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“Austrian English Teachers’ Attitudes towards English  
as a Lingua Franca -  
Language norms and identities revisited”

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## **Abbreviations**

|        |                                      |
|--------|--------------------------------------|
| BrE    | British English                      |
| EFL    | English as a foreign language        |
| EIL    | English as an international language |
| ELF    | English as a lingua franca           |
| ELT    | English language teaching            |
| ENL    | English as a native language         |
| ESL    | English as a second language         |
| GA     | General American                     |
| L1     | First language                       |
| L2     | Second language                      |
| NNS    | Nonnative speaker                    |
| NNST   | Nonnative speaker teacher            |
| NN(E)T | Nonnative (English) teacher          |
| NES    | Native English speaker               |
| NS     | Native speaker                       |
| NST    | Native speaker teacher               |
| RP     | Received Pronunciation               |
| SLA    | Second language acquisition          |

## **1. Preface**

In our daily life English is ubiquitous. The worlds of advertising, media, science and also education in many different countries use English words and expressions. English is the language of the international world, the globalized world and of modern people. Not only does it confer prestige, power and status but more importantly, enables the people of the world to communicate with each other in one language. The widespread and often overwhelming use of English can influence other languages, with significant consequences for various areas of our life. One of the most important areas that have grown due to the spread of English and the related increase in the number of English language learners is that of English language teaching (ELT), the main topic under consideration in this thesis.

Currently there are more than twice as many non-native speakers (in the following referred to as NNSs) of English in the world today (cf. Crystal 2003) than there are native speakers (NSs). This fact attests to an ever increasing demand for English teachers due to the language's global significance. Their reputation, as well as their education have changed immensely in the last few decades and are intensively discussed in the field of applied linguistics. Since I will be a NNS teacher of English myself, this is of crucial relevance for me. Over the last semesters of my studies, my interest in English language teaching, English as a lingua franca (ELF) and NNS English teachers (NNTs) grew and consequently lead me to write this thesis on the subject. In the last decade, the interest and the number of research projects in this new field of ELF in relation to ELT has been rising constantly and provides a well established, although controversial, set of findings. This development might serve to improve NNSs' self-esteem in that they evaluate themselves from a less critical perspective.

I wanted to see if NN English teachers still struggle with their identity in the classroom by conducting a small scale questionnaire study and semi-structured interviews. Subsequently, an attempt is made to outline means by which ELF awareness can be further integrated into teaching and learning, not only to modernize English language teaching by means of a more realistic reference framework when using the language, but

also to relieve teachers from the public and personal pressure associated with conforming to NS norms as closely as possible.

From my personal experience, I can say that a native speaker model was often in my mind while studying English, whether for grammatical, phonological or idiomatic reasons. Jenkins (2009: 204) described how

[...] identities were casualties of the pressures on them [the NNSs] to learn American or British English, and that the opposite would be true if ELF became acceptable and those pressures were removed.

This consolidated a personal sentiment of mine that such a model can cause more damage than good. Sometimes the comparison to a NS and the goal to achieve a native-like command can lead to frustration and I was relieved and motivated when I went into further depth when reading about ELF and its possible incorporation into the classroom in order to improve the self-perception of the NNET and a closer relation to language reality. All this leads to my research interest of this paper.

My personal experience, as a language assistant in an English school, which involved working with people of different language backgrounds, led me to identify more strongly with Virkkula & Nikola's findings (2010: 266) in their survey. NNSs start to refer to themselves not

as *individual* users of English whose performance is compared to that of native speakers, but from a *collective* perspective [...] in comparison to other users of English.

Individual users of English in an international context often find that other NNSs experience similar problems and encounter the same difficulties when communicating, and as such a community constituted of these individuals with common identity traits evolves. If this "collective ELF identity" (ibid.) has already worked for me and other users of English to bolster their self-esteem, why not try to use this phenomenon on a broader scale and provide NNSs and NNTs with an improved self-image, namely that of a full member of the ELF community. With this concept in mind, the idea of the following paper was born. The paper will be structured as follows:

After this preface, chapter 2 will provide a general introduction to the broad concept of English as a lingua franca, its development and its recent use and research in the field of linguistics in order to improve the NNSs' status and its acceptance. It is an attempt to summarize the important basics of the concept for the purposes of the empirical investigation.

Chapter 3 elaborates on the interconnectedness of ELF and English language teaching (ELT) and its relation to identity. The concept of language identity is crucial to understanding how self-perception and the status of a language user, most importantly that of the NNT, are constructed. Language norms and their power in ELT are described and the prejudice that NSs are better English teachers than NNSs is disputed. Furthermore, the difference between NNSs and NSs will be discussed and the issue considered how this difference could be used for the benefit of learners and what this could mean for teaching.

Chapter 4 outlines the aim and methodology of the questionnaire and interview survey conducted. The analysis section expounds the quantitative evaluation of the responses with the computer program SPSS and the qualitative analysis of the comments. Furthermore, questionnaires are analyzed. Since they are partly based on prior studies on NNTs' ELF attitudes, the responses are contrasted with those of the original studies and parallels are drawn. A chronological development of the NNETs' self-perception is illustrated in tables and a chart. After this, the general tendencies of the four interviews are summarized and subsequently, set in relation to the questionnaire results. These are interpreted and thematically discussed in the last sub-section and summarize the correlations between questionnaires and interviews. An attempt is made to account for apparent trends found and to this end, a specific focus is put on two groups of respondents, namely on English teachers from adult education and teachers of children and teenagers from the public school system. In the last sub-section, recommendations to improve the situation are gathered and possible implications are discussed.

Finally, the findings are summarized and the development of NNETs' attitudes towards ELF in the classroom over the last decade is shown by comparing the results of the different studies in order to describe which aspects have become clearer and which need

further investigation. It will be discussed in the conclusion whether the survey has contributed to a greater understanding of the kinds of identity struggles NNTs may or may not experience, and whether this situation could be remedied with a deeper incorporation of ELF in English language teaching.

## 2. Introduction

This chapter serves as the first part of the theoretical background needed for the empirical investigations and also explains abbreviations and terms frequently used, as well as relevant research in the topic area and its findings. It serves as an introduction to the theoretical concepts behind ELF and explains in how far this is relevant to the empirical studies conducted.

