ counterparts;

- shortening of vowels before voiceless consonants and maintenance of length before voiced ones are compulsory – for example, a shorter /ae/ in "sat" and a longer one in "sad".

3. Consonant clusters:

- initial clusters should not be simplified - for instance, in "promise" or "string";

- omission in middle and final clusters is permissible only if respecting English syllable structure rules – for instance, "factsheet" can be pronounced "facsheet", but not "fatsheet";

- the intervocalic /nt/ sequence should not be simplified as /n/ - as in the American pronunciation of the word "winter";

- consonant omissions are not acceptable, whereas vowel additions are.

4. Vowel sounds:

- vowel length contrasts should be maintained – as in, "live" and "leave";

- L2 regional qualities are permissible if consistent, except for the sound /ir/ as in "bird", for it always causes problems.

5. Production and placement of nuclear stress:

- contrastive stress to signal meaning is to be used appropriately – for instance, in the sentences "I came by TAXI" and "I CAME by taxi", where the former is a simple statement, whereas the latter contains a reference to further ideas, which may or may not be implicit (such as, "but I'm going home by bus").

Lastly, Jenkins summarizes the main "non-core" features, which she excludes from the LFC as they do not prove to be critical to communicational intelligibility. These are the following[64]:

- the interdental [θ] and [ð] and the post-vocalic dark [ł];

- vowel quality, as long as quality is used consistently;

- weak forms (the use of schwa instead of the full vowel sound in words such as "do" or "to"), for the full vowel sound tends to aid intelligibility;

- features of connected speech, such as assimilation;

- directions of pitch movement to signal attitude or grammatical meaning;

- placement of word stress, which varies greatly across L1 English varieties, so there is a need for receptive flexibility;

- stress-timed rhythm.

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[64] Ibid., 97-8.

On the other hand, other ELF specialists, such as Ian MacKenzie, argue that the few widespread features identified by Jenkins and Seidlhofer are not used consistently by all ELF users[65]. MacKenzie remarks that many speakers mix these forms with ENL standards, a fact which ultimately results in ELF being far from an actual established variety of English.[66] He also continues by stating that the problem of codification of stable ELF forms is just as clear as the prominent position native speakers do still hold in ELF use, due to the huge overlap between ELF and ENL; his conclusion is that "[…] it is not realistic to argue that ELF currently possesses a lexico-grammar that is independent from ENL, or that NSs are extraneous to international communication in English."[67]

Patricia Friedrich and Aya Matsuda, too, share a different view on ELF. Firstly, according to them, English as a lingua franca and English as an international language do not refer to the same phenomenon: ELF is a functional categorization that includes specific functions, of which EIL is only one. Indeed, ELF can serve both as a means of inter-national and intra-national communication.[68] Secondly, they argue that the pluralistic nature of ELF cannot be adequately represented by a mere definition of its features: in fact, they claim that "[w]hich pronunciation features will or will not interfere with communication in situations where English is used as a lingua franca will depend on the participants of such interactions".[69] However, Friedrich and Matsuda still believe that research on ELF linguistic characteristics can be helpful in a better understanding of the way lingua franca English works in a particular community, though what they ultimately point out is that it is the

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[65] Ian MacKenzie, "Negotiating Europe's Lingua Franca," *European Journal Of English Studies* 13, no. 2 (August 2009): 230. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCO*host* (accessed March 3, 2016).
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid., 231-4.
[68] Patricia Friedrich and Aya Matsuda, "When Five Words Are Not Enough: A Conceptual and Terminological Discussion of English as a Lingua Franca," *International Multilingual Research Journal* 4, no. 1 (January 1, 2010): 23. *ERIC*, EBSCO*host* (accessed February 29, 2016).
[69] Ibid., 27.

characteristics of international communities, rather than those of the language, which will determine whether such linguistic features will be adopted or not.[70]

To sum up, different points of view on the role of English as a lingua franca have been proposed. A descriptive, rather than prescriptive, kind of approach to the ELF controversial scenario suggests that the use of English amongst people with different L1 backgrounds is now the norm: this type of English has no native speakers, yet native speakers of the language of England – and, later, that of North America, New Zealand and Australia, and of some African and Asian territories, one could argue - may be involved in interactions with non-natives. Intelligibility and negotiability of meaning are the main aims of English used as a lingua franca among non-native speakers, in order to develop effective communication, but are the natives willing to compromise when it is still *their* language that is being used? Or is it?

The teaching and learning of English in the twenty-first century shall now be explored in depth, with a closer look at the significance of having (*non-*)native-speaker teachers and the importance of reaching (*non-*)native-like proficiency.

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[70] Ibid., 28.

CHAPTER II.
ELF TEACHING: THE NATIVENESS CONTROVERSY

Much has been said about the spread of English and the changes in its use over the years, but the question still remains as to how the twenty-first-century lingua franca should be taught.

This chapter will analyze current perspectives on English language teaching (ELT) by focusing on teaching models, methods and materials. Firstly, two hotly-debated categories of English teachers are to be presented – namely, native English-speaking teachers (NESTs) and non-native ones (NNESTs) – and their strengths and weaknesses as instructors, and speakers, are to be outlined. It is only by subsequently highlighting the implications on teaching the use of English as a lingua franca, that the divide between NESTs and NNESTs shall be bridged. Indeed, the common methods to be adopted by both teacher groups in the classrooms will then be considered, along with different ways of rethinking the teaching of English in the lingua-franca era. Lastly, an analysis of some recent teaching materials will be performed, in order to investigate what the focus of English-language students' and teachers' books is, nowadays, and how these textbooks deal with the use of English as an international means of communication.

Evaluating what the main goals of ELT should be, and whether today's teaching materials take them into account or not, is the ultimate aim of this chapter; the point of view of English learners and users, instead, will be the object of the third - and last – one.

II.1 English-teaching models

For years, the ELT field has been split in half: on one side, supporters of the NEST model, who believe that native-speaker teachers are fundamental to the teaching of English, as it is *their* language that learners aim to master; on the other side, supporters of the NNEST model, who claim that non-native-speaker teachers should be considered as equal to native speakers in terms of teaching a language that they, too, have learned.

Is there really any difference between the two? If so, what is it that makes one group of teachers "better" than the other? Opposing views on NESTs and NNESTs shall now be mentioned, in order to later challenge whether they are relevant or not to the teaching of English as a lingua franca.

II.1.1 The native English-speaking teacher (NEST)

Everyone, as native speaker of his or her own language, is *de facto* endowed with knowledge of sociocultural aspects that pertain to the community of people who natively speak the same language. In this sense, native speakers are not only a source of "authenticity" in regard to their language, but also with reference to the way they, along with their community, think of the world. Furthermore, as Richard Clouet puts it, "[if] language is a reflection of the culture that uses it, then learning a language is inseparable from learning alternatives to our native systems of values and codes of behavior."[71] Under these circumstances, the NEST would thus represent the best model for teaching, as native speakers can provide a thorough insight into their own sociolinguistic world to learners and "an excellent role model in terms of pronunciation [,] […] helping them build up their confidence in using language for communication."[72]

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[71] Richard Clouet, "Native vs. non-native teachers: A matter to think over," Revista de Filología 24, (April 2006): 73. *Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost* (accessed May 1, 2016).
[72] Ibid.

As a matter of fact, NESTs are privileged because of the reasons mentioned above, and these privileges, as Kathleen Berger points out, are simply "unearned": the native speaker did nothing at all to acquire them, he or she was simply "born into these situations"[73]. Indeed, Berger lists and analyzes the privileges she encountered in her life, as she began teaching the language simply because she had earned a US undergraduate degree and was a native speaker of English herself. These are the advantages she experienced[74]:

- ease in obtaining a teaching job due to her English name and appearance;
- confidence from intuition as a native speaker of the language;
- unquestioned credibility as an English teacher;
- freedom to teach in a fun and casual way.

What Berger further explains is that the hiring processes in English-language schools rely on the assumption that native speakers are better teachers than non-natives. Also, NESTs are able to use their intuition to solve linguistic issues in the teaching process, and they cannot be questioned. The native-speaker-teacher model is automatically asserted as being adequate for the job, and, lastly, a NEST can use the teaching method with which he or she feels more comfortable.[75]

Similarly to Berger's experience, many job advertisements placed by English-language schools seek native speakers regardless of their qualifications. Joseph A. Foley, for instance, reports the following advertisement, which was placed in a national newspaper by the Korean government agency:

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[73] Kathleen Berger, "Reflecting on Native Speaker Privilege," *CATESOL Journal* 26, no. 1 (January 2014): 39. *Education Full Text (H.W. Wilson)*, EBSCO*host* (accessed March 9, 2016).
[74] Ibid., 40.
[75] Ibid., 40-2.

Type one teachers require:
a certificate in TESOL or three years full-time teaching experience with a graduate degree in TESOL or experience and interest in Korean culture and language.

Type two teachers:
only have to be native-speakers of English with a bachelor's degree in any field.[76]

The question, according to Foley, is "[w]hy does this demand for untrained native-speakers of English persist?"[77]

Obviously, it depends on the duties that these teachers will have: for instance, if native speakers were to be employed in conversational classes, an answer could be sought in the native speakers' language competence. Indeed, with reference to the linguistic skills in their own language, it would be hard, if not impossible, to prove the natives' command of English faulty. Valéria Árva and Péter Medgyes, for instance, whilst studying the behavior of five poorly-qualified British NESTs and five Hungarian NNESTs in secondary grammar schools in Budapest, find that the main advantage of the former group of teachers is their superior ability in the use of English in the most disparate communicative contexts.[78] Moreover, Árva and Medgyes also highlight the same "privileges" mentioned by Berger, in the analysis of NESTs' teaching practices: for instance, the British teachers use only English during their lessons, and, as one of the NNESTs points out, they are free to say anything, relying on their intuition.[79] Furthermore, natives have a "casual

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[76] Joseph A. Foley, "English Satangs' Worth", 8.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Valéria Árva and Péter Medgyes, "Native and non-native teachers in the classroom," *System* 28, (January 1, 2000): 360. *ScienceDirect*, EBSCO*host* (accessed March 9, 2016).

[79] According to Ingrid Piller, too, perceptions of errors change according to who makes mistakes.
"Perceived/ known native speakers […] enjoy the benefit of doubt: poetic license? Simplification for a foreigner? Negligence? Lack of concentration? […] [W]e know a native speaker from a non-native speaker by the violations against the grammatical system that the latter produces in contrast to the former. However, when confronted with a particular

attitude" due to the lack of use of course-books in their lessons – hence, they design their own materials, using newspapers, posters and worksheets. However, NESTs serve as excellent language models and their lessons are rich in cultural references overall.[80]

On the other hand, the downsides to native speakers' teaching practices in Árva and Medgyes' study are evident, especially in terms of English-grammar knowledge, due to the British teachers' lack of qualification in ELT. Indeed, the two researchers conclude that "[p]oorly qualified NESTs can do a decent job as long as they are commissioned to do what they can do best: converse."[81]

II.1.2 The non-native English-speaking teacher (NNEST)

The NNEST category - which, as outlined, is clearly discriminated against - consists of non-native speakers who formerly learned English as a foreign language themselves. NNESTs, too, were once learners, and this turns out to be one of the main strengths they possess.

Indeed, in the study of five non-native teachers' classroom practices in the United States, Kim Hyunsook Song and Alla Gonzalez Del Castillo highlight the differences between trained NNESTs and improvised NESTs in four teaching areas: linguistic, cross-cultural and pedagogical competences, and in the so-called "NEST superiority fallacy" (see figure 16). In particular, non-native-speaker teachers are aware of their stronger grammar skills, compared to those of the non-trained native-speaker teachers; also, as mentioned earlier, non-natives know that because of their previous learning

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linguistic feature that might qualify as error we take this to be a sign of incomplete competence acquisition if we know the producer to be a non-native speaker. If we know [him or] her to be a native speaker, on the other hand, we regard the feature as a slip in performance." See. Ingrid Piller, "Who, if anyone, is a native speaker?," *Anglistik: Mitteilungen des Verbandes Deutscher Anglisten* 12, no. 2 (2001): 119.
[80] Ibid., 361-5.
[81] Ibid., 369.

experience, they are able to provide a sample model of successful learner to their students; additionally, non-natives use different teaching strategies according to their learners' needs, and plan their lessons in advance, using different teaching aids. Lastly, non-natives argue against the native-speaker superiority fallacy, which, according to NNESTs, can soon disappear, as long as non-natives work together as a group and focus on valuable teaching qualities, in opposition to – Berger's already mentioned - NESTs' "unearned privileges."[82]

Categories	Perceived Strengths
Linguistic Competence	• Being bilingual and multilingual • Knowledge of linguistics, e.g., phonology, grammar, vocabulary, reading and listening comprehension skills • Using L1 for explanation • Understanding ELLs' various accents • Cognitive intellectuality
Sociocultural Competence	• Understanding ELLs' cultures • Role model for ELLs • Open-mindedness to other cultures • Better rapport with ELLs • Understanding ELLs' challenges in their lives
Pedagogical Strategies	• Multitude teaching strategies to meet ELLs' needs based on their language acquisition experiences • Repeating the oral utterance using other aids (writing) • Use IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) to compensate accent • Mimicking NESTs speaking and colloquial language • Being aware of the errors and correct them • Take time to prepare the lessons • Utilizing cross-cultural experiences in teaching • Using visual and audio aids, grouping strategies
Native Speaker Superiority Fallacy	• More NNESTs to have a more fair policy • Support from other NEST colleagues and principals • Strong credentials in work ethics, pedagogy, content knowledge, problem solving, and etc.

Figure 16. NNESTs' perceived strengths.
Source: Kim Hyunsook Song and Alla Gonzalez Del Castillo, "NNESTs' Professional Identity in the Linguistically and Culturally Diverse Classrooms," *International Journal Of Educational Psychology* 4, no. 1 (February 2015): 67.

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[82] Kim Hyunsook Song and Alla Gonzalez Del Castillo, "NNESTs' Professional Identity in the Linguistically and Culturally Diverse Classrooms," *International Journal Of Educational Psychology* 4, no. 1 (February 2015): 64-6. *Publisher Provided Full Text Searching File*, EBSCO*host* (accessed March 9, 2016).

Ultimately, according to the NNESTs in Song and Gonzalez Del Castillo's research, it is only by acquiring more knowledge on NNESTs, that the assumptions on native and non-native English-speaking teachers can be replaced with actual facts.[83]

Further interesting perspectives on non-native English-speaking teachers' classroom practice and commitment to teaching are explored in a study carried out by David Hayes, who interviews seven Thai teachers of English working in secondary schools. The point he makes is that being a teacher is more than just following an official curriculum: the NNESTs he interviews use English alongside Thai and Thai dialects (such as "Lao"), for the combination of the two languages enhances the chances of learning for students. Different teaching activities are set up by NNESTs – for example, outdoor ones - and a careful preparation comes before delivering the lesson.[84] Bilingualism, teaching-method variety and lesson planning are hence all seen as strengths – as earlier outlined in Song and Gonzalez Del Castillo's analysis, as well.