### 2.1. Defining a Lingua Franca

The *lingua franca*, which is the name of a specific contact language, was spoken in the Mediterranean area around five hundred years ago to simplify communication in trade and commerce (Knapp & Meierkord 2002: 9). According to the literature, the name *lingua franca* developed referring to languages used by people not sharing the same mother tongue for means of communication. In the course of history several languages were used as lingua francas, either only in specific regions or countries or even across continents. Examples thereof are the languages of the former colonial powers, Spanish, French and Portuguese. Earlier in history, Sanskrit, Arabic, Greek and Latin can be listed as lingua francas, too (cf. Ostler 2005). All these languages developed naturally to make communication possible. At the beginning, only the upper classes of the society had the chance to learn and use these languages. Later these lingua francas were spread as pidgins and other varieties. In the course of history scholars also tried to form artificial lingua francas based on existing languages, e.g. Volapük or Esperanto, which were not widely accepted and did not meet the expected success (cf. Vikør 2004: 330-332). Often lingua francas functioned merely as local and regional means of communication for speakers with “fairly stable combinations of first languages” (Seidlhofer 2011: 7). This earlier concept stands in stark contrast to the global phenomenon of English as a lingua franca (ELF).

Another way of defining the term lingua franca is the literal translation from Latin into English, which is ‘free language’. According to Seidlhofer (2011: 81) quoting Vikør (2004: 329), ‘franca’ can be alternatively “understood in the sense of [...] free of connections with particular countries and ethnicities”, which also exactly meets the definition of ELF in the historical and also the contemporary context.

All these lingua francas have one feature in common: They were used for communication between people not sharing the same mother tongue. In this paper, the lingua franca English and its potentials are in the center of interest.

## **2.2. Defining *English* as a Lingua Franca**

As any lingua franca, English as a lingua franca can be defined as a language mainly used by NNSs with different mother tongues to guarantee effective communication. In Seidlhofer's (2011: 7) words it is "any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice". It is noteworthy that English is frequently consciously chosen as a means of communication in a given context and sometimes it is the only option for communication (ibid.). That means that NSs are also using ELF when they speak English in an international context. If they decide to be part of an ELF community, adjusting the use of their own language as appropriate is essential. So NSs are not generally excluded from the ELF concept (Jenkins 2007: 3). This explanation of the acronym ELF seems clear and easily comprehensible, so that it will be used as the standard definition in this paper.

The interest in the field of ELF, formerly often equated with terms such as *English as a Global Language* or *English as an International Language*, is not a very recent phenomenon. The rapid spread of English interacted with its development as a significant second and foreign language. Consequently, the research spectrum has grown momentarily in the last two decades and so have the attempts to find definitions for the not so new role of English in the world as a lingua franca. Until the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the terminology was not explicitly defined for a rather long time and different interpretations of ELF and the previously mentioned similar terms coexisted (cf. Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey 2011: 281-286). The latter terms were used synonymously, and sometimes still are. However, only rather recently, most scholars agreed on *English as a lingua franca*, being the one least likely to be misinterpreted or mistaken for a variety of the wide range of Englishes (Seidlhofer 2011: 25). It includes the global spread of English and its communicative use in all kinds of domains. Especially, English as an *auxiliary language* was often a term for a language "used for internal communication in a multilingual society" (Brutt-Griffler 2002: 5). In some cases English might have been only an additional instrument for easier communication but

this is not the main aspect of the concept explained, especially because it is often associated with a “low-level makeshift language” carrying negative connotations (Seidlhofer 2011: 75 citing McArthur 2001: 1). These varying interpretations often lead to misunderstandings of ELF. ELF includes all this and much more, although it cannot be defined as a separate language of a lower level; its explicit conceptualization is discussed in sub-section 2.3.

There are still scholars arguing against ELF, its use and general acceptance (cf. Sabkowiak 2005; Prodromou 2006; etc.). However, especially Seidlhofer’s and Jenkins’ line of argument and their definitions of ELF are the basis for this study. The main reasons for counter-ELF arguments and disparaging comments are misunderstandings and misinterpretations of the ELF concept. Jenkins (2009) has listed the major misconceptions of ELF, which most frequently either are a perception of ELF as a monolithic concept or at the complete other end of the spectrum, a low-level English without rules.

According to Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey (2011: 282) the research field of ELF in the modern sense, as used here, started to gain attention in academia at the beginning of the new millennium with seminal articles by Jenkins (2000) and Seidlhofer (2001). All in all, it can be said that since the 1980s the growth of ELF relevant research in the field of applied linguistics, as well as attempts to implement it in pedagogy for language teaching professionals is exceptional (Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey 2011: 283).

In order to better understand the evolution of the ELF concept, Kachru’s (1985) three circle speaker system has to be introduced. Kachru tried to picture the spread of English in different countries with these circles. However, his system does not acknowledge common functions and negotiated language features in order to achieve mutual intelligibility, especially **across** the circles (Seidlhofer 2011: 19). Furthermore, it uses the NS as the central reference point, which is strongly criticized in the recent ELF discourse. Nevertheless, it was part of an initial movement for the empowerment of the NNS and is still often quoted in linguistic publications. The Inner Circle of Kachru’s (1985) cyclic model consists of native speakers of English, the Outer Circle, i.e. former English colonies, comprises speakers of English as a second language. In these countries it is

accepted as an official and/or second language, e.g. India or Africa. The fact that these regions were former colonies had influenced their language systems, constructing language varieties such as Indian or African English (cf. Kachru 1985). The Expanding Circle is probably of the greatest importance for continental Europeans, who are neither NSs nor subjects of a former colony. Italians, Germans or Austrians, for instance, acquire English as a foreign language for communication purposes. However, in the course of the ongoing globalization with mobility becoming easier for each individual, Kachru's construct has lost parts of its relevance. Graddol (2006) adapted it to its contemporary requirements: he situated highly proficient speakers of English in the middle of the circle and those with lower proficiency in the outer region of the circle without making a distinction between NSs and NNSs of English. Seidlhofer (2011: 81) states that the adherence to Kachru's circle model would be limiting and "counterproductive for ELF interaction". Graddol's system, on the other hand, seems far more appropriate to the contemporary situation and serves as a major part of the relevant background theory. Nevertheless, it is necessary to grasp Kachru's intended meaning in order to understand e.g. Walker's (2010: 4) assumption that the number of Inner and Outer Circle English speakers, in Kachru's terms, will rather stagnate, whereas the members of the Expanding Circle are expected to outnumber those speaking ENL and ESL. Kachru's original three circle system apparently is still referred to, even if mainly critically, especially in the light of ELF research (Jenkins 2007; Hülmbauer, Böhringer & Seidlhofer 2008; Walker 2010; Seidlhofer 2011; etc.). This centre, giving NS English the norm-defining status, is crucial for any English speakers' status and triggers pressure to emulate this norm and often feelings of inferiority. This NS-centeredness, however, seems not acceptable according to the prevailing concept and definition of ELF, in which the reasons for language use are completely different. However, in the light of frequent citation of Kachru's three circle model in the relevant literature, the need for a closer inspection seemed to be obvious.

Another language feature of great importance in this definition of ELF seems to be that of variety. The traditional concept of a variety is summed up by Seidlhofer (2011: 75f) as a discrete language entity "based on the description of specific features of the language used in a particular territory".