Moreover, one of the interviewee states that the adherence to only one teaching method is less effective than taking full account of the learner as an individual. He says: "When I teach I teach the students and I teach the subject matter. I teach the human being as well. I see him as a human being and I also give, I provide knowledge."[85] Thus, a humanistic approach to teaching is what these NNESTs adopt. As a conclusion to his research, Hayes claims that the nativeness factor of NNESTs – that is, their being Thai – should be given more importance than their non-nativeness in terms of being English non-native speakers, because these teachers carry great social responsibilities

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[83] Ibid., 66.

[84] David Hayes, "Non-native English-speaking teachers, context and English language teaching," *System* 37, (January 1, 2009): 5-9. *ScienceDirect*, EBSCO*host* (accessed March 9, 2016).

[85] Ibid., 9.

within their own societies. In his words, "[t]eachers' 'nativeness' […] needs to be given its due prominence in […] teaching and learning English as a foreign language in context, rather than disproportionate attention paid to 'non-nativeness' in terms of English language competence."[86]

Other linguists, too, try to draw the native-versus-nonnative-teacher debate to a close. For instance, Péter Medgyes firmly believes that a non-native will never acquire the native's level of linguistic competence. Indeed, he draws a version of the "interlanguage continuum" - that is, a line that represents the language learning process - where he sets apart the "native competence" ending point by placing a long vertical line clearly before it (figure 17 below).
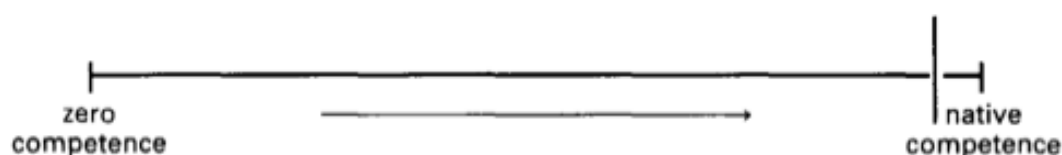
Figure 17. Medgyes' version of the interlanguage continuum.
Source: Péter Medgyes, "Native or non-native: who's worth more?," *ELT Journal: English Language Teachers Journal* 46, (October 1992): 340-349.

Medgyes explains his draft by stating that non-native speakers move along the line as they learn the language. However,

> [a] select few come quite close to native competence (cf. the nebulous *near-native speaker*) but sooner or later they are halted by a glass wall. Few have managed to climb over it. Joseph Conrad […] was one, but such immortals are exceptions to the rule. […] Just as epigones never become genuine artists, non-native speakers can never be as creative and original as those whom they have learnt to copy.[87]

Nonetheless, Medgyes' comments on non-natives' deficient use of the English language – which could sound harsh to many non-natives, indeed -

[86] Ibid.

[87] Péter Medgyes, "Native or non-native: who's worth more?," *ELT Journal: English Language Teachers Journal* 46, (October 1992): 342-3. *Education Full Text (H.W. Wilson)*, EBSCO*host* (accessed March 9, 2016). Emphasis in the original.

are not to say that the native speaker should be the optimal teacher model. Instead, he argues that this very weakness is what enables NNESTs to stand a chance against native-speaker teachers. He lists the following advantages for non-native-speaker teachers[88]:

- NNESTs can be achievable role models for learners, as they are successful learners of English;

- NNESTs can teach learning strategies adequately, as they previously used them while learning the language;

- NNESTs can provide more knowledge on the English language, for they have carefully studied the language in order to learn it;

- NNESTs can be more understanding of their learners' issues, for they may have gone through the same or similar ones;

- NNESTs can teach more effectively through the use of their mother tongue, when learners' share the same one.

All of these points, which basically sum up Song and Gonzalez Del Castillo's findings, and those of Hayes as well, are the reasons why Medgyes claims that both groups of teachers should co-operate harmoniously in the classroom, for the former's strengths counterbalance the latter's weaknesses, and vice-versa. If the optimum NEST is "the one who has achieved a high degree of proficiency in the learners' mother tongue"[89] and the best NNEST is "the one who has achieved near-native proficiency in English"[90], Medgyes ultimately argues that the two should concentrate on their limits and exploit their potentials.[91]

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[88] Ibid., 346-7.
[89] Ibid., 348
[90] Ibid., 349.
[91] Ibid.

Overall, it is a matter of fact that NNESTs are usually discriminated against, because of deeply-embedded assumptions that link the teaching of English to a specific sociolinguistic background, which is obviously *not* the non-native speaker's one. Yet, it is a matter of fact, too, that both NESTs and NNESTs have strengths and weaknesses. Then, how can it make sense to discriminate against either one of these groups, when there are advantages *and* disadvantages of having both native-speaker and non-native-speaker teachers? A different perspective on such a question shall now be introduced, with reference to the use of English as a global language.

II.2 Teaching implications of ELF use

In the previous part of this chapter, the on-going native-versus-nonnative-teacher debate has been outlined, and different points of view on such a matter have been provided. However, what needs to be stressed again is that the previously-analyzed controversy relates to a teaching of English that is still deeply associated with sociocultural values – hence, the primary significance of the native-speaker-teacher model. Instead, with the current sociolinguistic and educational *milieu* of English as a lingua franca, the very same debate should be reframed. Do NESTs and NNESTs really differ in terms of language competence, as the already-examined research states, when it comes to ELF?

The implications of the rise of English as a global language on ELT shall now be presented, for they drastically remodel teachers' roles and goals in the twenty-first-century classroom.

II.2.1 Teaching equality

First of all, in order to understand NESTs' and NNESTs' possible differences in terms of teaching, ELF must be compared to EFL, as lingua-franca English

is the most prominent use of the language nowadays.[92] As Jenkins affirms:

> The crucial point […] is that ELF (unlike EFL) is not the same phenomenon as English as a Native Language (ENL), and therefore needs to be acquired by L1 English speakers too, albeit that their starting point, native English – rather than some other language – makes the process less arduous.[93]

By placing native and non-native speakers of English on an equal footing - that is, by saying that both speakers need to learn how to use English in lingua-franca contexts – the native-versus-nonnative-teacher debate pales into insignificance. Indeed, there are no more reasons for which a native speaker would constitute a better teacher *a priori*, when the way he or she uses his or her language needs to be *re*adjusted in ELF settings.

Opting for a reconceptualization of teaching and learning English as global-communication tool, Ali Fuad Selvi comments on Péter Medgyes' approach to the NEST-NNEST controversy, stating that highlighting the differences between different groups of teachers only increases the dichotomy between the two. Instead, Selvi's proposal is to find ways to assess teachers' skills indistinctively, in order to develop a *glocal*[94] approach to ELT that would negotiate teachers' professional identities - which is what the teaching of a lingua franca should be concerned with.[95] The linguist claims that a paradigm

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[92] See. Footnote 36.

[93] Jennifer Jenkins, "English as a Lingua Franca from the classroom to the classroom," *ELT Journal: English Language Teaching Journal* 66, no. 4 (October 2012): 486-7. *Publisher Provided Full Text Searching File*, EBSCO*host* (accessed March 2, 2016).

[94] With the rise of English as a *global* language for communication, and many *local* non-native-speaker teachers, the adjective "glocal" seems to be completely appropriate to describe the approach one should have with regard to ELT in the twenty-first century. Indeed, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, the adjective "glocal" indicates something being global and local at the same time. See. "glocal, adj." *OED Online*. July 2016. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/276090?redirectedFrom=glocal& (accessed July 10, 2016).

[95] Ali F. Selvi, "Myths and Misconceptions About Nonnative English Speakers in the TESOL (NNEST) Movement," *TESOL Journal* 5, no. 3 (September 2014): 584-9. *Publisher Provided Full Text Searching File*, EBSCO*host* (accessed March 9, 2016).

shift in the teaching of English has to take place. The final result for which he hopes is

> […] to replace the circle of native-speakerism that shut many TESOLers [Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages] out with an all-encompassing one, which takes everybody in and welcomes diverse uses, users, functions, and contexts of the English(es) around the world.[96]

Along the same line of thought, Thomas S. C. Farrell suggests that the socio-linguistic background of a current English teacher is meaningless, for it is his or her personal knowledge that determines effectiveness in the classroom.[97] Indeed, he (not so) ironically asks: " […] when was the last time we asked for a native speaker of English medical doctor? A medical doctor is qualified or not and it is not *Who* the doctor is, but it is *How* he or she practices medicine that is most important for the patient."[98] Hence, the same perspective should be adopted when referring to teachers of ELF.

On a similar note, Subrata K. Bhowmik points out that native-speaker teachers need more than proficiency in English in order to be qualified as competent instructors. Giving native speakers jobs as language teachers only because of their linguistic status is much of an issue, for they might totally ignore the different needs of local learners.[99] Moreover, both Bhowmik and Seidlhofer agree that the lingua-franca use of English implies the pragmatic reframing of learners, users and speakers: while the first suggests that all English speakers should simply be addressed as "English speakers", regardless of their L1 background, the second, instead, opts for the term "ELF

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[96] Ibid., 589.

[97] Thomas S. C. Farrell, "It's Not Who You Are! It's How You Teach! Critical Competencies Associated with Effective Teaching," *RELC Journal* 46, no. 1 (April 2015): 79-83. *Publisher Provided Full Text Searching File*, EBSCO*host* (accessed March 9, 2016).

[98] Ibid., 87. Emphasis in the original.

[99] Subrata K. Bhowmik,"World Englishes and English Language Teaching: A pragmatic and humanistic approach," *Colombian Applied Linguistics Journal* 17, no. 1 (January 2015): 152. *Publisher Provided Full Text Searching File*, EBSCO*host* (accessed March 9, 2016).

users" with regard to non-native speakers. [100] In particular, Seidlhofer's remarks clearly bridge the NEST-NNEST debate, in light of an ELF teaching perspective:

> […] [I]f ELF is conceptualized and accepted as a distinct manifestation of 'English' not tied to its native speakers, this opens up entirely new options for the way the world's majority of English teachers can perceive and define themselves: instead of being 'non-native' speakers and perennial learners of ENL, they can be competent and authoritative users of ELF. The 'native speaker teacher-non-native speaker teacher's dichotomy could then finally become obsolete in ELF settings, with the prospect of abolishing […] terminology which […] has bedeviled the profession for too long.[101]

Last, but certainly not least, is Henry G. Widdowson's quite radical point of view on the "ownership" of English – if one considers that the linguist delivered his ideas at the 27th Annual TESOL Convention in Atlanta, as far back as 1993! Whilst speaking of the rise of English as a global language, Widdowson looks at changes in vocabulary as a result of the different institutional uses that the language now serves. He thus claims that English cannot be confined within a standard lexis, otherwise it would lose its ability to adjust. These changes, indeed, need to occur, in order to not only meet English users' communicative needs, but also to define the communities of language users that make these peculiarities their own. Hence, there is no reason whatsoever for which English native speakers should set norms upon a language which is *not* their own.[102] To put it in his own words:

> How English develops in the world is no business whatever of native speakers in England, the United States, or anywhere else. They have no say in the matter, no right to intervene or pass judgment. They are irrelevant. The very fact that English is an international language means that no nation can have custody over it. […] [T]he point is that it

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[100] See. Barbara Seidlhofer, "Closing conceptual gap", 152; Subrata K. Bhowmik, "World pragmatic approach", 153.

[101] Barbara Seidlhofer, "Closing conceptual gap", 152.

[102] Henry G. Widdowson, "The ownership of English," *TESOL Quarterly Volume* 28, no 2 (1994): 383-5. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCO*host* (accessed June 20, 2016).

is only international to the extent that it is not their [native speakers'] language. It is not a possession which they lease out to others, while still retaining the freehold. Other people actually own it.[103]

Ultimately, according to Widdowson, it is these "other people" who should define the standards of teaching a language to be used in international settings, not native speakers. However, it is still natives who design textbooks for students and learners by asserting their personal perspectives on ELT, which are bound to be limited by their cultural values: the point is that natives' communicative needs within their own communities are relatively important for those in need of a tool for global communication.[104] Hence, he concludes his speech by deconstructing the notion of "ownership" of the language, asserting that "[…] English and English teaching are proper to the extent that they are appropriate, *not to the extent that they are appropriated*."[105] Native and non-native speakers, users, learners and teachers are thus on the same level: even if they may have different language skills, they all *equally* own the language they speak, learn and teach.

II.2.2 ELF-awareness raising

It necessarily follows that the teaching of English must be rethought due to the ELF identification of all speakers as users of the same language, regardless of their linguistic backgrounds.

Firstly, according to Martin Dewey, the traditional definition of the language - which is firmly linked to the idea that English is "fixed" as a set of

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[103] Ibid., 385.
[104] Ibid., 388.
[105] Ibid., 389. Emphasis added.

grammar rules belonging to a "standard" variety - needs to be changed, by focusing on the primary aim of ELF communication: intelligibility.[106] The applied linguist believes that the attention of teachers needs to be brought to the complex nature of the language with which they are dealing. Indeed, he claims that the first step to be made in teacher education is

> […] to raise awareness amongst teachers of English of the fluidity of language, of the complex relationship between the rather abstract level of language models and the more immediate level of language as enacted in communication. Recognizing this pluralistic and complex nature of language in use would be an important first step towards fundamentally reconsidering current beliefs and practices in language pedagogy.[107]

Similarly to Dewey, Sandra Lee McKay, too, suggests three main assumptions on which a correct teaching of English should be based nowadays[108]:

- the recognition of different ways in which English speakers make use of the language in order to fulfill their own goals;

- the significance of the learners' main aim to use English in intercultural and linguistically-diverse settings;

- the need to be culturally sensitive to the various situations where English may be taught and used.

With reference to the last point, McKay argues that understanding local cultures is a result of the analysis of specific classrooms: indeed, each one is "*unique*" in terms of how teachers and learners interact with each other, through their specific use of English. Because of the *uniqueness* that

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[106] Martin Dewey, "English in English Language Teaching: Shifting Values and Assumptions in Changing Circumstances," *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics* 25, no.1 (2010): 12. *Publisher Provided Full Text Searching File*, EBSCO*host* (accessed June 20, 2016).

[107] Ibid.