Researchers like Jenkins, Cogo, Dewey (2011) and Seidlhofer (2011) postulate the general acceptance of different forms and functions of English, whether based on NNS English or NS English. This diversity and also the term *variety*, which is mistakenly equated with that of ELF, are still questioned. Nevertheless, ELF cannot be classified as one of these varieties because it consists of peculiarities which stem from numerous different variations of English due to the diverse language background of its users. Seidlhofer (2011: 76-77) also argues that one of the most important steps towards defining ELF is to fully reject the idea of ELF as a different variety of English. Seidlhofer (2011: 77) says: “[ELF] is not a variety of English but a variable way of using it: English that functions *as a lingua franca*”.

There is still a lack of acceptance of this approach in the field of linguistics based on misjudgment and wrongly interpreted functions of ELF. It is of utmost importance to acknowledge the fact that not ELF as such is the variety but the way of using it varies and provides all kinds of English speakers with a broader set of possibilities in order to communicate effectively, depending on the speaker’s background and L1(s) and contextual needs. “[S]peakers who come from different linguacultural backgrounds” (Jenkins 2009: 200) including NSs, share one and the same motivation to communicate effectively. This seems to be a major factor in the definition of ELF. According to Jenkins (2007: 1), the traditional lingua francas did not comprise NSs, whereas ELF does, even if they are only a minority. NSs are not generally excluded from the ELF concept (Jenkins 2007: 3), as previously discussed.

To sum up, the fact that NSs are, by definition, included in the group of people using ELF has to be emphasized, although they are and even will be more and more of a minority in the growing community of English speakers. NSs also have to adjust their speech to effectively communicate in ELF contexts. Only their starting point is different, which makes their accommodation process to a special case in linguistic and pragmatic terms. They also need to acquire additional abilities in order to be part of effective ELF communication (cf. Jenkins 2012: 487). Particular attention is drawn to the fact that in an ELF community English is used as an instrument (cf. Canagarajah 1999) mostly for transferring information from one interlocutor to the other without sharing any other language than English. This has to be kept firmly in mind while reading the literature,

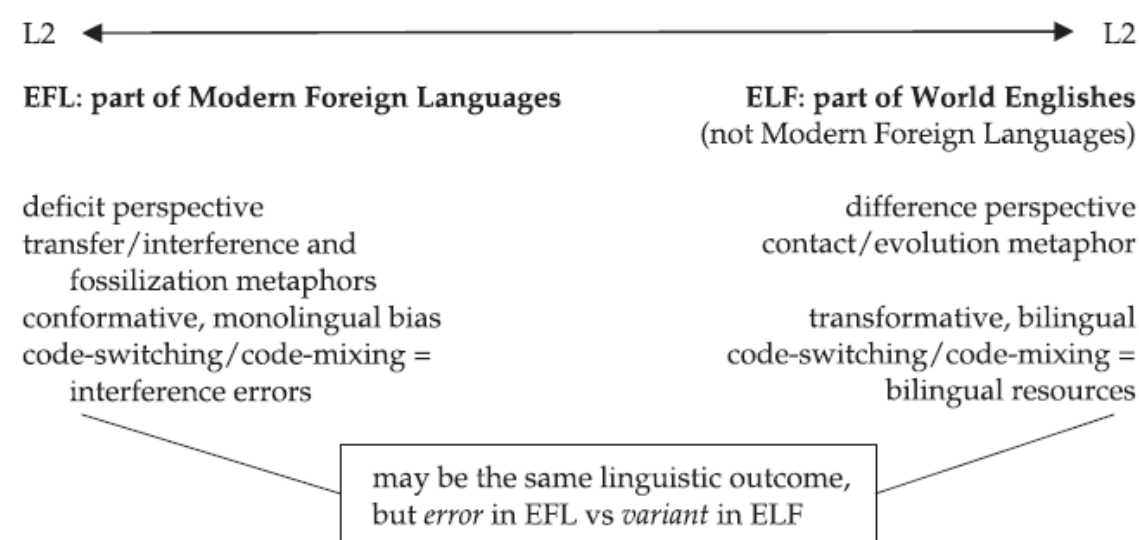
interpreting empirical studies, as well as when exploring ELF interactions, for instance via the VOICE corpus (The Vienna-Oxford International Corpus 2009).

### **2.3. EFL versus ELF**

A crucial task, then, is to introduce conceptual clarity into what is at times a somewhat confused and emotional debate [...] of the global spread of English. One way of doing this is to keep apart the notions of 'English as a foreign language' (EFL) and 'English as a lingua franca' (ELF). The acronyms are treacherously similar, but the concepts are quite different (Seidlhofer 2011: 17).

At this point in the debate it is worth familiarizing ourselves with the term EFL, which should provide us with greater clarity. It is applicable when English is learnt as an additional language next to the individual's mother tongue, or when being taught in the same way. The focus is traditionally very much on the identification with NSs of English, their native language variety and their culture. The authority of the NS is accepted and taken as a model in order to achieve the goal of becoming a part of their speaker community (Seidlhofer 2011: *ibid.*). If the use of a language is rather limited to the area where it is an L1, e.g. in the case of Czech or Thai, it is of greater importance to strive to use the language in a way that is as native-like as possible (Seidlhofer 2011: *ibid.*). In the case of English, in the contemporary situation, this would only make sense if someone has a personal affinity for the native language and its culture or wants to be part of the NS community, planning to study in or immigrate to the country where it is used as an L1 (Seidlhofer 2011: 17-19). A possible consequence of EFL is that it is likely to emphasize the NS norm in ELT due to its constant reference to the L1 standard form (Jenkins 2006: 138), which in this sense would not provide enough room for variation. However, the relevance of EFL depends on the context of the teaching situation. Seidlhofer (2011) holds the view that the objective behind the use of ELF is mutual intelligibility in communication, in contrast to the traditional goal of EFL to learn ENL. ELF defines a concept of communication, a language mode, pursued for effective conversations between interlocutors from all over the world, exchanging their professional and also personal views in English, not only in spoken but also in written formats in a greater multitude than ever before (cf. Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer 2011). Unfortunately, English language teaching in Austria, Europe and the world, or in Kachru's terms: in the Expanding and in the Outer Circle predominantly focuses on the EFL approach.

Jenkins (2006: 138-139, 144) argues that in EFL, due to strong NS norm presence in SLA, even the slightest deviation from NS English is categorized as an error. In ELF theory, such deviations from NS English are not necessarily categorized as errors. This refusal to conform to prescriptive standards means that it is often regarded as a deficient form of English and thus ignored by traditionalist scholars. The potential of the concept of ELF is dismissed before it is apprehended.