[108] Sandra Lee McKay, "Toward an appropriate EIL pedagogy: re-examining common ELT assumptions," *International Journal Of Applied Linguistics* 13, no. 1 (June 2003): 18-9. *Publisher Provided Full Text Searching File*, EBSCO*host* (accessed March 9, 2016).

characterizes each classroom, the linguist believes that a teacher should be given freedom to use whichever method he or she believes will be culturally sensitive and productive for their students to learn the language.[109]

However, Dewey elsewhere points out that "[i]nstigating change in educational practices is never an easy task"[110]. Indeed, he reformulates his previously-held belief, by asserting that raising awareness of the changing nature of the language is not enough for an ELF perspective to be adopted in practical terms in ELT. A simple discussion of the implications of ELF is not sufficient, since teachers will not be able to develop teaching methods in response to ELF. In Dewey's opinion, instructors need to be fully educated in the field of ELT and Global Englishes themselves, as only few of them may have focused on such matters during the course of their studies. Also, even when educated, these teachers might not be able to put into practice what they have learned, due to the limits imposed on ELT by the prevailing norms: specifically, these are to be found in teaching materials, which are still full of cultural references to Kachru's inner circle countries and do not really focus on English as a medium of global communication.[111] An analysis of current teacher and student textbooks shall indeed be carried out in the last part of this chapter, in order to see whether the focus in these materials is changing or not.

What Dewey ultimately suggests is the use of narrative inquiry (through which teachers recount and reexamine their own experiences), which would help the development of materials and tasks suitable to the teaching and learning of English as a lingua franca. In one of his narrative-inquiry-approach studies, Dewey illustrates how there is a significant gap

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[109] Ibid., 19.

[110] Martin Dewey, "Pedagogic Criticality and English as a Lingua Franca," *Atlantis (0210-6124)* 36, no. 2 (December 2014): 17. *Humanities Full Text (H.W. Wilson)*, EBSCO*host* (accessed March 1, 2016).

[111] Ibid., 17-18.

between the use of English today and the way it is currently being taught. Indeed, one of the participants, a Korean teacher of English, states that she was required to use only English as a medium of instruction in one of the Korean schools where she was working. Once, during her lessons, a student asked her why she did not simply teach in Korean. This made the teacher think that her English was not good enough. According to Dewey, her professional expertise, and her own position as an English speaker, is here challenged by a commonly-shared ideology that prefers a certain type of language competence – the native-speaker model that ELF should have destroyed long ago! – and discriminates against other kinds of proficiency. However, reexamining her situation and coming to contact with recent language research, the teacher is now able to place herself confidently amongst the users of English as a lingua franca, having matured a new way of seeing her role as a teacher.[112] Indeed, ultimately, she claims:

> [A]s a teacher trainer, I will try to help Korean English teachers to feel more confident with their own English use. Finally, if I am given to change English education policy in Korea, I will make it sure that people do not necessarily be stressed out their idiosyncratic use of English [*sic*].[113]

As is clear from the experience above, it is both teachers and learners that need to acquire knowledge about different uses of English. It was only through the study of different varieties and uses of English, and the analysis of her own professional experience, that the Korean teacher mentioned in Dewey's research could adopt a different point of view on her position as a language speaker and, subsequently, teacher.

On such a matter, Jenkins states that

> [t]eachers and their learners, it is widely agreed, need to learn not (a variety of) English, but about Englishes, their similarities and differences, issues involved in intelligibility, the strong link between

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[112] Ibid., 24-26.
[113] Ibid.

language and identity, and so on. Awareness raising fits well with another area of broad agreement among WEs and ELF researchers: the need for a pluricentric rather than monocentric approach to the teaching and use of English.[114]

As seen in Medgyes' study, this approach could possibly result in the English of learners and speakers reflecting their own sociolinguistic reality, as opposed to the one pertaining to the native speaker.

In particular, Jenkins provides different pragmatic ways in which this pluricentric approach could be implemented in the classroom. She proposes[115]:

1. for less advanced English learners,

- the introduction to different worldwide varieties of English, including the varieties of English being used as a lingua franca;

2. for more advanced English learners,

- the explanation of the reasons behind the spread of English;

- the introduction of various standards of the language;

- the links between language and identity.

According to the linguist, such exposure is probably going to boost learners' confidence in their own linguistic varieties, and, on the other hand, will eliminate the erroneous assumptions on linguistic "native" imperialism that many learners may have.[116]

Lastly, Jenkins believes that awareness raising and a pluricentric approach to language teaching are directly connected to the development of accommodation skills. To put it in her own words,

[i]nstead of speaking a monolithic variety of English, it is considered more important for speakers of WEs and ELF to be able to adjust their

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[114] Jennifer Jenkins, "Current Perspectives on Teaching World Englishes and English as a Lingua Franca," *TESOL Quarterly*, (2006): 173. *JSTOR Journals*, EBSCO*host* (accessed March 2, 2016).

[115] Ibid., 174.

[116] Ibid.

speech in order to be intelligible to interlocutors from a wide range of L1 backgrounds, most of whom are not inner circle native speakers.[117]

For instance, Jenkins' set of phonetic and phonological features comprised in the "Lingua Franca Core" (LFC) aim at focusing on intelligibility rather than standard (RP or GA) pronunciation. [118] However, Jenkins' focus on international intelligibility, although shared by most of ELF researchers, is largely theoretical and yet to be actually placed in teaching materials.[119]

All in all, the teaching implications of ELF use provide new perspectives on teacher models and teaching methods. On the one hand, teachers are seen as users of the same language, which is to be learned by all, regardless of their L1: native speakers and non-native speakers of English should hence have the same opportunities as teachers of the language. On the other hand, ELF researchers agree that there is a gap between the way English is taught and how it should be. Even if WEs- and ELF-awareness raising is theoretically assessed, textbooks for teachers and learners still seem to be mainly anchored to native-speaking-country sociocultural values. Is this really so? Different teaching materials will now be carefully analyzed, in order to find out on what type of English today's books primarily focus.

II.3 Analysis of English-teaching materials

The main purpose of this study is to examine the features of English considered in some up-to-date teaching materials. Two research questions guide the exploration of identifying the focus of ELT materials:

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[117] Ibid.

[118] See. Chapter I, I.3.2, 31-33, for a comprehensive list of LFC features.

[119] Jenkins, "Current Perspectives Teaching", 174.

1.   If English is associated with English-speaking communities, which varieties feature prominently and what are the main cultural references presented?

2.   If the use of English as a lingua franca is included, which global features are provided and how are they taught?

II.3.1 Method

For the purpose of this study, nine ELT textbooks have been collected and further divided in two groups: the first consists of six course-books to be used in class by students and teachers of English – these are the following:

1.   *American Headway Starter Student Book* (2010);

2.   *New Headway Beginner Student's Book* (2013);

3.   *New Headway Advanced Student's Book* (2015);

4.   *New English File Beginner Student's Book* (2009);

5.   *New English File Advanced Student's Book* (2010);

6.   *Real Lives, Real Listening – Intermediate – Student's Book* (2013).

The second group, on the other hand, comprises two handbooks for (future) teachers of English, who are preparing for CELTA (Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults, formerly known as TEFL, Teaching English as a Foreign Language) and TKT (Teaching Knowledge Test):

1.   *The CELTA Course Trainee Book* (2007),

2.   *The TKT Course Modules 1,2, and 3* (2011).

II.3.2 Inspection

The six student course-books present a similar structure: they are all divided into different units, each of which covers a range of grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation topics. All of the books are written in English, for they are designed for international classroom use. Because of their international appeal, the books include multicultural references for all of the multicultural

contexts wherein they will be adopted. However, each of the books has several peculiarities.

First of all, the *American Headway Starter Student Book* and the *New Headway Beginner Student's Book* are written by the same two authors. Both books cover equal topics throughout the same units, though each of them presents stories of people from either the United States of America and Canada, or from the United Kingdom (see figures 18 and 19).

Figure 18. The American version of the story.
Source: John Soars and Liz Soars, *American Headway Starter Student Book*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010): 20.

Figure 19. The English version of the story.
Source: John Soars and Liz Soars, *New Headway Beginner Student's Book*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013): 24.

Moreover, the books follow one way of spelling (either American or British English, accordingly), though they do not provide learners with the equivalents in other varieties – as can be seen from the above (i.e. "center"/ "centre").

On the other hand, the *New Headway Advanced Student's Book* does operate a *vis-à-vis* comparison between American and British English, though only in one out of twelve units of the book (figure 20 below). No other English variety is mentioned and British English spelling rules are followed throughout the whole book.

Figure 20. British and American English comparison.
Source: John Soars, Liz Soars and Paul Hancock, *New Headway Advanced Student's Book,* 4ᵗʰ ed. *(*Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015): 48.

The *New English File Beginner Student's Book*, instead, provides multicultural references throughout all of the units, opting for a more comprehensive approach that not only refers to American and English cultures, but European and world habits are taken into account as well (see figure 21). There are also many references to the use of English in international settings (figure 22 below).

Figure 21. Food in the world.
Source: Clive Oxenden and Christina Latham-Koenig, *New English File Beginner Student's Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009): 26.
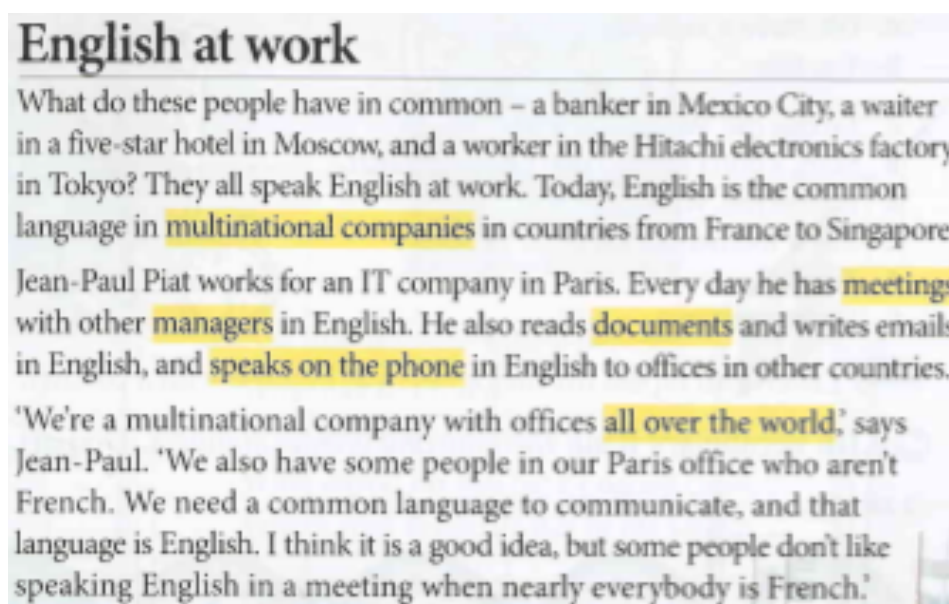
Figure 22. English at work.
Source: Clive Oxenden and Christina Latham-Koenig, *New English File Beginner Student's Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009): 29.

However, no linguistic feature of people speaking English as a foreign language is outlined, and British spelling rules are followed throughout the book. Also, when the book focuses on pronunciation, British English sounds are presented using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), with no further reference to other varieties of the language.

Similarly, the *New English File Advanced Student's Book* presents global references throughout all of the units, and in the third one it precisely addresses the topic of English as a lingua franca. Indeed, students are encouraged to think about the use of English in today's global society, to understand the irrelevance of mistakes as long as they do not impede communication, and are also provided with a text that outlines researchers' points of view on ELF (see figure 23).

Whose language?

How many people can speak English? Some experts estimate that 1.5 billion people – around one-quarter of the world's population – can communicate reasonably well in English.

Never in recorded history has a language been as widely spoken as English is today. The reason why millions are learning it is simple: it is the language of international business and therefore the key to prosperity. It is not just that multinational companies such as Microsoft, Google, and Vodafone conduct their business in English; it is the language in which the Chinese speak to Brazilians and Germans to Indonesians.

David Graddol, the author of *English Next*, says it is tempting to view the story of English simply as a triumph for its native speakers in North America, Britain and Ireland, and Australasia – but that would be a mistake. Global English has entered a more complex phase, changing in ways that the English-speaking countries cannot control and might not like.

An important question one might ask is: whose English will it be in the future? Non-native speakers now outnumber native English speakers by three to one. The majority of encounters in English today take place between non-native speakers. According to David Graddol, many business meetings held in English appear to run more smoothly when there are no native English speakers present. This is because native speakers are often poor at ensuring that they are understood in international discussions. They tend to think they need to avoid longer Latin-based words, but in fact comprehension problems are more often caused by their use of colloquial English, especially idioms, metaphors, and phrasal verbs. On one occasion, at an international student conference in Amsterdam, conducted in English, the only British representative was asked to be 'less English' so that the others could understand her.

Professor Barbara Seidlhofer, Professor of English and Applied Linguistics at the University of Vienna, records and transcribes spoken English interactions between speakers of the language around the world. She says her team has noticed that non-native speakers are varying standard English grammar in several ways. Even the most competent speakers sometimes omit the 's' in the third person singular. Many omit definite and indefinite articles where they are required in standard English, or put them in where standard English does not use them. Nouns that are not plural in native-speaker English are used as plurals by non-native speakers (e.g. 'informations', 'knowledges', 'advices'). Other variations include 'make a discussion', 'discuss about something' or 'phone to somebody'.

Many native English speakers will insist that these are not variations, they are mistakes. 'Knowledges' and 'phone to somebody' are simply wrong. Many non-native speakers who teach English around the world would agree. But language changes, and so do notions of grammatical correctness.

Those who insist on standard English grammar remain in a powerful position. Academics who want their work published in international journals have to adhere to the grammatical rules followed by native English-speaking elites.

But spoken English is another matter. Why should non-native speakers bother with what native speakers regard as correct? Their main aim, after all, is to be understood by one another, and in most cases there is no native speaker present.

Professor Seidlhofer says, 'I think that what we are looking at is the emergence of a new international attitude, the recognition and awareness that in many international contexts non-native speakers do not need to speak like native speakers, to compare themselves to them, and thus always feel 'less good.'

Figure 23. Reading on ELF.
Source: Clive Oxenden and Christina Latham-Koenig, *New English File Advanced Student's Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010): 12.

Nonetheless, no other linguistic feature of the speech of non-native speakers is outlined in the rest of the actual textbook; British English spelling rules are followed throughout the entire book, and students are made familiar with British pronunciation only.

Lastly, the *Real Lives, Real Listening – Intermediate – Student's Book* has a completely different approach to ELT than any other book previously mentioned. In fact, as the Teacher's Notes explicitly state:

> The main aim of the *Real Lives, Real Listening* series is to provide busy teachers with ready-made listening materials which will effectively train, rather than just test, their students in listening. A parallel aim is to boost students' confidence in their listening skills by exposing them to authentic texts. A further aim is to introduce students to the grammatical structures and lexis which are typically used in spoken English. […] The *Real Lives, Real Listening* series is carefully designed to include both native and near-fluent non-native English speakers, reflecting the fact that most of the English which is spoken these days is between non-native speakers of English.[120]

Hence, the entire book series is mainly focused on listening activities, from which learners will benefit because of the varieties of spoken English(es) presented. Native and non-native English speakers are equally included, since the author of the book believes that learners should be made aware of today's linguistic scenario[121].