**Figure 1:** EFL versus ELF by Jenkins (2006: 140)

Jenkins uses this figure to illustrate the differences between English as a foreign language and English as a lingua franca. On the left side, the basic aspects of EFL are described, whereas on the right hand side, those of ELF can be found. This illustration makes obvious how the argumentation for ELF is built and why the distinction is so important. EFL uses the NS as the single norm, degrading transfer, interference or code-switching to errors, which have to be overcome and must not occur at a higher level of proficiency. Contrarily, ELF is described as comprising World Englishes. Language backgrounds are used creatively and are perceived as benefits rather than as negative interferences. Thus, bilingual resources give their users a higher potential of flexibility and tolerance towards their interlocutors with the goal of effective communication on both sides. It is important to mention that language variation, adaptation or creative use, conceived as mistakes in EFL teaching, in most cases do not hinder effective communication; therefore, such phenomena are not classified as errors as in EFL

settings, as long as they are attributable to certain reference points, namely frequency, efficacy and systematicity (cf. Cogo & Dewey 2006). It is also noteworthy that this figure addresses all levels of English, because ELF and EFL users can range between low and high levels of proficiency, unimportant which goal they pursue (cf. Jenkins 2006: 140-141).

The primary motivation for learning English in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is not *integrative* [...] but *instrumental* [...]. The majority of the world's learners are hardly hooked on the 'cultural baggage' of the native community any longer. They need not wish to learn British/American culture, while they may be more interested in using English to speak about their own customs and traditions. Thus, emulation is replaced by comparison of one's beliefs, meaning and behaviours with those of another culture, which can rather support than jeopardize one's cultural identity (Paradowski 2008: 59) .

This quote perfectly explains the dimension of the spread of contemporary English and its use. English cannot be viewed as the foreign language it once used to be for countries of the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle. Paradowski (2008: 59) also describes this development from English as a foreign language to English as a lingua franca. Its use and thus its speakers' motivations have undergone certain changes (Paradowski: *ibid*). This different approach gains in weight and becomes more and more relevant, especially its influence on identity, also briefly mentioned in this quote. The concept of ELF provides speakers with a basis for endless possibilities in a language, once only known under the term EFL with many limitations, now evolved to a new and additional ELF.

An oft-cited argument against ELF is the lack of standardization and codification. Here 'standardization' is used in the sense proposed by Bamgbose (1998: 3-4), stating that it puts "the [language] innovation into a written form in a grammar, a lexical or pronunciation dictionary, course books or any other type of reference manual". Since ELF has such a high number of variants in terms of grammar, lexis and pronunciation, with one of its main aspects being flexibility and innovation, this appears to be a tough job. Nevertheless, numerous attempts are undertaken to systematize and codify ELF occurrences. This is also done to reach a higher level of acceptance of ELF. Especially, Seidlhofer (2011) claims the need for theoretical description and further codification of ELF. In order to register this structure in corpora and publish the resulting categorizations, hard work has already been done but also needs to be done in the

future. So far huge amounts of money and time have been invested in researching native English; corpora, dictionaries and empirical studies closely depict its use in the Inner Circle (Seidlhofer 2011: 19f). According to Seidlhofer (2011) and Jenkins (2007) the need for a change in focus is crucial. Seidlhofer's (2011: 19-24) solution for this problem is on the one hand an exact formulation of the ELF concept and on the other hand an appropriate description of its practical use. This description, comprises linguistic corpus work, for instance the VOICE Corpus (The Vienna-Oxford International Corpus 2009). In order to reveal the structure and lexis of ELF, corpus analysis is an adequate instrument. These findings have the potential to promote the theoretical concept of ELF. Only then will it be possible to enable a full practical, as well as a scholarly acceptance of ELF.

For the development from EFL to ELF, Decke-Cornill (2008) developed a list of guidelines adding a hopeful angle to the sometimes seemingly unpromising discussion. Firstly, there is a need in "readiness to change perspective and outlook, to re-consider preconceived ideas, to accept difference and ambiguity without becoming indifferent" (Decke-Cornill 2008: 167). Secondly, it should be essential to all people using English, to enhance their "knowledge of and interest in the cultural expressions [...] of NNS of English from a variety of backgrounds" (ibid.) and acquire "strategies of adapting one's own language to listeners from different backgrounds and levels of proficiency [...]" (ibid.) as well as the

[...] awareness of the ambivalence of English, of its varieties, of the way it has affected and continues to affect languages, lives and identities [and] [...] its effect on the production of power, knowledge, ideologies [...] (ibid.).

I strongly agree with her conclusion that the development from EFL to ELF provides new possibilities, in terms of "thinking and communicating" (ibid: 169). However, at the moment these tenets sound rather utopian.

In recent years it has been realized that the formal understanding of English and its teaching and learning purposes are not sufficient anymore; the objectives are different now. In other words, the role of English has changed, making the former sole models such as RP and GA outmoded (cf. Walker 2010: 5). Today, learners need more than just grammar rules and language examples of Inner Circle Englishes to effectively

communicate in everyday situations, for example in business meetings, with their foreign friends and partners or plainly to help tourists find their way. This is what Hülmbauer, Böhringer and Seidlhofer (2008) call a “functional approach” towards English rather than the formal one having been distributed by institutionalized language teaching through the concept of EFL for decades. According to Hülmbauer, Böhringer and Seidlhofer (2008), this approach also nicely pictures the continuum from EFL to ELF, which is still neglected by several researchers. Slowly, signs of change can be detected in the traditional SLA research area. Nevertheless, these function as a starting point for the further development in the academic field and in the classroom itself. This is crucial to be continued, fostered by insights gained from studies and research. Therefore, I consider this paper to be a modest contribution towards the goal of a more functional perspective of English.

Another difference between ELF and EFL is the fact that ELF users can never be solely classified as mere learners of English. Although they can be learners and users at the same time, just like NSs, they are users of ELF in different contexts outside the language classroom, as soon as they use English in communication with interlocutors not sharing their L1(s) or any other language they could converse in. Jenkins (2006: 148) quotes Brutt-Griffler (2002) as saying that ELF speakers do not only passively encounter the language but also participate in the “spread and development” of a rather functional approach towards the English language. As mere learners they would be limited to follow the prescribed standard norm of English. At the moment, only the native language is considered to be such a norm with great emphasis on formal aspects. However, ELF users’ motivations are different, i.e. of a rather functional than a formal nature, and therefore, they are users of English with the goal of functional effectiveness (Hülmbauer, Böhringer & Seidlhofer 2008: 28). Some scholars (cf. Kuo 2006, Maley 2009, Groom 2012; etc.) have misinterpreted the construct of ELF and its possible teaching implications, and thus reject it, perceiving it merely as a learner language, immediately altering its users’ statuses by downgrading ELF to a makeshift language of lower proficiency and accuracy (cf. Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer 2011). Nevertheless, Seidlhofer does not surrender and argues for the differing motivational factors of ELF and EFL.

Consequently, in terms of theoretical background for the research interest of this paper, Seidlhofer's stance is followed.

The differentiation between the two concepts triggers the question of how to change habits as well as the underlying theory in the English language teaching classroom. ELF researchers usually include the ELT perspective in their studies in order to cater for all needs. Thus, a further growth of interest in new ideas and reforms for teaching English in the classroom in the light of ELF has emerged and works as a sound basis for my research project. At least in academia these new perspectives have found more and more supporters. Publications on this topic can be found in a much higher number than a decade ago and many of them are quoted in this paper. The fact that not all of their authors have grasped the essence of the concept of ELF makes it harder to change the attitude towards NNSE.

Considering the consequences of the differentiation discussed Seidlhofer (2011: 12) states that one of the most important impacts on ELT is that of questioning the NS as the only reference model in the language classroom. Unfortunately, this is strongly intertwined with power and linguistic imperialism (see sub-section 2.6.), which is looked more closely at after summarizing the most important characteristics of ELF usage.

## **2.4. The Conceptual Gap**

The concepts of ELF and EFL as discussed above are crucial for a new way of thinking about English language use. Acknowledging the concept of ELF, and with this a clear differentiation between ELF and EFL, seems of utmost importance especially for learning and teaching. The broader scholarly interest in English as a language spoken worldwide, in intercultural communication in general, and the introduction of the concept of ELF specifically, have changed the discourse of ELT. Seidlhofer (cf. 2011: 10-16) mentions that the growth in interest in ELT has mainly triggered ENL/ESL/EFL research when ELF use is the predominant purpose of learning English all over the world. Even if the view on ELT has changed mainly in terms of teaching methods, practical approaches towards language content seem to be set in stone. Seidlhofer finds it problematic that the practical perspective towards the school subject English has not yet undergone any

reformation or adjustment, which partly explains the undiminished power of NS English as a language model (ibid) (see also Seidlhofer 2012). Furthermore, the purpose of studying English and the theoretical discourses in this field have changed but the resulting acceptance of ELF still needs time and a change in attitude to enter people's minds. This is what Seidlhofer (2011: 14) calls a "conceptual gap". Scholars, teachers and language users need to understand that due to globalization and the consequential spread of English, also the expectations towards the language changed. This resulted in a difference in language forms and functions. It needs to be acknowledged that the E in ENL is a different one to that in ELF.

After closer examination, it seems that this is also a question of attitude towards the native language and awareness raising, which firstly should be a top-down process in the ELT system, with changes primarily in teacher education and also in language description, as well as in analyses and in teaching material production (cf. Seidlhofer 2011). The recognition of the concept of ELF must be supported by further theoretical research triggering practical changes which can then result in bottom-up processes. However, this can also produce dangerous mistakes of conceptual misinterpretation and misleading argumentation. Since this academic field is booming at the moment, one has to take special care when working with recent articles: They often solely express the author's opinion on the global spread of English, ELF usage or the common attitude on the native variety (see Kuo 2006; Maley 2009; Groom 2012; etc.). Their doubt about the existence of ELF cannot be justified by their opinion and is therefore redundant for its description.

Nevertheless, the claim of redundancy of the NS model in ELF and also in ELT situations is strongly intertwined with the societal awareness of ELF. It needs to be handled without personal resentment. The major current ELF corpus projects, for instance VOICE (The Vienna-Oxford International Corpus) or ELFA (The English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings Corpus) (Seidlhofer 2011: 10) are paving the way for wider acceptance and codification of ELF usage, the underlying concept, the possibilities of their practical implementation into the classroom, and awareness raising in language schools.

## 2.5. Linguistic Consequences of ELF Use

So far the theoretical concept of ELF has been described in some detail. However, to some extent there is also the need to illustrate not only its theoretical definition but also its efficiency and regularity by means of examples. Leading scholars (cf. Seidlhofer 2011; Jenkins 2007; Cogo & Dewey 2006; etc.) describe ELF as based on negotiating meaning. According to Cogo & Dewey (2006: 68), this provides ELF communications with highly “cooperative and supportive” factors. Nowadays, the aspect to investigate structures in a language is corpus analysis. It is used to detect regularities in communicative behavior of ELF users; significant structures are looked at more closely in terms of frequency, efficacy and systematicity. Formerly classified errors are evaluated differently according to these three factors. If an ELF utterance meets all three criteria, it is considered to be a regular non-L1 variant. These regular variants appear to be more useful in the ELF context than in the NS one (cf. Cogo & Dewey 2006: 64). Consequently, the status of the used language structures is changed, which leads to a positive perception and thus to an acceptance of ELF usage.

Explicit language examples are, for instance, the avoidance or the use of idioms. They are usually classified as problematic due to communicators’ different cultural backgrounds and are therefore less often used, changed or discussed on a meta-level in ELF conversations (cf. Seidlhofer 2011: ch. 6.3). The context of other languages and cultures is crucial for these language occurrences (cf. Cogo & Dewey 2006: 69). Another interesting, very frequently occurring strategy is repetition, which can be separated in self- and other-repetition (cf. Cogo 2009). It does not only show support and approval but also engagement, and helps to create a better speaker-listener relationship (cf. Cogo & Dewey 2006: 71). Furthermore, Cogo & Dewey investigated lexicogrammatical occurrences and were able to find the majority of Seidlhofer’s (2004) hypotheses confirmed, which are the following:

- Use of 3rd person singular zero
- Extension of relative *which* to include functions previously served only by *who*
- Shift in the use of articles [...]
- Invariant question tags (and use of other similar universal forms, such as *this* for *this* and *these*)

- Shift in patterns of preposition use, e.g. *we have to study about*
- Extension to the collocational field of words with high semantic generality, e.g. *take an operation*
- Increased explicitness, e.g. *how long time* in place of *how long* (Cogo & Dewey 2006: 75).

These features were confirmed by a detailed ELFA (The English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings Corpus) and VOICE (The Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English) data analysis and provide an interesting insight into the structure of ELF. For a closer elaboration with explicit corpus examples see Cogo & Dewey (2006). Numerous other studies on ELF characteristics can be found e.g. on phonology (Jenkins 2000), cultural discourse (Modiano 2005) or pronunciation (Sifakis & Sougari, 2005).

From this empirical perspective it is obvious that ELF usage has nothing to do with a low-level auxiliary language but consists of interesting and creative innovations which stem from a high degree of linguistic flexibility and multilingual experience of its users. To say it in Seidlhofer's (2011: 120) words:

Essentially what we see in ELF usage is the exploitation of encoding possibilities to produce linguistic forms that are functionally appropriate and effective.

Unfortunately, this analysis and its implications are being ignored persistently by several authors. The main argument therefore is the adherence to a NS's superiority and their total custodianship of the use and development of English, which is discussed in the next section.