The recordings included in *Real Lives, Real Listening* vary significantly from those of any other book, as even when they include native speakers, the interviews are usually held in real-life contexts. For instance, in unit fourteen, a Welsh English speaker is interviewed in a pub.

Also, the recordings may involve non-native speakers who have slight accents of their own, but present influences of other varieties of English. For example, in unit twelve, a Norwegian speaker of English talks about her hometown, Bergen; she also lived in England for a while:

> Ingse lived in Gloucestershire in south-west England for two years and later spent several years living in Sunderland, in north-east England. She has also lived in Germany. She speaks fluent English with a slight

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[120] Sheila Thorn, *Real Lives, Real Listening – Intermediate – Teacher's Notes* (London: HarperCollins Publishers Ltd, 2013): 1.
[121] See. Footnote 36.

Norwegian accent combined with traces of a Geordie accent, i.e. the accent found in the area which includes Newcastle and Sunderland.[122]

Moreover, native speakers of English in the recordings are from different English-speaking countries (the USA, UK, Canada, Australia) or from different areas within the same country, and have usually moved abroad somewhere else.

The listening activities hence constitute only the starting points of each unit, as students will be presented with the grammar and vocabulary topics on which the unit focuses shortly after. Along with grammatical structures and lexicon, the book examines spoken features of the language, too. For instance, in unit seven, the accent of a Canadian woman who moved to the UK is the object of several points made on spoken English features[123]:

- pronouncing "en" instead of "and";

- leaving off the final "-g" of words ending in "-ing";

- pronouncing "'em" instead of "them";

- pronouncing "coupla" for "couple of" and placing more stress on the first syllable of "coffee" as opposed to British English pronunciation.

As for the two handbooks for teachers of English, they are, too, structured similarly, for most of the topics they cover are the same (learners' needs and goals, errors, pronunciation issues and so on). Both of these books are in English, for they are aimed at international teachers studying to certify their teaching knowledge. Some of the points made in each of these course-books are very interesting.

The Celta Course Trainee Book, for instance, presents an entire chapter entitled "Teaching Pronunciation". Teachers of English are encouraged to think about the possible pronunciation mistakes that learners may make

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[122] Sheila Thorn, Real Lives, Real Listening, 68.
[123] Ibid., 39-40.

whilst speaking. The handbook lists several mispronounced sentences (figure 24 below).

	Learner pronunciation	Correct version
a	Our president is very IMportant.	Our president is very imPORtant.
b	It is bad to heat children.	It is bad to hit children.
c	It's a nice day, isn't it?	It's a nice day, isn't it
d	Who are you waiting FOR?	Who are you WAITING for?
e	How many beeble live there?	How many people live there?
f	IF ONLY I HAD KNOWN!	If only I'd KNOWN!

Figure 24. Pronunciation errors.
Source: Scott Thornbury and Peter A. Watkins, *The CELTA Course Trainee Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 162.

After having identified the error, teachers should discuss different points of view on pronunciation issues[124]:

- whether the best model of teaching pronunciation is RP;

- whether some pronunciation errors are worse than others;

- whether pronunciation should be learned correctly as soon as one starts learning the language;

- whether intelligibility is more important than sounding like a native speaker;

- whether the best teaching model for pronunciation is to speak naturally at all times.

It is interesting to note that in *The CELTA Course Trainer's Manual* the following points are made, in regard to all of the above[125]:

- RP is not representative of the majority of English accents and may be an inappropriate model for learners who are wishing to use English in international settings. Since there is no current alternative to it,

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[124] Scott Thornbury and Peter A. Watkins, *The CELTA Course Trainee Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 162.
[125] Scott Thornbury and Peter A. Watkins, *The CELTA Course Trainer's Manual* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 155-6.

however, it is probable that it will remain the dominant model – though it does not follow that English teachers should adopt it;

- the wrong pronunciation of certain sounds is less critical than the mispronunciation of other features of the language, such as the length of vowels. Nonetheless, it is difficult to attribute the cause of misunderstandings to one feature only;

- pronunciation tends to follow its own developmental route, hence it is not necessary to start teaching it soon;

- prioritizing intelligibility over accuracy is reasonable, since some pronunciation aspects are difficult to be taught, and intelligibility may be the aim of most learners;

- teachers should speak naturally to their students - which does not mean that they should be native speakers, but only that they should not sound artificially constructed.

Thus, intelligibility is given priority over any other aspect of pronunciation; the lack of a substitute for RP seems to be the reason why this kind of model is still predominantly being used (even if the handbook does not even mention the existence of GA, for instance) though it does not mean that it has to be adopted by teachers of English in general.

With regard to errors in general, *The TKT Course Modules 1,2, and* 3 outlines a way of categorizing them, which proves to be useful for a teacher who will need to correct them eventually. Inaccuracies, indeed, can occur in pronunciation, grammar, register/ style, lexicon, spelling and punctuation.[126] Moreover, mistakes can be oral or written, hence the handbook reports a conversation between two students of English and an English-written letter, which both contain mistakes (see figures 25 and 26).

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[126] Mary Spratt, Alan Pulverness, and Melanie Williams, *The TKT Course Modules 1,2, and 3*. 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 194.

Student A: <u>What you have for this one?</u> I have 'the supermarket'. He wants food and drink.
Student B: Yes, supermarket. And number two? I think it is his birthday, but <u>he talks for the birthday of friend</u> also.
Student A: Yes friend's birthday. He is sixty. (/ˈsiksti/)
Student B: Sixty (/ˈsiksti/) …? I think they are friends in school.
Student A: No, sixty (/ˈsiksti/) … <u>as me and you</u> …
Student B: (laughing) <u>Sixteen (/siksˈtiːn/) … not sixty (/ˈsiksti/) … you speak bad.</u>
Student A: <u>That's nokind</u> … number three … I have …

Figure 25. Oral mistakes.
Source. Mary Spratt, Alan Pulverness, and Melanie Williams, *The TKT Course Modules 1,2, and 3*. 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 195.
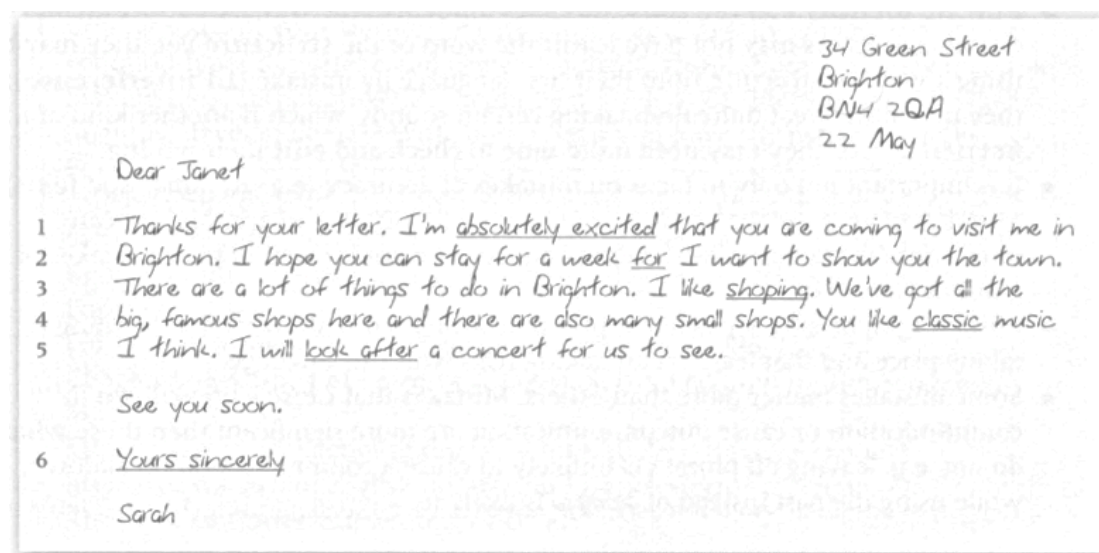
Figure 26. Written mistakes.
Source. Mary Spratt, Alan Pulverness, and Melanie Williams, *The TKT Course Modules 1,2, and 3*. 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 195.

After having outlined the kinds of mistakes made by the learners above, the handbook explains that it is useful to classify the mistakes by type, in order to correct them more easily. However, correcting errors may not always be useful, for this operation could result in learners' motivation-loss.[127] It is hence a priority to understand that

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[127] Ibid., 196.

> [s]ome mistakes matter more than others. Mistakes that cause a breakdown in communication or cause miscommunication are more significant than those which do not, e.g. leaving off plural *s* is unlikely to cause a communication breakdown, while using the past instead of *going to* is likely to.[128]

Intelligibility is here seen as being more important than full accuracy, especially when correcting a student means lowering his or her motivation level.

II.3.3 Results and discussion

Having examined the two groups of teaching materials, the following answers can be provided to the questions that guided the analysis:

1. British and American English are the two varieties that feature prominently in today's course-books and handbooks; even though all of the books herein analyzed are appealing to global learners, the English that students are supposed to learn is the one belonging to (only) some of the native speakers of the language.

2. The use of English as a lingua franca is included in some teaching materials. However, most of the course-books only raise awareness of lingua-franca communication through reading and listening activities, while they do not really provide learners with an actual framework of lingua-franca features. Handbooks, too, stress the significance of intelligibility over native-like accuracy, though it is not clear how intelligibility should be sought by learners.

Of course, this analysis is meant to be purely representative, since the materials were not fully compared, nor was the sample of textbooks and handbooks large enough to possibly constitute statistically-based evidence.

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[128] Ibid.

Nevertheless, these materials seem to show that ELF is only marginally taken into account when it comes to teaching, and even when it is considered, practical uses do not follow theoretical reasoning on such a matter.

To sum up, different points of view on the role of native and non-native English-speaking teachers have been outlined. With the rise of English as an international means of communication, all teachers should be regarded as equal, for the lingua-franca use of the language remodels English linguistically and detaches the language from its cultural roots. Teachers hence need to be aware of ELF, in order to develop effective teaching strategies. However, even when they are aware, ELT materials may not provide teachers with pragmatic ELF contents to help their students' learning processes. The English of the native speaker remains the sole model to follow, even when most users will rarely engage in communication with L1 English speakers in the course of their lives. Users of English may have the most disparate aims. Indeed, what is it that a learner wants when studying a foreign language? And, most importantly, who is a language learner?

This chapter analyzed teachers and teaching models; the next shall closely inspect learners and learning processes: individual differences, needs, goals and ELT opinions will be the final object of this discussion.

CHAPTER III.
ELF LEARNING: THE NATIVE-LIKENESS DEBATE

As broadly discussed in the previous chapter, the lingua-franca use of English *re*-conceptualizes language-teaching criteria. It necessarily follows that users of English, too, need to be reassessed, in light of the new role of the language that they are wishing to learn. In order to do so, learners must be identified clearly. Who are English learners today, and what are their expectations and beliefs in regard to English-language learning?

This chapter shall analyze current perspectives on English-language learning by focusing on learners' differences, goals and opinions. In the first place, learners' individual differences will be outlined carefully: different students have different needs, attitudes and motivations towards language learning. It follows that all users of English should not be tested on the same competences, for they probably aim at mastering the language in different ways. The assessment of learners' proficiency shall thus be analyzed, with specific reference to native-like competence, which is usually associated with the learning of a language. As a result of the rise of English as an international means of communication, *native-likeness* may *not* be most learners' language-competence target. Indeed, the last part of this chapter will ultimately scrutinize students' aims and beliefs on English-language learning and teaching, by reporting current Italian undergraduates' perspectives on such matters.

After having accounted for the rise of English as a global language - in the first chapter - and having examined language-teaching goals - in the second one - evaluating language-learning goals and outlining learners' perspectives will close the discussion on the reassessment of teaching and learning criteria in ELF use.

III.1 English-learning issues

Language learning is a process in which all humans engage during the course of their lives. For some, it is more than a once-in-a-lifetime experience, be it second or foreign languages a person may eventually pick up: traditionally, there are some learners who are thought to be more successful than others. The reasons behind these uneven outcomes should be sought in learners' differences, with regard to their attitudes, motivations and individual peculiarities.

The differences between learners shall hence be presented, in order to subsequently discuss the learning implications of ELF use for most of these students; indeed, with the lingua-franca use of English as main target for learners, the question of language-learning success will inevitably need to be reframed.

III.1.1 Different reasons for learning

Two of the main factors that are thought to influence language learning are attitude and motivation.

First of all, when a person begins the study of a different language, the people who natively speak it - that is, the *community* associated with that language - are automatically taken into account. Together with the thought of the language community comes the way others think of the world. Stereotypes and *clichés* about different people are also deeply rooted in the individuals' imagination and affect the choices learners might make - for instance, when they choose to study a particular language over another.

According to William T. Littlewood, there is a link between the way a person speaks and their identity: he states that if one is prone to the way the new language defines the world – that is, if one has a favorable *attitude* in regard to the L2 community - this could be a source of empowerment, whereas if one is not, it may be a cause of discontent which will affect

language learning. However, he further claims that sometimes there is no clear initial attitude towards the language that a student is about to start learning. In these cases, attitudes are linked to the way learning is experienced in the classroom.[129] He states that

> [o]ne important aspect of this experience is the image of the community which the learner derives from the teacher and materials. If this image remains secondhand, however, it may remain a weak factor compared with […], above all, the experience of success.[130]

Vivian Cook and David Singleton, too, affirm that the beliefs, images and thoughts that a learner has of a particular language are what shape the individual's attitude towards that specific language and culture.[131]

A person's awareness of their own community and that of the L2 community - what is known as "cultural awareness" - and the orientation to one of the two communities over the other - that is, "ethnic loyalty" - have been explored by many researchers throughout the years, with different theories being suggested on such matters. For instance, John Berry's "acculturation model" outlines four different attitudinal possibilities, based on whether cultural identity is of value and on the maintenance of relationships with different cultural groups[132]:

- assimilation, which is a learner's willingness to detach his- or herself from their own cultural identity;

- integration, which is the aspiration to become a member of both cultures;

- rejection, which is the complete separation from the majority

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[129] William T Littlewood, *Foreign and Second Language Learning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996): 55-6.

[130] Ibid., 56.

[131] Vivian Cook and David Singleton, *Key Topics in Second Language Acquisition* (Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 2014): 92.

[132] John W. Berry, "Acculturation as varieties of adaptation," in *Acculturation: Theory, models and some new findings*, ed Amado. M. Padilla (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1980): 9-25.

community;

- deculturation, which is the learner's identity loss.

However, appreciating a different culture should not necessarily imply having to abandon the one with which one has grown. In fact, if a person lives in different cultures, they should be able to appreciate them all at the same time. An individual can be a speaker of different languages, thus having been exposed to various cultures, and still be fully integrated in all of them: this is, indeed, the attitude that students ought to have.

Along with attitude, the force that encourages learners to keep on improving their L2-language skills is what is addressed as *motivation*. As Cook and Singleton affirm, "[i]n the study of L2 learning - as in the study of all learning - motivation is seen as key".[133] Indeed, when the reasons one has for learning are strong, chances are a person will be more likely to succeed at attaining their goal. This reasoning applies to all kinds of learning, thus the study of languages as well.

Moreover, even though motivation is strictly related to attitude, Cook and Singleton notice that the former goes beyond the latter, for attitude is one of the many different factors that shape motivation itself. In fact, motivation is a very intricate concept made up of different components – that, according to Littlewood, are, among others[134]:

- the individual's drive;

- the need for achievement and success;

- learners' curiosity;

- the desire for stimulation and new experience.

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[133] Vivian Cook and David Singleton, *Key Topics Language Acquisition*, 94.
[134] William T Littlewood, *Foreign and Second Language*, 53.

As motivation is constituted of several features, it is a very unstable construct that can change rapidly – or, better still, as Cook defines it, it is a "short-term affair".[135]

A multitude of different types of motivation has been provided throughout the years. The distinction of particular relevance here is the one given by Robert C. Gardner, who distinguishes between "instrumental" and "integrative" reasons, by stating that the latter are the ones which will guarantee success in language learning, for they express the desire of the individual to get closer to the community of L2 speakers, not so much on the basis of a pragmatic need - such as increasing one's chances of employment - but more on a psychological level - that is, being genuinely interested in the L2 language and community.[136] He highlights that

> […] instrumental reasons […] describe a goal that doesn't seem to involve any identification or feeling of closeness with the other language group, but instead focus on a *more practical purpose* learning the language would serve for the individual. There is nothing in these reasons to suggest that the individual wants to come particularly close in an emotional sense to members of the other community. The intent seems much more to be one of satisfying a purpose that involves the group at a more distant level.[137]

On the other hand,

> […] integrative motivation is a complex of attitudinal, goal-directed, and motivational attributes. That is, the integratively motivated individual is one who is motivated to learn the second language, has a desire or *willingness to identify with the other language community*, and tends to evaluate the learning situation positively.[138]

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[135] Vivian Cook, Second Language Learning and Second Language Teaching, 4th ed. (London: Hodder, 2008): 136.

[136] Robert C. Gardner, *Integrative motivation: Past, present and future*, Distinguished Lecturer Series (Temple University Japan, Tokyo: February 17, 2001): 10-3. Available at: http://publish.uwo.ca/~gardner/docs/GardnerPublicLecture1.pdf.

[137] Ibid., 10. Emphasis added.

[138] Ibid., 13. Emphasis added.

However, what does being motivated mean in practical terms? Gardner's definition of the motivated learner is herein particularly fitting: "The motivated individual expends effort, has wants and desires, enjoys the activity, experiences reinforcement for success, dissatisfaction for failure, makes attributions, is aroused, etc."[139]

Success in language learning doesn't come easily: it is a process through which a student works him- or her-self. The more a person tries to integrate themselves in the other language and culture, the more satisfactory results a person will achieve.

III.1.2 Individual learners' differences

Along with motivation and attitude, other factors are believed to influence learners' outcomes in the learning of a language.

Littlewood, for instance, states that the ability to learn a language is affected by[140]:

- cognitive factors, which relate to a person's intelligence (IQ), and more specifically to a set of learning abilities, usually called "language aptitude". Differences in cognitive factors may be an advantage or disadvantage for learners in specific kinds of courses (for example, in deductive vs. inductive learning activities);

- personality characteristics, which are linked to self-esteem levels and empathy. Extroverted learners, for instance, may be more prone to the learning of another language and culture;

- age, which provides young learners with advantages in the acquisition of superior pronunciation skills;

- active strategies, which allow a more effective learning experience (such as exploiting every occasion outside of the classroom to use the

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[139] Ibid., 10.
[140] William T. Littlewood, *Foreign and Second Language*, 62-7.

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language as a means of communication).

Other researchers, such as Cook, affirm that further variations in a person's "mental make-up" have been thought to have an effect on L2 success, such as gender differences and L1-knowledge level. For instance, foreign languages are usually more popular subjects among female students, and learners who have a better command of their first language are usually better at learning a second one.[141]

However, all of the factors above, including motivation and attitudes, cannot be changed by teachers, which is why Cook believes that instructors should take them into account in the classroom. To put it in his own words:

> […] Age cannot be changed, nor can aptitude, intelligence and most areas of personality. As teachers cannot change them, they have to live with them. In other words, *teaching has to recognize the differences between students*. At a gross level this means catering for the factors that a class has in common, say, age, and type of motivation. At a finer level the teacher has to cater for the differences between individuals in the class, by providing opportunities for each of them to benefit in their own way: the same teaching can be taken in different ways by different students.[142]

Overall, it is clear that learners differ from one another because of different factors. Hence, it is a matter of the utmost significance for teachers to take learners' differences into consideration, in order to help individual students learn languages in an effective way, which will conform to their specific needs.

However, how do individual learners' differences relate to the learning of a language that is used as an international means of communication? In particular, how are motivation and attitudes reframed in ELF learning settings? The learning implications of ELF use shall now be examined.

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[141] Vivian Cook, Language Learning and Teaching, 152.
[142] Ibid., 153. Emphasis added.

III.2 Learning implications of ELF use

Learners of English as a *passe-partout* language necessarily privilege Gardner's *instrumental* reasons over integrative ones, for they are not seeking to identify with English native-speaker communities, but they are wishing to learn a language that will enable them to communicate in international contexts.

With reference to this specific learning situation – that is, when a second language is learned for communication with other L2 speakers - Littlewood points out that motivation and proficiency are less influenced by attitudes to other communities of speakers.[143] Indeed, he claims that "[w]hen English is learned primarily for this international function, [one] would not expect the learner's attitudes towards native-speaking English communities to exert such an important influence."[144]

At the same time, learning a language because of an instrumental reason implies the replacement of traditional foreign-language-related goals with the ones pertaining to a lingua-franca use of the language: namely, the pursuit of intelligibility and the preservation of one's own cultural identity through the new means of communication.

III.2.1 Intelligibility over native-likeness

Firstly, it needs to be noted that intercultural communication relies on mutual understanding. As already discussed, ELF users compromise on certain features of the language, in order to deliver meaning in non-native speaker interactions.[145] The point to be made is that many of these users, as McKay remarks, do not need or wish to reach *native-like* competence, for it would prove to be of no usefulness to them.[146]

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[143] William T. Littlewood, *Foreign and Second Language,* 56.
[144] Ibid.
[145] See. Footnote 115.
[146] Sandra Lee McKay, "Toward an appropriate pedagogy", 18.

Indeed, she lists several reasons for which ELF users may not see *native-likeness* as their ultimate goal[147]:

- on a practical level, ELF learners may not need to acquire monolingual speakers' full-range registers, for ELF use may be limited to formal domains of use;

- there are attitudinal reasons for which ELF learners may not want to acquire native-like competence, especially in regard to pronunciation and pragmatics;

- lingua-franca English belongs to its users, hence no standards should be set upon the language by some (native) speakers of English.

Furthermore, since the discussion on whether native-like competence can actually be achieved in EFL learning already presents opposing views, it would perhaps be more realistic to have learners achieve "[…] more attainable goals; not goals which are nearly impossible […]", as Joseph J. Lee suggests.[148]

Along the same line of thought, Clouet points out that, in lingua-franca communication, the main aim should be a drive for *international intelligibility*, rather than native-like projection.[149] Indeed, he highlights that the main point of English being the world's lingua franca is global understanding, regardless of one's cultural background - and (ironically) asks:

> […] who speaks better English: Queen Elizabeth II, Georges W. Bush, John Howard (Australia), Mary McAleese (Ireland), A.P.J. Abdul Kalam (India), Kofi Annan (UN), Javier Solana (EU). Some are native speakers of English, other not, but all seven can be perfectly understood at world level, can't they?[150]

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[147] Ibid., 18-9.

[148] Joseph J. Lee, "The Native Speaker: An Achievable Model?," *Asian EFL Journal* 7, no. 2 (June 2005): 9.

[149] Richard Clouet, "Native vs. non-native teachers", 72.

[150] Ibid.

Nonetheless, there may still be learners of English who wish to aim for a native-like command of the language, and even if, perhaps, a minority, their goal should be considered in language-learning classrooms. Jenkins, for instance, believes that it is up to teachers to decide to what extent ELF is relevant to their learners in their contexts, though learners should be allowed to choose which kind of English to aim for – as she points out, "[…] a choice which, it has to be said, often *is not* available in traditional EFL classrooms."[151]

Seidlhofer, instead, believes that a more general language awareness and communication strategies should be the primary focus of language teaching and learning:

> [t]hese may have more 'mileage' for learners than striving for mastery of fine nuances of native-speaker language use that are communicatively redundant or even counter-productive in lingua franca settings, and which may anyway not be teachable in advance, but only learnable by subsequent experience of the language.[152]

Hence, it seems reasonable that intelligibility should be the principal aim of all learners: those wishing to pursue native-like competence may do so gradually, whereas ELF learners should aim at mastering international comprehensibility.

Along with language learning come language-skill examinations, which hardly take into account ELF use: indeed, Jenkins points out that global examination boards such as Cambridge ESOL ("English for Speaker of Other Languages"), IELTS ("International English Language Testing System"), and TOEFL ("Test of English as a Foreign Language") are far from engaging in debate with ELF researchers. For example, in the 2012 Going Global conference, sponsored by IELTS and TOEFL, Jenkins' proposal for a talk

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[151] Jennifer Jenkins, "English as a Lingua Franca from the classroom to the classroom," *ELT Journal: English Language Teaching Journal* 66, no. 4 (October 2012): 492. *Publisher Provided Full Text Searching File*, EBSCO*host* (accessed March 2, 2016). Emphasis in the original.

[152] Barbara Seidlhofer, "English as a lingua franca," *ELT Journal* 59, no. 4 (October 2005): 340. *Publisher Provided Full Text Searching File*, EBSCO*host* (accessed March 9, 2016).

("Internationalizing English for the international university"), which was aimed at the reframing of these types of exams in an ELF perspective, was rejected.[153]

Nevertheless, the need to assess learners' achievement and the effectiveness of instructors is inevitable; sometimes, tests may also be compulsory for various purposes (university admission, immigration, job-positions, and so on). It is, however, difficult to test English, when there is no single reference point for a standard variety of the language: Bhowmik, for instance, believes that the WE phenomena are excluded from most English proficiency tests, and, even at local level, teachers may not know which skills reflect learners' actual proficiency[154]. In regard to the IELTS and TOEFL examinations, he asserts that

> [w]hile it is true that *IELTS* has international partnership (i.e. University of Cambridge, The British Council, and IDP Australia) for developing tests, it still *fails to provide* a uniform reference point as to *what should be considered as an international knowledge base for English* […]. The same is true about TOEFL. For instance, although TOEFL's purpose statement endorses the use of the *TOEFL* scores by various institutions such as government agencies around the world, its *research agenda and test design and development do not support the incorporation of such uses of English.*[155]

Moreover, Bhowmik claims that English educators are trapped between the testing of learners' communicative competence and punctual grammatical knowledge. However, users who are able to handle communication in informal contexts are not necessarily able to read and write properly in academic and professional settings. Pronunciation, too, is hard to

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[153] Jennifer Jenkins, "English classroom to classroom", 493.
[154] Subrata K. Bhowmik, "World pragmatic approach", 150.
[155] Ibid. Emphasis added.

assess, as comprehensibility is affected by so many variables that it is difficult to define a truly objective score for intelligibility[156].

In reference to the assessment of lingua-franca competence, some researchers, such as House, opt for a shift in terminology from native-like users, to "expert in ELF use": specifically, House defines an ELF expert as a "stable multilingual speaker under comparable socio-cultural and historical conditions of language use, and with comparable goals for interaction."[157] Indeed, she thinks that ELF should not be measured against English L1 norms, as it should be openly considered as a "hybrid" language, derived from heterogeneous sources. To put it in her own words:

> While the conventional perspective on L2 speakers is characterized by disregarding the possession of other languages and subjecting them to L2, perspectives on hybrid procedures aim at making or leaving recognizable those other languages in ELF, thus *celebrating the 'otherness' under the surface* of the English language.[158]

Hence, ELF proficiency cannot be compared to English-native-speaker competence, and ELF users' individuality needs to be brought to the surface of the lingua-franca language, for the global use of English carries no cultural values related to English-native-speaking communities.

III.2.2 The celebration of identity in ELF use

In light of the above, ELF learners and users should thus create their own global identities in lingua-franca interactions. As Foley remarks,

> […] the learning of a language, in particular a 'globally' used language, is not about 'standardization' in terms of one form of the language and particular cultural norms but rather the construction of an 'identity' which will cross cultural boundaries and open up the individual's

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[156] Ibid., 150-1.

[157] Juliane House, "English multilingual communication", 573.

[158] Ibid., 573-4. Emphasis added.

perspectives on the world […] This also means […] recognizing that English as a national language is only the *source* of English as an international language, *not* the international language itself.[159]

However, how should learners construct their global identities in ELF use? Many researchers, such as Song and Gonzalez Del Castillo, investigate the relationship between ELF users' accents and identities, believing that "[a]ccent […] should not be counted as weakness; it should be considered a contribution because the accent represents multilingualism and multiculturalism in this global era."[160]

Chit Cheung Matthew Sung's analysis of four ELF learners enrolled in a Hong Kong university shows that not all speakers share the same views about what they mean by their global identities in ELF communication. Some of them prefer certain accents over others, though the assertion of a global identity is not necessarily linked with any particular accents of English.[161] It is interesting to note that only one out of the four interviewees wishes to hide his Hong Kong accent, whereas the others feel there is nothing wrong with it. Specifically, these are the comments the three report on such a matter:

1. […] If others think that I speak with some Hong Kong accent and I must be from Hong Kong, I am okay with that … I don't feel anything in particular … I don't really feel bad or anything about my Hong Kong accent. […] When other people understand what I want to say, that's okay with me. I won't expect others to think that I am a native speaker.

2. […] I think retaining a bit of my Hong Kong accent may be good, because I am a Hong Kong person after all … I think there is some kind of relationship between accent and identity, but accent does not define my identity. It just affects a little bit of my identity.

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159 Joseph A. Foley, "English Satangs' Worth", 16. Emphasis in the original.
160 Kim Hyunsook Song and Alla Gonzalez Del Castillo, "Identity in Diverse Classrooms", 76.
161 Chit Cheung Matthew Sung, "English as a lingua franca and global identities: Perspectives from four second language learners of English in Hong Kong," *Linguistics And Education* 26, (June 1, 2014): 31-39. *ScienceDirect*, EBSCO*host* (accessed March 3, 2016).