## **2.6. Linguistic Imperialism**

The term linguistic imperialism, mainly influenced by Phillipson (1992), is a sort of language racism, distributing strict power relations to language users (cf. Pennycook 1999). According to Brutt-Griffler (2002: 7) Phillipson's approach explains the worldwide spread of English due to colonization. She still sees it as a "culturally imperialistic project" (ibid.), which also tries to transmit English language culture to its users.

Another interesting perspective of this stance is the ownership of language, describing the ideological central position of the NS and their (self-) perception as the sole reference point for 'perfect' or 'proper' English. In traditional literature, the NS is displayed as the sole owner and distributor of English due to its historical development. Additional to the higher status, this has granted the NS with the full right to decide what English is, how it has to look and sound like and how it should be taught. This fact had never been questioned and had been accepted without a closer look at appropriateness to local and situational conditions, especially in teaching contexts (cf. Phillipson 1996: 27). Only in the last decades has this form of discrimination become a research topic. However, the ideological part has played, and is still playing, an important role in the spheres of language policies of English in the Outer and Expanding Circle countries. Widdowson (1994) discusses this topic in great detail and states that the status of the NS is problematic. Seidlhofer (2011: 33) says that the ownership of English can only be granted to the NS if it is assumed that English is "intrinsically hegemonic", which it never is. This would imply that it has to stay unchanged and must not be adapted to users' various needs in different communities or contexts. Furthermore, Seidlhofer (ibid: 34) criticizes that on the one hand, Phillipson (1992) claims the democratization of language rights, and on the other hand he criticizes NNS politicians not using perfect English wording according to the NS norm. This course of action is seen as an

[...] indication that it remains difficult to accept ELF as a use in its own right, and ELF speakers as language users in their own right (Seidlhofer 2011: 35).

Widdowson (1994) also clearly depicts the development of the English language and the traditional adherence to the NS model. Concurring to this, Janssen (1999: 49) argues that due to this ideological superiority, the NS is granted with advantages over NNSs. This only seems true if the existing relations are retained and a differentiation between NNSs and NSs is upheld. This phenomenon, strictly separating NNSs and NSs, is called the *native-speaker fallacy* (cf. Phillipson 1992).

The term *native speaker fallacy* furthermore describes the imposed superiority of the NS, especially in the teaching sector. It triggers numerous problems for NNSs and NNSTs. Often this is hardly visible on the surface. Nevertheless, it is assumed to leave countless NNSs of English insecure about their language use. Phillipson (1992: 184) defined five

key tenets discussing the best ELT situation achievable. For him, the NS is the ideal teacher and NNSs are expected to emulate this model. Many criticized this stance. Canagarajah (1999: 84), for instance, says that

unless the native speaker fallacy is effectively challenged and dismissed, we may not develop a formidable sense of professionalism in ELT that orientates to language learning and the language learner in a holistic sense.

In other words, if the adherence to the NS norm in the language classroom is persisted, an adequate teaching situation is very unlikely. A maintained adherence to the traditional NS norm in the English language learning classroom ignores the future needs of the learner as well as it can trigger problematic identity struggles of the teacher. The adherence to the NSs superiority would also foster the perception of the NNS as a failed NS, trying to reach the assumed goal to enter the NS community which will hardly ever happen. Hence, the demand to move away from a monolingual reference in ELT towards preparing the ground for a beneficial multilingual ELF user with different wants and needs is more than justified.

Janssen (1999: 49) states that this controversial situation can only be overcome if NNSs and NSs accept the concept of ELF and thus leave their thinking of NS superiority behind. However, the fear of negative changes and the tradition that English NSs are the custodians of their language has made users, as well as teachers and learners in the Outer and Expanding Circles accept the norms and styles of the NS. This is especially the case in terms of teaching materials and teaching techniques (Phillipson 1996: 27). Particularly editors and publishers from the Inner Circle have enforced it by promoting their materials as the best, the 'real' materials, written by 'real' natives (Widdowson 1994: 388; Seidlhofer 2011: 190). ELF critics claim a loss in accuracy and general language simplification, arguing that only NSs know how to handle 'their' language perfectly due to intuition (cf. Quirk 1989 cited in Mauranen 2005). Mauranen (2005: 273) proves that in ELF usage only small parts of the language are simplified, whereas many others have undergone a complexification. Widdowson (1994: 377-378) describes that scholars argue for the adherence to a certain standard norm due to its perception as a "quality assurance", which "should protect [language] from abuse". Considering this, the following questions have to be asked persistently: Who actually is a native, how

can one be defined? How were NSs able to stay that powerful and the only group of English speakers granted to have a 'proper' command of English and the only 'proper' influence on its development (cf. Seidlhofer 2011: 41; Widdowson 1994: 387)? The first question is tackled in chapter 3, whereas the answer to the others is harder to be given. This has been tried in the current section.

English often has been perceived as a single stable entity, or to say it in Seidlhofer's (2011: 33) words: English has been kept as "an established preserve of its native speakers." In other areas of linguistics, not only recently, it has been taken for granted that language is a very fluid, flexible and varying formation and thus, Widdowson's (1994) claim that mainly the NNSs of English influence the development of English and its use in the world, can be assented. This cannot only be justified by their large number of speakers but also by their use of ELF in manifold contexts and unlimited situations with various different L1(s) and cultures as background. Seidlhofer (2011), as well as Widdowson (1994) consequently have been working on the relevance of language ownership in connection to teaching and learning English. For a rather long time the NS ideal has also diminished NNTs' status according to language accuracy and authenticity. The NS/NNS teacher discourse leads to a better understanding of the emergence of the concept of ELF and the hypothesis of this paper, which is that ELF can help NNTs of English to establish a better self-perception and thus, improve the quality of teaching. In the time span from Widdowson's (1994) publication until now, a lot has been going on in the field of language teaching and NS centeredness. NSs are more and more doubted as being the only 'perfect' users of English and thus being the only adequate reference point for learning and teaching English. Concluding this section, I want to cite Brumfit (2001; quoted in Seidlhofer 2011: 1) who said:

The ownership (by which I mean the power to adapt and change) of any language in effect rests with the people who use it, whoever they are, however multilingual they are, however monolingual they are.

In accordance to this quote, it should be clear now, how ELF theory is connected with power relations and (native) language attitude. In order to grant ELF users their rightful significance, "the overdue acknowledgement of the reality of ELF" (Seidlhofer 2011: 38) needs to be achieved. This is in accordance with Mauranen's (2005: 270) view that ELF

does not prescribe norms or models to the centre but is used and influenced by people from a very heterogeneous group.