3. I know a lot of people want to get rid of their Hong Kong accent. When they try to get rid of it, I think they should just be proud of it. Why do they want to get rid of their scars? … Well, I mean you can take pride in your own accent, and I think it really signifies your identity as a Hong Kong person […] I really want others to see me as a Hong Kong person through my accent, but not someone from mainland China, when I speak English. I want to be distinguished from the mainland Chinese when I speak English.[162]

Overall, these Hong Kong students believe their accents are a means of outlining their identity, or at least a part of it, not only by asserting who they are, but also by denoting who they are not.

Similarly, in a study by Karolina Kalocsai, the opinions of ninety-six European undergraduates involved in the Erasmus+ exchange program at the University of Szeged and at the Charles University in Prague reveal the way these students speak English in ELF settings. In particular, *their* English is seen as a way of producing shared linguistic expressions, which are only understandable in their community; moreover, while all non-native speakers students understand each other as they make adjustments to the speech of one another, native-speaker students are hard to accommodate and cooperate with when communicating with them; lastly, accent is seen as a way of expressing one's own identity.[163] These are the most relevant points they make:

1. […] when I speak to a non-native speaker, she or he may not know […] some words or something and we have to find a conclusion between us.

2. I see that if I'm in the middle of people that are not English and they're speaking English […] there is no problem understanding them, probably my obstacle was that to understand like really English people talking.

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[162] Ibid., 35-7.

[163] Karolina Kalocsai, "Erasmus exchange students: A behind-the-scenes view into an ELF community of practice," *Apples – Journal of Applied Language Studies* 3, no. 1 (2009): 25-49. Available at: https://jyx.jyu.fi/dspace/handle/123456789/21859.

3. […] in a way I would love and I would be really proud […] that the people don't recognize that I am not English, but I love the fact that I am the foreigner […] I mean if you speak perfectly English you would hide your own culture.[164]

These Erasmus students' perspectives hence outline a use of English that is exclusive to their community, does not conform to L1 standards (for native speakers need to adjust their speech to that of the non-natives), and evidently expresses the students' cultural identity in terms of pronunciation.

On the same note, Jenkins' survey of ELF-user perspectives on accent and identity yields similar results. Indeed, her participants overall agree that ELF accent expresses their identity in English, and most of them believe that if the ELF model were implemented in the classroom, they would feel less pressured into attempting a native-like accent.[165] These are the opinions some of them have on which accent they would like to have when speaking English:

1. Oh, mine, mine. […] I don't want to be what I am not. I am ITALian. I have my own culture, my original- my roots are Italian so I like if people tell me yes… my origin. I LIKE it.

2. […] I think my OWN accent [laughter] […] because first of all I am Chinese. I don't have to speak like n- American or British… it's like identity, because I want to keep my identity [laughter] yeah

3. it's quite conflicted- […] because I feel HAPpy when they say okay you have a native accent but erm […] I don't feel that comfortable because I am indeed a Chinese.[166]

In order to prevent strong non-native speakers' accents from interfering with communication, Jenkins also contrasts the lingua-franca

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[164] Ibid., 33-6.

[165] Jennifer Jenkins, (Un)pleasant? (In)correct? (Un)intelligible? ELF speakers' perceptions of their accents, (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009): 30-2.

[166] Ibid., 31.

intelligibility target to that of the native-speaker model (which respectively comprise her LFC features, and those normally found in British and American pronunciation textbooks).[167] She hence shows that the EIL target is not simply a subset of NS features (figure 27 below).

Table 1: EIL and NS pronunciation targets

	NS target	EIL target
1. The consonantal inventory	• all sounds	• all sounds except /θ/, /ð/ and [ɫ]
	• RP non-rhotic /r/ GA rhotic /r/	• rhotic /r/ only
	• RP intervocalic [t] GA intervocalic [ɾ]	• intervocalic [t] only
2. Phonetic require-ments	• rarely specified	• aspiration after /p/ /t/ /k/
		• appropriate vowel length before fortis/ lenis consonants
3. Consonant clusters	• all word positions	• word initially, word medially
4. Vowel quantity	• long-short contrast	• long-short contrast
5. Vowel quality	• close to RP or GA	• L2 (consistent) regional qualities
6. Weak forms	• essential	• unhelpful to intellig-ibility
7. Features of con-nected speech	• all	• inconsequential or unhelpful
8. Stress-timed rhythm	• important	• does not exist
9. Word stress	• critical	• unteachable/can reduce flexibility
10. Pitch movement	• essential for indicat-ing attitudes and grammar	• unteachable/incor-rectly linked to NS attitudes/grammar
11. Nuclear (tonic) stress	• important	• critical

Figure 27. EIL and NS pronunciation targets.
Source: Jennifer Jenkins, "A sociolinguistically based, empirically researched pronunciation syllabus for English as an international language," *Applied Linguistics* 23, no. 1 (2002): 99.

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[167] Jennifer Jenkins, "A pronunciation syllabus for English", 98-9.

As already discussed, Jenkins' LFC work on phonology tends to remain mainly theoretical, for it has yet to be implemented in language teaching materials. Moreover, it is difficult to have lingua-franca-core features included in ELT textbooks, when non-native teachers - and, consequently, users - of lingua-franca English consistently rank native accents among the best ones (even in absence of a definition of "best"), as Jenkins reports in one of her questionnaires.[168] Indeed, three hundred and sixty teachers from twelve Expanding-Circle countries clearly show that the "best" accent is linked with NS accents, primarily RP and GA, and then the others (see figures 28, 29, and 30).[169]

Figure 28. English accents ranked 1st.
Source: Jennifer Jenkins, (Un)pleasant? (In)correct? (Un)intelligible? ELF speakers' perceptions of their accents, (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009): 21.

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[168] Jennifer Jenkins, (Un)pleasant? (In)correct? (Un)intelligible? ELF speakers' perceptions of their accents, (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009): 30-2.

[169] However, it should be noted that no neutral choice was provided. It could be argued that the teachers were forced to choose between one of the options, even if they might have had no particular preference.

Figure 29. English accents ranked 2nd.
Source: Jennifer Jenkins, (Un)pleasant? (In)correct? (Un)intelligible? ELF speakers' perceptions of their accents, (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009): 22.
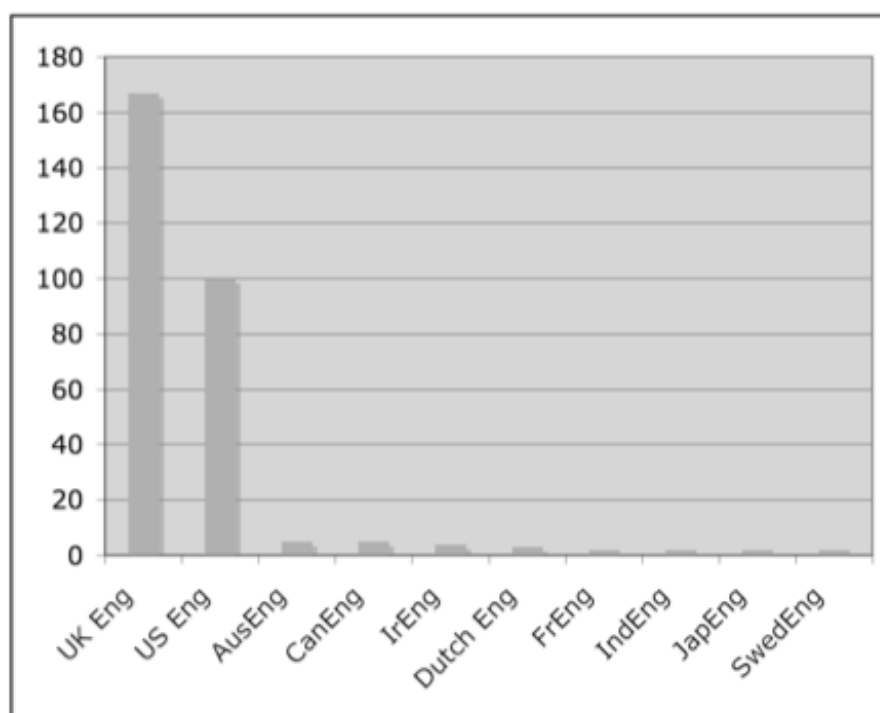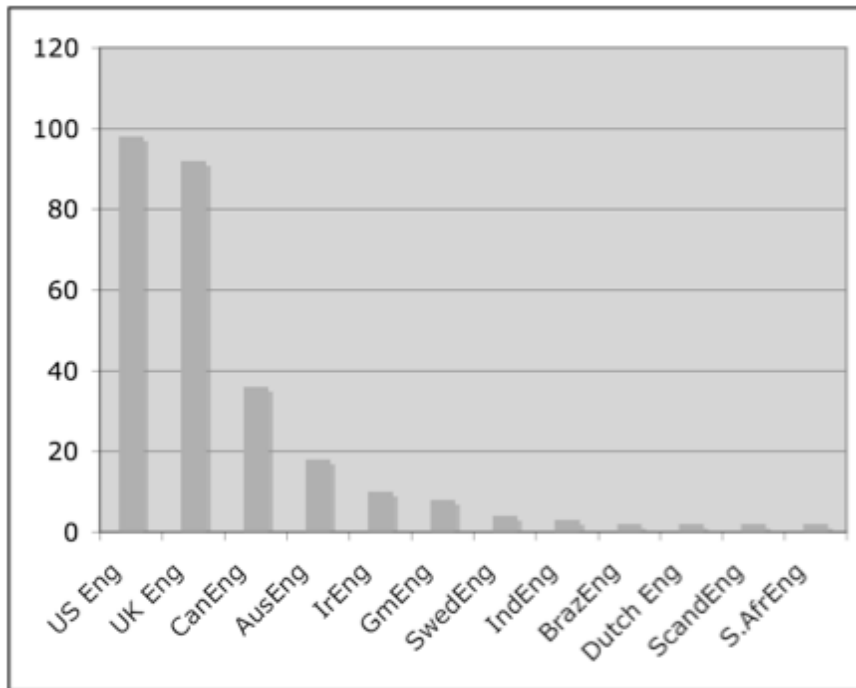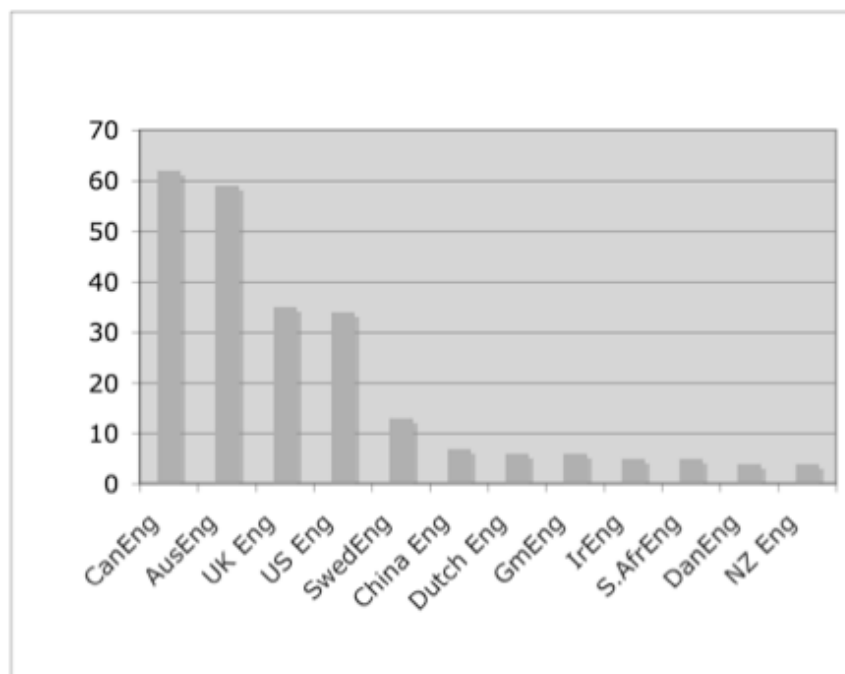

Figure 30. English accents ranked 3rd.
Source: Jennifer Jenkins, (Un)pleasant? (In)correct? (Un)intelligible? ELF speakers' perceptions of their accents, (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009): 21.

In light of the above, it is clear that, even though the use of English as a lingua franca privileges intelligibility over native-likeness, and promotes the maintenance of non-native speakers' L1 identities, teachers, users and learners of ELF may in any case be influenced by (Kachru's) inner-circle-country norm provisos. Lingua-franca English has enormous difficulties in being recognized officially: it is not taught in the classroom, nor is it assessed by international examinations of English. Yet, it *is* a reality: just as much as the significance that the native speaker *still* holds, in the twenty-first-century English scenario.

The discussion on teaching and learning implications of ELF use shall now be drawn to an end. Indeed, the results of a survey on Italian undergraduates' experiences as English learners in the present day will ultimately be analyzed.

III.3 Survey on English-learning experiences and beliefs

The main aim of this survey is to scrutinize Italian undergraduate students' experiences as English learners in the course of their lives and their use of English in the present day. Specifically, this study wants to investigate the following points:

1. whether Italian students have positive or negative feelings in regard to their English teachers, and whether these feelings vary according to their teachers being native or non-native speakers of English;

2. whether Italian students are aware of the use of English as a lingua franca, and whether they show specific attitudes towards ELF lexico-grammar features and pronunciation;

3. whether certain undergraduates have greater awareness than others, in regard to ELF, because of their degree.

III.3.1 Method

For the purpose of this survey, twelve Italian undergraduates studying at Sapienza University of Rome, all born and raised in different parts of Italy, were interviewed. The students were divided in two groups:

- the first comprises six undergraduates studying for various degrees - namely, Architecture, Law, Aerospace Engineering, and Architectural Engineering – who only studied English during their school years;

- the second consists of six undergraduates studying for a Foreign Language degree, who are currently studying English at university-level.

Before the interviews, all of these students were told that the survey was about English language teaching and learning in general. No explicit references to English as a lingua franca were made by the interviewer. The interviews, which lasted *circa* twenty-five minutes each, were carried out individually, over the phone or face to face, and they were audio-recorded. In the excerpts in the subsequent sections, all of the names reported are pseudonyms. The interviewees are quoted *verbatim* and translated in the footnotes (see Appendix for the guiding questions used in the interviews).

III.3.2 Interviews

As for the first group of students, all of the six undergraduates, who are studying for different degrees, followed English-language courses during their school years - five years of elementary school, three years of middle school and five years of high school; some of them also attended private language schools, while others lived in English-speaking countries for six or twelve months. However, none of them is currently studying English.

With regard to their instructors' approach, most of the students claim that the best teachers they had were the ones who joined the teaching of

grammar with cultural and practical aspects of the language.

For instance, Cristiana and Stefania, two Architecture undergraduates, particularly remember two of their non-native English-speaking teachers in high school. The students state that they were good teachers, because they would focus on all linguistic aspects of English, and would also add cultural references to their lessons. Cristiana, indeed, states:

> La mia professoressa d'inglese delle superiori era un'italiana appassionata della lingua e della cultura inglese. E, di fatto, riusciva a trasmetterci questa sua passione. Poi, tutte le sue lezioni erano basate sul *listening*, *writing*, *speaking* e *reading*, e, anche durante i compiti in classe e le interrogazioni, cercava di testare queste diverse competenze.[170]

Stefania, too, claims:

> Ho cambiato diversi professori d'inglese alle superiori. Il più bravo era quello del primo anno, perché stimolava il nostro interesse per la cultura inglese, che lui amava, da italiano. Ad esempio, vedevamo molti film su Shakespeare e sui poeti inglesi. E, comunque, durante le lezioni, non studiavamo soltanto la grammatica, ma interagivamo con lui e tra di noi.[171]

Instead, the Aerospace Engineering undergraduate, Tatiana, and the Architectural Engineering student, Gaia, state they had negative experiences as learners of English throughout their school years, mainly because their NNESTs did not accommodate students' needs and primarily focused on grammar. For instance, Tatiana remarks:

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[170] Trans. "My high-school English teacher was an Italian [native speaker] deeply fascinated by the English language and culture. And, she did, in fact, instill her passion in us. Also, all of her lessons were based on listening, writing, speaking and reading activities, and she would try to test these aspects during written and oral examinations, as well."

[171] Trans. "I had more than one teacher of English throughout my high school career. The best one, I had during my first year, because he would get us interested in the English culture, which he, as an Italian, loved. For example, we would watch a lot of films about Shakespeare and different English poets. And we did not only study grammar during his lessons, but we also interacted with him and among us."

A scuola, non ho studiato tanto inglese. Tutti i professori che ho avuto si concentravano principalmente sulla grammatica e non facevano tanto caso alla pronuncia. C'erano poche volte in cui parlavamo, e, comunque, gli errori di pronuncia che facevamo non venivano calcolati. Però, secondo me, era sbagliato: se mi avessero detto che stessi sbagliando, magari, non avrei commesso di nuovo quell'errore di pronuncia.[172]

Gaia, instead, had teachers who did not focus on grammar at all, because their primary aim was to teach literature, and practice conversation. Since she did not have strong grammatical skills, she began to study English at a private language school. There, her NESTs would teach her exactly what she needed, along with other aspects of the language. This is why she believes that her private native-speaker teachers were the best ones she ever had:

Alla scuola privata d'inglese, c'era tutto: grammatica, conversazione, scrittura. I professori madrelingua ci facevano anche vedere molti film, che ci aiutavano a familiarizzare con diverse pronunce. Sapevano capire i bisogni di ogni studente, e con me si concentravano sulla grammatica.[173]

Claudio, the other Aerospace Engineering undergraduate, studied English privately as well, during high school. He says he was not satisfied with the way English was taught at school, because his teacher only taught grammar; he liked the language, so he wanted to improve his skills. He reports that, when his parents found a native speaker willing to help their son with English, they did not hesitate to book him a lesson - even though the

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[172] Trans. "I did not study much English during my school years. All of the teachers I had would mainly focus on grammar and did not pay much attention to pronunciation. There were a few times when we would do speaking activities, yet the pronunciation errors we would make were not really accounted for. In my opinion, it [this attitude towards errors] was wrong: had I been told I was pronouncing a word in the wrong way, perhaps, I would not have made the same mistake again."

[173] Trans. "In the private English-language school, there was everything: grammar, speaking, listening. My native-speaker teachers would also show us many films, which helped us become familiar with different pronunciations. They knew how to provide for each student's needs, and they would focus on grammar with me."

native speaker was *not* a teacher. Yet, this improvised teacher helped him enhance his linguistic skills, and he states she taught him a lot more than the teacher he had at school:

> Ho studiato inglese anche privatamente, con una donna inglese che viveva in Italia da tanti anni, ma non era un'insegnante… come sempre, quando i genitori sanno che una persona è madrelingua, mandano subito i figli a studiare da lei! Mi ha insegnato il doppio di quanto mi potesse insegnare la professoressa delle superiori, che spiegava solo la grammatica. La madrelingua mi insegnava non solo la grammatica, ma anche le espressioni che normalmente non si trovano sui libri: cioè, l'inglese di tutti i giorni.[174]

Lastly, Beatrice, the Law student, claims she clearly remembers the best teacher of English she had: her high-school teacher, who was extremely passionate about her job, since she loved English and the English culture. Also, she would stress the importance of English in the present day. To put it in Beatrice's own words:

> La mia professoressa delle superiori era molto preparata: aveva grandi conoscenze della lingua e della cultura inglese. La cosa più importante è che voleva far capire ai ragazzi quanto fosse d'aiuto sapere l'inglese nella vita di tutti i giorni.[175]

In regard to their language use, all of the six undergraduate students are aware of the role of English as a means for global communication, as most of them already use it in nonnative-to-nonnative communication. Also, they unanimously claim that knowing English would help them pursue their future careers as lawyers, architects and engineers. However, each student

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[174] Trans. "I also attended private lessons with an English woman who had been living in Italy for many years, though she was not a teacher… as always, when parents know a person to be a native speaker, they immediately send their children to study with him or her! She taught me twice the amount of what my high-school teacher could, as my teacher only focused on grammar. The native speaker did not only teach grammar to me, but also those sayings that one does not find on books: that is, everyday English."

[175] Trans. "My high-school English teacher was very experienced: she had a great knowledge of the English language and culture. The most important thing that she wanted her students to understand was how helpful it was to know English in everyday life."

has his or her peculiar perspective on which English should be learned and, subsequently, used.

For instance, Tatiana, who would like to improve her weak English skills, states that she will try to participate in an Erasmus+ Exchange Program to go to an English-speaking country, in order to learn the language properly. She does not mind retaining her Italian accent, as long as she becomes fluent. However, she claims she would be glad to learn the language the way it is spoken in England:

> Vorrei andare in Erasmus in un paese in cui si parli inglese, proprio perché voglio apprenderlo bene. Anche se il mio scopo è principalmente quello di apprendere l'inglese per ottenere un lavoro, o comunicare, mi piacerebbe comunque saperlo bene. L'importante è ovviamente farsi capire, non mi importerebbe avere un accento italiano… anche se sarebbe bello saperlo bene, nel senso, proprio come viene parlato in Inghilterra![176]

Claudio, who thinks his English skills are already advanced, believes that the main purpose of intercultural communication is to be understood and to understand the other, and the use of English serves as a means of enhancing one's capacities; however, a person should not stick to their L1 accent, if a person wishes to improve their own self:

> Se ti vuoi migliorare, non puoi attenerti alle limitazioni della tua lingua: la maggior parte dei documenti, che va dall'imparare la chitarra alla particolarità matematica, la trovi in inglese. Inoltre, se sei una persona che viaggia, a meno che non parli venti lingue diverse, parlerai in inglese. Un inglese piuttosto ignorante: in cui si dice ciò che si può, ma si ha sempre il timore di non farsi capire e di non capire. Si deve trovare un compromesso. Nel momento in cui uno parla, la prima cosa è farsi capire e capire. Alla fine, l'italiano conserva sempre nel suo inglese il suo essere italiano. Secondo me, però, è sbagliato rimanere legati alla propria pronuncia, se uno ha voglia di migliorarsi. Anche se

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[176] Trans. "I would like to go on Erasmus to a country where English is spoken as a first language, because I would like to learn English well. Even if my main aim is to learn English to get a job, or communicate, I would still like to know the language well. The point is to make oneself understood, I would not mind retaining my Italian accent… even if it would be nice to know English well, I mean, just like it is spoken in England!"

non so se sia meglio seguire una pronuncia inglese o americana… magari più un inglese americano, piuttosto che il britannico, dato che al giorno d'oggi si sente di più il primo.[177]

On the other hand, Stefania and Gaia, differently from Claudio, agree on the fact that a non-native speaker of English should definitely retain his or her L1 accent, as long as it does not interfere with intelligibility. Indeed, they believe that a person can be a proficient user of English, while at the same time retaining his or her own cultural identity, expressed through the L1 accent. Stefania, indeed, claims:

> Si dovrebbe apprezzare lo sforzo di una persona non-madrelingua nell'apprendimento di una seconda lingua. Si impara esercitandosi, parlando… ed è bello sentire persone che parlano inglese con il loro accento e magari con i propri errori, finché rimangono comprensibili. Non penso proprio che una persona dovrebbe snaturarsi per parlare una lingua.[178]

Gaia shares Stefania's belief, and reports the case of her own brother who is a proficient user of English, though people always say he speaks like Italians from the city of Naples (who have a very thick accent and their own dialect). She hence questions the reason for which many people find her brother's accent strange:

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[177] Trans. "If you want to improve yourself, you cannot be constrained by the limits of your own language: the majority of documents, which varies from learning how to play the guitar to the mathematical peculiarity, is in English. Besides, if you travel a lot, unless you know twenty different languages, you will speak English. A rather ignorant English: a language spoken as much as one can, fearing not to be understood, nor understanding the other. One needs to compromise. When one speaks, the main aim is to make oneself understood and to understand. In the end, Italian people retain their Italian being while speaking English. In my opinion, however, it is wrong to stick to one's [native] pronunciation, if a person wants to improve his or herself. Nevertheless, I do not know whether it would be best to follow a British or American model for pronunciation… maybe, it would be better to choose the American pronunciation rather than the British, since people hear American English more, nowadays."

[178] Trans. "One should appreciate a non-native speaker's effort to learn a second language. One learns through exercising, speaking… it is nice to hear people speak with their own accents and errors, as long as they remain understandable. I definitely do not think that a person should distort his- or herself in order to speak a language."

Mio fratello è un neurochirurgo in uno degli ospedali di Edimburgo, in cui tiene anche delle lezioni. Parla inglese tutti i giorni e lo sa bene: è bilingue. Però, tutti dicono che si sente che parla inglese come un napoletano. Ma se parli inglese come un madrelingua da un punto di vista grammaticale, perché dovrebbe importare che accento hai? Non penso sia una cosa da denigrare, eppure molti la trovano strana.[179]

Lastly, Cristiana and Beatrice both believe that using English correctly has nothing to do with the accent one has when speaking the language. They, too, affirm that getting the communicational message across is what matters the most. Cristiana clearly says:

Gli italiani che parlano inglese all'estero si riconoscono subito, ma l'importante è farsi capire! Non importa la pronuncia, non importano gli errori, l'importante è che il messaggio si comprenda in maniera chiara.[180]

However, Beatrice, who shares the same opinion as Cristiana on intelligibility, still finds it to be a compliment when people affirm that she sounds like a native speaker:

Ognuno ha un'identità linguistica, che rimane anche quando si parla un'altra lingua. È una cosa normale... anche se è davvero meraviglioso quando ti dicono che non parli l'inglese con un accento italiano! Una volta, mi hanno detto che parlavo l'inglese con un accento canadese, che comunque non era quello dell'Australia, dove stavo studiando. Ma, almeno, non sembravo italiana![181]

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[179] Trans. "My brother is a neurosurgeon in one of the hospitals in Edinburgh, where he also delivers some lessons. He speaks English every day and he knows the language well: he's a bilingual. However, everyone says he speaks English like an Italian person from Naples. But if you speak English like a native speaker in terms of grammatical correctness, why should your accent matter? I do not think he should be belittled, yet many people find his accent to be strange."

[180] Trans. "Italians who speak English abroad are immediately recognizable, but the important thing is to be understood! Pronunciation and errors do not matter, as long as the message is clearly understandable."

[181] Trans. "Everyone has their own linguistic identity, which remains, even when one speaks another language. It is normal… even if it definitely is amazing when people say you do not speak English with an Italian accent! Once, I was told I spoke English with a Canadian accent, which was certainly not that of Australia, where I was studying. Yet, at least, I did not sound Italian!"

As for the second group of students, all of the six third-year undergraduates, who are studying English in the same Foreign Language degree, followed English-language courses throughout their education careers, from elementary school to university. Obviously, they had different learning experiences during their school years – in elementary school, middle school and high school, which lasted for thirteen years in total; however, even throughout their three-year degree at university, they have had different opinions on the same native English-speaking teachers and courses.

For instance, Valentina, who stresses the fact that she needs to learn a language analytically – that is, by analyzing grammatical structures very carefully – states she found her first-year NEST to be somewhat inappropriate, for one would talk a lot during the lesson, and focus less on grammar; instead, she enjoyed the way her second-year lecturer organized her English class. Indeed, the instructor mainly focused on English grammar during her lesson, and was very accurate. She states:

> Con il primo lettore, si parlava tantissimo, anche se, a volte, era un po'
> inopportuno. Il secondo anno, invece, la professoressa era più
> sistematica: si studiava molto di più la grammatica, e si facevano più
> esercizi mirati.[182]

On the other hand, Giulio has a completely different view on such teaching methods: he valued positively the first-year lecturer's approach, and did not like the fact that the other NEST would strictly follow book units instead. He claims:

> Il primo professore usciva un po' dai canoni: anziché tenere una
> lezione standard, seguendo il libro, preferiva parlare un po' di ciò che
> voleva, soprattutto in ambito cinematografico. Comunque, questo tipo
> di lezione era spesso accompagnato dalla grammatica, quindi
> permetteva agli studenti di mettere in pratica le strutture grammaticali

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[182] Trans. "We would talk a lot with our first lecturer, even though it was a little inappropriate at times. During the second year, instead, our lecturer went about her work in a more systematic fashion: we would study grammar way more, and complete more focused exercises."

del libro. Invece, la professoressa del secondo anno era troppo ancorata alla lezione come pensata dal libro. Secondo me, non bisogna placare la curiosità dello studente: finché si tratta di curiosità nell'ambito dell'inglese e si continua a parlare in inglese, non fa che bene.[183]

Even though the first NEST's grammar-anchored approach is criticized by some of the interviewees, and appraised by others, all of the students agree on the fact that she represented the only native-speaker input to which the students could refer during their second-year class, so she should have been more careful when letting the students talk to one another in English: she did not correct students' mispronunciation, as Flora argues, nor did she check on whether all of the students were actually speaking English, according to Vera.