### **3. Possible Influences of ELF on Language Teaching**

After having defined the basic terms of ELF theory, the next step is to discuss some specific identity theory in order to introduce the objective of this thesis and its empirical part. The major focus will be on language teachers and how they perceive their teaching situation in Expanding Circle countries. Especially, NN teachers' self-perception, their language roles and the link between their teaching and their students' realistic needs will be analyzed. There is no doubt, that due to the changed function of English in the world, also the school subject English should incorporate ELF on various levels. The goal to achieve effective communication seems to be aimed at by the majority of English users on an international level and this also should be reflected in teaching (cf. Seidlhofer 2011: 190). Apparently, the relationship between ELF and English language teaching is very strong but large discrepancies between the theoretical findings and the practical implementation are constantly noticed in favor of the traditional way. Reasons therefore range from constant native references to inappropriate teaching materials degrading the status of NNSs and hence discomfoting NNSTs (see Widdowson 1994; Seidlhofer 1996; Jenkins 2007; etc.). The approaches towards possible improvements are differing, depending on the respective academic field. In this paper, in accordance with leading ELF theorists, an applied linguistic view point is pursued.

The focus herein will be especially on the case of NNSTs, the impact of ELF on their identity construction and their teaching behavior. The combination of the analysis of concepts like traditional EFL and the contemporary ELF with a poststructuralist identity concept should be the basis for further development in teacher training and consequently more flexibility in teacher identity options. The following analysis will include NNSTs' language identity, their self perception and in how far this can be connected with the latest ELF research. A future incorporation of ELF into the language classroom is aimed at. The development of a more appropriate teacher education considering learners' different needs, better teaching materials and a more autonomous range of identity options is emphasized. Generally, a change in attitude towards ELF in ELT is of importance. As Virkkula & Nikula (2010: 252) clearly state that many scholars concentrated on the analysis of learners' assumed language goal to emulate the NS norm but they often neglected in how far this is connected with identity construction, on the

learner and on the teacher side. However, language use and especially ELF usage is said to be strongly related with identity and its construction, while and through speaking (cf. Seidlhofer 2011: 51). Therefore, this paper focuses on NNT identity in order to shed some more light on this realm.

### **3.1. NS English: An appropriate Norm for ELT?**

Several aspects of the NS norm and its historical function as a language model have already been explained. The question, why native English persistently works as a language model in ELT, although it is claimed not to be tenable anymore, has still not been answered (cf. Widdowson 1994: 380-383). Probably, no exact answer for this intricacy can be found. However, if an appropriate contemporary ELT discourse and hence practical implementations are wanted, the NS norm has to be categorically questioned. Especially in the light of recent ELF research and a wider range of technical possibilities, teaching methods and materials should be appropriated to cater the real needs of learners and teachers. Furthermore, it seems as if the discussion on language teaching is strongly influenced by power relations. Customs and habits of institutions and individuals plus their often outmoded ideologies lead to a very tough challenge for innovators.

The NS as such is hard to be defined adequately. Mostly, the term NS describes English users born in an English speaking country (cf. Medgyes 2001: 430). This concept ignores language identity with possible multi-layers and multi-language competences, as well as individual differences in language use. Furthermore, a NS is someone who speaks English as a native language, a mother tongue, having been exposed to it from childhood onwards. However, it is not clear where the boundaries are. From when onwards and how long does a child need this exposure to 'count' as a native? Medgyes (2001: 430) and many more (cf. Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer 2011) doubt that this would approve the NS of being the only reference model in language teaching. Medgyes (ibid.) uses the traditional terms but later questions these definitions. This leads to a rather inconsistent stance. Nevertheless, this doubt in the NS norm is shown by scholars (cf. Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer 2011) who started to deconstruct the traditional hegemonial concept of Standard English and its NSs. Although a majority of scholars have agreed on

the vagueness of the respective terms like 'Standard English' or 'native English', they are still used.

Widdowson (1994: 379) claims that it has to be doubted that a native language can be defined to be superior, especially if the group of NSs can only be defined vaguely with traditions and power relations maintaining its prevalence. Only a very small number of its users speak the so-called Standard English, as it is described in dictionaries and manuals. Dialects, sociolects and varieties follow variant structures in all major aspects of the English language, most prominently that of pronunciation. The speakers of a dialect or another variety are also categorized as natives, and their oft-cited unintelligibility due to no "distinctive phonology" of the standard is being ignored (cf. Widdowson 1994: 380). So why follow a constructed language model, which is not even congruent in its forms and very difficult to define (cf. Seidlhofer 2011: 42-46)? Seidlhofer (ibid.) summarizes the critiques of the standard language construct and with this provides another sound argument against a NS model in ELT.

At the moment, especially in international communication, the prescribed traditional Standard English is not exclusively used, neither Oxford English nor GA, neither by NSs nor by NNSs. With ELF they all use English in a more flexible and much better understandable way. What would then be the need of an adherence to this Standard English as the only reference?

The usage of English has been adapted to a varying environment of the modern society. In international communication different kinds of standards have been agreed on. Different situations and communities require different forms and functions of English. Therefore, the position of the speaker is of utmost importance. To know a certain standard enables one to be a member of a community, to reach the in-group feeling. Although many speakers try to adapt themselves to a NS variety which is expected to be traditional Standard English, the language they use in ELF conversations seems to be more flexible with variants able to be changed according to the speakers' background and the context. This is done to guarantee full mutual intelligibility. It can take on very different forms in comparison to a native variety. Oxford English, RP and GA work as fully legitimate varieties, but can be considered as outmoded as **the** standard reference.

Native varieties should be accepted as varieties of English used in an appropriate context. It can be said that traditional language standards followed a different objective and functioned differently. The concept of ELF, by contrast, does not prescribe a fixed set of rules but rather describes how English is used to guarantee effective communication in all kinds of situations. It provides users with a more autonomous and self-conscious conduct of English. ELF requires different skills and can immediately improve speakers' self-esteem. The reason for this is the fact that information can be transferred correctly. This mostly is done by negotiating meaning of more tolerant speakers. These features were briefly introduced in section 2.5. Nevertheless, in the field of ELT, a predominant NS norm can still be observed, ignoring learners' future needs for greater flexibility, strategic skills and negotiability in intercultural communication.