Indeed, Flora states:

> La professoressa del secondo anno non faceva tanto caso alla pronuncia, pur essendo inglese. Quando le persone pronunciavano parole in maniera sbagliata, lei non le riprendeva. Anche all'esame orale, ho sentito persone che parlavano un inglese pessimo, e non le ha riprese, quando invece avrebbe dovuto: avevamo lei come esempio! Avremmo potuto imparare molto di più.[184]

Vera, as well, argues:

> Durante il secondo anno potevamo fare conversazione, ma solo tra studenti. Si poteva sempre parlare in italiano se l'altro non avesse capito qualcosa, tanto la professoressa non controllava tutti quanti.

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[183] Trans. "The first lecturer was a little out of line: instead of delivering a standard lesson, following the book, he would rather talk about what he would like, especially in the field of cinematography. However, this type of lesson was often delivered along with the teaching of grammar, so it allowed students to practice the grammatical structures learned from the book. Instead, the second-year lecturer was excessively anchored to the way the book designed the lesson. In my opinion, one should not stop students from being curious: as long as it's English-related curiosity, and one keeps on speaking English, it can do nothing but good."

[184] Trans. "Our second-year lecturer did not pay much attention to pronunciation, even though she was British. When people pronounced words wrongly, she would not correct them. Even during our oral exam, I head people speaking a terrible English, and she did not correct them, when she really should have: we had her as a speaker-model! We could have learned a lot more."

Capisco che sia stato difficile, perché eravamo molti, ma così non funzionava…[185]

Furthermore, the last two interviewees, Rossana and Martina, both share the belief that following two-hour-long English courses twice a week was not enough, especially when time was spent mainly on grammar, and speaking activities were only amongst Italians: they both report feeling dissatisfied with their university experience in terms of practicing and enhancing their communication skills. Moreover, in regard to the NEST's nativeness factor, Rossana highlights that the lecturer really should have relied on her natively British pronunciation as a means to motivate students: indeed, the student explains that her use of English normally varies according to her interlocutor. If she were talking to a non-native speaker, she would not pay much attention to various aspects of her language; on the other hand, talking to a native speaker would encourage her to speak like one. To put it in her own words:

Dal mio punto di vista, noto che quando non parlo con nativi inglesi, pongo meno attenzione ad accento, intonazione e correttezza grammaticale… mi interesso solo al messaggio… sono un po' più pigra! Invece, se mi sto rivolgendo ad un nativo inglese, e quindi mi sento immersa in quel contesto linguistico e culturale, ho la voglia di imitare le proprietà d'uso che un nativo ha della lingua.[186]

Rossana, then, continues by explicitly referring to her use of English as a lingua franca: she addresses lingua-franca interactions as "grey", since ELF users are normally not engaged in native-to-nonnative communication, hence

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[185] Trans. "During our second year, we could talk in English, but only among students. We could always speak Italian if our partner did not understand anything, after all our lecturer would not check on all of us. I understand it can be hard, because there were a lot of students, but it just was not working like that…"

[186] Trans. "In my own perspective, I notice that when I am not talking to native speakers of English, I pay less attention to my accent, intonation and grammatical correctness… I only care about getting the message across… I am a little bit lazier! Instead, if I am speaking with a native, therefore I feel deeply absorbed in that lingua-cultural context, I feel like wanting to imitate the features that a native speaker uses in his or her language."

they do not have any native model to imitate and only use the language as a means of communication:

> Quando uso l'inglese come lingua franca, non provo il piacere di usare una lingua straniera sentendomi straniera. Se parlo francese con un francese, in un certo modo sto sfruttando la mia capacità di mimesi, perché un po' voglio essere e sentirmi francese mentre lo parlo. Non è soltanto una recita, è una voglia di capire ed essere immersa nella cultura. Invece, quando parlo l'inglese lingua-franca, questa cosa non c'è ed è semplicemente uno strumento. Un po' grigio, direi, anche.[187]

On the other hand, Martina, whilst talking about her use of English, which happens to mainly revolve around nonnative-to-nonnative communication, notices that lexico-grammar and pronunciation features in such a use are peculiar to speakers' socio-linguistic backgrounds: she claims that as long as these peculiarities do not interfere with communication, they should be regarded as normality. She also believes that it is up to the speaker to imitate a native-speaker accent, but that is not the point of communication. The main aim is, indeed, to communicate clearly. To quote her:

> Ovviamente, c'è differenza tra l'inglese che parlo con la mia amica irlandese e quello con i miei amici internazionali. Le differenze possono essere imprecisioni grammaticali da una parte e dall'altra, o magari la tendenza a tradurre letteralmente le espressioni idiomatiche delle nostre lingue. Ci sono poi persone che hanno un accento marcato, che lascia intuire la loro nazionalità. Però, in generale, è un elemento a cui mi sono abituata: non mi meraviglia affatto, e non c'è niente di sbagliato. Personalmente, però, credo che il voler imitare un determinato accento standard sia una scelta: se ci si riesce, bene. Altrimenti, penso che si debba comunque arrivare a parlare l'inglese con un accento che non ostacoli la comprensione. Nel momento in cui l'inglese è chiaro, e la comunicazione funziona, va bene così.[188]

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[187] Trans. "When I use English as a lingua franca, I do not feel pleased as if I were foreign by using a foreign language. If I am speaking French with a native speaker of French, I am somehow using my *mimesis* ability, as I do want to be and feel French when I speak the language. It is not just a show I am putting on, it is a wish to understand and be deeply absorbed into the culture. Instead, when I speak lingua-franca English, this does simply not happen, and English is only a means of communication. A rather grey one, I would add."

[188] Trans. "Obviously, there are differences between the English I speak with my Irish friend, and the one I use with my international friends. The differences can be grammatical

The belief that the main purpose of communication is to clearly get the message across is not only shared by Rossana and Martina, but by all of the other interviewees, too: however, each student has his or her own perspective on how the message should be delivered, in terms of pronunciation.

For instance, Giulio, who believes that all English varieties (namely, American, British, Australian English and so on) have equal status, does not judge non-native-speaker pronunciation, though he firmly claims that speaking English only with non-native users inevitably makes one's English use worse, because of possible errors non-natives may make:

> È chiaro che ci siano persone che parlano in maniera migliore o peggiore l'inglese, e che, chi è madrelingua, lo parli meglio. Non spendo giudizi di valore riguardo la pronuncia di un non-madrelingua. Ma è chiaro che sia sempre meglio circondarsi di madrelingua: se si usa l'inglese solo con persone che non lo parlano perfettamente, si finisce per peggiorarlo.[189]

Flora and Valentina, instead, who both follow British English as a model for their pronunciation, and still see intelligibility as the primary purpose of communication, make the following remarks on non-native speakers' accents. The first student states:

> Non mi aspetto che l'accento di un non-madrelingua sia come quello di un madrelingua. Ma, comunque, più è verso un parlante inglese, più

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inaccuracies from both parties, or, perhaps, the tendency to literally translate idiomatic expressions from our own languages to English. There are also people who have a thick accent, which lets others understand where they come from. However, I have gotten used to it: it does not surprise me at all, and there is nothing wrong with it. Nonetheless, I personally believe it is a matter of choice to imitate a specific standard accent: if one succeeds, then that is good. If not, I do believe one still needs to speak English with an accent that does not interfere with understanding. When English is clear, and communication works, then all is good."

[189] Trans. "It is clear that there are people who speak English better or worse than others, and that native speakers know English best. I do not make value judgments in regard to non-native speakers' pronunciation. However, it is clear that it is always better to surround oneself with native speakers of English: if one uses the language only with people who do not speak it properly, it [one's use of the language] ends up getting worse."

risulta migliore. Per "parlante inglese", intendo una persona nata e vissuta in Inghilterra.[190]

The second student further adds:

Io preferisco come si pronunciano le parole in inglese britannico, ma una pronuncia australiana non è meno valida di una indiana o nigeriana. Ad esempio, io stessa non sapevo che in Nigeria l'inglese fosse una lingua ufficiale. Appurato questo, perché l'inglese nigeriano dovrebbe valere meno di quello britannico? [...] Io detesto il fatto che gli italiani abbiano un accento italiano quando parlano inglese [*ride*]. Però, il primo scopo è comunicare, quindi va bene! Non è un dramma. Anche se da un punto di vista personale, ed estetico, non mi piace.[191]

Hence, both Flora and Valentina are aware of ELF communication peculiarities, though they believe that British English should be the preferred pronunciation model to follow for non-native interactions as well.

Lastly, Vera claims that she has different views herself on non-native-speaker accents and pronunciation:

Un italiano che parla inglese con il suo accento italiano è come un indiano che lo parla con il suo accento indiano. In un certo qual modo, queste persone mantengono un po' della loro cultura nell'uso di una seconda lingua. Ma le persone devono capire al volo quello che si vuole dire, soprattutto a lavoro. Quindi, sono d'accordo se una persona mantiene il suo accento nel momento in cui impara una lingua tanto per impararla, ma sono in disaccordo se quell'inglese viene usato per lavorare. In contesti importanti, dovrebbe essere usato o l'inglese britannico, o l'inglese americano: non nell'accento, ma nella pronuncia delle parole. Altrimenti, sarebbe come se in Italia parlassimo romano a lavoro![192]

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190 Trans. "I do not expect a non-native speaker's accent to be equal to that of a native speaker. However, the closer to a native-speaker accent, the better. With "native speaker", I refer to a person born and raised in England."

191 Trans. "I personally prefer the way words are pronounced in British English, though Australian pronunciation, for instance, is not less valid than that of India or Nigeria. For example, I did not know that English was an official language in Nigeria. This being said, why would Nigerian English be of less value than that of the British? [...] I loathe the fact that Italians have Italian accents when they speak English [*laughs*]. But the main aim is to communicate, so it is all right! It is not a big deal. Even if, personally, and aesthetically, I do not like it."

192 Trans. "An Italian person who speaks English with an Italian accent is like an Indian person who speaks it with his or her Indian accent. On the one hand, these people retain a

The student hence believes that either AmE or BrE should be used as a model for the pronunciation of single words, but not as the model for non-native-speaker accent overall.

III.3.3 Results and discussion

Having examined the two responses of both groups of undergraduate students, the following answers can be provided to the questions that guided the interviews:

1. All of the twelve interviewees expressed criticisms about both NESTs and NNESTs, regardless of their instructors' nativeness factor. The reasons for the students' critiques are to be found in the instructors' teaching methods perceived as ineffective - when they focused on some aspects of the language more than others, did not monitor in-class activities, were unable to motivate students, or did not account for different learners' needs. Positive remarks, too, were made on both NESTs and NNESTs, regardless of the instructors' nativeness factor, for the opposite reasons.

2. All of the twelve interviewees are aware of the lingua-franca use of English. Most of them already use the language as a means for nonnative-to-nonnative communication. Even if all students agreed on intelligibility as the primary aim of ELF communication, they had different attitudes in regard to lexico-grammar features and pronunciation: some students addressed lexico-grammar peculiarities as errors, while others thought of them as second-language

little of their culture in their use of a second language. But people need to immediately understand what is being said, especially at work. Hence, I agree with people retaining their [L1] accents when they are learning a[n L2] language just for the sake of it, but I disagree if English is used at work. British or American English should be used in important contexts: not as a model for accent, but for word pronunciation. Otherwise, it would be as if we, in Italy, spoke the Roman dialect at work!"

characteristics, influenced by the ELF user's L1; L1 accent carrying over into L2 was perceived as either normal or unpleasant, though all students agreed on the fact that a model for pronunciation should be followed – and they identified it as either British or American English.

3. All of the twelve interviewees were aware of the use of English as a lingua franca, regardless of their undergraduate degree. The undergraduates studying for a Foreign Language degree only showed greater awareness in regard to different varieties of English – that is, World English(es). However, despite ELF- and WE-awareness, all of the twelve students seemed to be deeply influenced by major native-speaking-country norm provisos, since the interviewees overall thought of English as deeply attached to its British and American roots, regardless of its lingua-franca use and the implications such use has on English-language teaching and learning.

This survey is, of course, non-representative, since the sample of interviewees was not large enough to possibly constitute statistically-based evidence. Nevertheless, the students' experiences as English learners, and their beliefs on the use of English in the present day, seem to show that students are not equally aware of all varieties of English, nor do they fully understand the significance of their roles as lingua-franca users of the language. Even when ELF users know that their use of English differs from the one pertaining to native speakers, they *still* believe it somehow should *not*. Also, the survey shows highly individual, emotive relationship with foreign language use: indeed, trying to aim at native-likeness when speaking an L2 is perceived differently by the interviewees. For some, it is a way to feel intimately linked with the L2; for others, it constitutes a distortion of one's L1 self. Hence, ELF use is not only constrained by native-speaker norms, but it varies, *as well*, according to the individual ELF user.

CONCLUSION

Although non-native speakers predominantly use English nowadays for international communication, and non-native interactions include a wide range of lexico-grammatical features and pronunciation peculiarities, the twenty-first-century lingua franca is largely assessed theoretically. It is not, however, practically integrated in teaching and learning contexts.

Lingua-franca English as such is hardly taught, because teachers may lack ELF-awareness or ELF-pragmatic materials; subsequently, lingua-franca English is hardly learned, either, because students are not sufficiently aware of the importance of intelligibility over native-likeness, nor of that of the preservation of their cultural identities, in ELF use.

As a result, the teaching and learning of English are *still* considerably influenced by native-speaker norms, with native-speaker English being taught and learned - in a world, however, where *non-native speakers* are shaping the language day by day.

APPENDIX

Guiding questions for the interviews with the students

1.   Questions regarding students' experiences as learners of English.

-      Per quanti anni ha studiato [/ da quanti anni studia] l'inglese?

How many years did you study [/ have you studied English] for?

-      Le piacevano i suoi insegnanti d'inglese a scuola [/ all'università]? Perché?/ perché no? Erano madrelingua?

Did you like your English teachers at school [/ university]? Why/ why not? Were they native speakers of English?

-      Ha mai studiato inglese privatamente? Le piacevano i suoi insegnanti privati? Perché/ perché no? In che modo differivano dagli insegnanti a scuola? Erano madrelingua?

Have you ever studied English privately? How were your private teachers? How did they differ from teachers at school? Were they native speakers of English?

-      Ha mai studiato inglese all'estero? È stato in un paese anglofono? Le piacevano i suoi insegnanti del posto? Perché/ perché no? Erano madrelingua?

Have you ever studied English abroad? Did you go to an English-speaking country? How were your teachers there? Were they native speakers of English?

2.   Questions regarding students' use of English in the present day.

-    In che modo usa l'inglese nella sua vita al giorno d'oggi?

     How do you use English in your life these days?

-    In quali contesti usa l'inglese (quanto spesso/ dove/ quando/ con chi?)

     In what contexts do you use English (how often/ where/ when/ with whom?)

-    In che modo è diverso parlare con un madrelingua rispetto ad un non-madrelingua?

     How is talking to native speakers different from non-native speakers?

-    Le piacerebbe migliorare le sue competenze in inglese? Perché/ perché no?

     Would you like to improve your English-language skills? Why/ why not?

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