Some linguistic journals, as well as conservative scholars still praise the NS as the perfect standard model for an English learning environment. This is supposed to be maintained as long as possible. According to this norm, grammatical and formal accuracy, cultural identification with the most prestigious native speaker community and (near-) native pronunciation are still defined to be the most useful objective for every language learner in the world. Walker (2010: 53) states that one of the major arguments to defend the ENL norm is that this is done in order to give the learner an English language model, who otherwise would be left alone, unable to improve his/her English language skills which certainly is untrue. Furthermore, it appears to be rather convenient and practical to follow the NS norm due to tradition. Teachers, as well as learners are said to argue that it is the 'easiest' way to teach and learn English by adhering to a norm, which in traditional course books is a NS norm, even if teachers accept ELF as a concept for them personally (Murray 2003: 162). Materials and English teacher education further propagate this ambiguous opinion. NS norm defenders argue against the concept of ELF because of mere tradition and habits. Misinterpretations of ELF and its conceptualization often further these traditional stances. A more appropriate approach for a language model would be to use "competent ELF speakers as a model" (Walker 2010: 54). At first, it would be a challenge for teachers incorporating ELF into their courses without respective teaching materials, including varying language models, i.e.

successfully communicating NNSs from different countries appropriated to the teaching context. However, once this concept has gained ground in English teaching, it is expected to lead to better outcomes in terms of self-confident and autonomous users of English.

Nevertheless, any language model has to be handled with care. ELF theorists (see Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer 2011) do not see ELF as another language variety substituting the NS norm as an authority. They claim that it is of importance to enforce the learners' abilities to change and use language according to their personal needs in communication. As a first step, this could include awareness raising in the classroom by means of ELF speaker examples and appreciation of an ELF user status.

Apart from this, Seidlhofer (2011: 201) states that it is primarily not about new material but how text books are used and in which context the NNS is referred to. In general, if the production of ELF sensitive resources is enforced, teachers and learners can more easily improve and profit from this situation. Consequently, the whole attitude would be changed.

The teachers as such form a very important aspect in this concept. They are professionals in English with a high level of competence and effective in ELF communication, i.e. NNTs would comprise "perfect models for their learners" (Walker 2010: 45). In the same vein, Paradowski (2008: 55) says that an effective language teacher does not have to be "one who can be mistaken for an autochthon of Kachru's [...] 'inner circle'". Interestingly enough, the use of a NS model should not generally be neglected but it has to be used critically and in accordance with ELF usage (ibid.).

Jenkins, as mentioned before, discusses a very strong tendency of NS orientation in ELT, although ELF is effectively used all over the world. It seems impossible to completely ignore this development. However, language ideology still plays a major role in material creation and influences teaching policies. This leads to a neglect of the real situation, "regardless of learners' current or potential communication contexts" and fosters "[...] correctness and appropriateness [...] widely driven by NES use" (Jenkins 2012: 487). This process can be mainly explained by the economical and institutional power of a small

number of companies developing ELT materials and setting the standards for it and respective testing. Adaptation to contemporary academic findings and learners' requirements are not yet incorporated. Since TOEFL, Cambridge ESOL or IELTS do not take into account what recent research outcomes state, progressive thinking seems not to be very common with these authorities and institutions (cf. Walker 2010; Seidlhofer 2011; Jenkins 2012). English users of Countries of the Expanding Circle accept this ignorance due to their assumed lower status as NNSs. Knowingly, but also often unknowingly, they do not dare to question it and continue to regard the set standard as prescribed, even if they observe changes in the use of English. The expectation to emulate the NS as much as possible is passed on to teachers and learners. Braine (cf. 2005: xi) also claims that not much has changed in how reference manuals and teaching materials were prepared hundred years ago and are designed now. Additionally, leading publishers originate in the USA or the UK and have a tradition in manual writing. This even enforces the status of the NS continuously enjoying high acceptance in the field of ELT. Nevertheless, ELF scholars agreed on the fact that for a working ELF system it is of importance to deny the NS language model, not only because of its mostly monolingual speakers (cf. Seidlhofer 2011: 11). This becomes even clearer if a study on English accent attitudes is considered. Jenkins (2009) conducted a study and found that NNSs want to sound like NSs, even if participants were aware of the fact that there can be a great linguistic potential in their bilingualism and that the acceptance of the different language use would empower them significantly. Theoretically, it is obvious that this ability to use more than one language is what NNSs are mainly ahead of the majority of English NSs. Nevertheless, learners of English still compare their accent and pronunciation with that of NSs in order to approach this model as close as possible. They do not take into account which additional abilities they have in contrast to monolingual English NSs. It has to be mentioned that study outcomes attitudes towards ELF can only be worked with carefully after having analyzed the methodology and instruments. Misleading questionnaires designed by authors who misunderstand the ELF concept can lead to results which tend to display high appreciation of the NSs as the sole language model. However, it is doubted whether these illustrate representative opinions. This is one of the reasons why there are numerous wrong concerns about the ELF concept.

### 3.2. Native English and Language Teachers

Since English teachers have been shaped by the NS model, a strong connection to the perception of their English language use is obvious. This perception influences the teachers' personal identity and furthermore their behavior in the language classroom. There is no doubt that the majority of English teachers are NNSs (cf. Braine 2005: xii) and therefore are an, if not **the**, most important factor in ELT. This is congruent with the opinions of a great number of linguists and thus the publications and studies in this topic area grew and keep growing vastly. Jenkins (2007: 32), for example, detects a 'linguistic insecurity' of NNSTs due to an implied NS superiority, spread by teaching materials and teaching methods imposed by ex-colonial countries. This insecurity can lead to identity conflicts and struggles in finding the right way of presenting oneself and the English language in the classroom. Bamgbose (1998: 10) partly blames course books for stigmatizing NNSs as speaking a deficient form of English. Consequently, this further fosters the struggles of NNSs. Medgyes (2001: 432) also states that NNSs of English are not as unhappy with their English as NNSTs, who tend to feel more discriminated against and insecure with the multiple role of being a teacher, a professional, and also a speaker and learner of English. Nevertheless, according to Jenkins (2007: 35), NNSTs are more appropriate for teaching students to use English in an ELF context because of a stronger language consciousness and other benefits which are more closely elaborated in chapter 3.4. Her findings show that teachers are not aware of the fact that the native standard is often implicitly expected and constantly influences their teaching and also their professional self-concepts in a rather unpleasant way. Meanwhile, ELF has already been used by many but has not been broadly acknowledged. This describes the need for further awareness raising and a change in attitude (cf. Decke-Cornill 2008: 164-165).

Concluding, it can be said that English teaching and learning materials published in English speaking countries, such as the US or the UK, are strongly inadequate for ELT in Expanding Circle countries and do not fulfill the need to provide teachers with materials useful to best prepare their learners for their future language necessities (cf. Seidlhofer 1996: 65). Moreover, the implied ideologies of NS centeredness and language attitudes may lead to insecurities and low self-esteem of teachers and users of English. Nonetheless, as Paradowski (cf. 2008: 67) claims, due to a constant growth of the ELT

market, the need for competent multilingual educators should induce distancing from the Inner Circle countries towards teachers from the Outer and Expanding Circles. This further increases the necessity to improve NNS teachers' self, in terms of identity options, as well as the attitude towards them and implied prestige, also distributed by materials and curricula. However, for a closer discussion of the troubled NNST self, the concept of identity needs to be explained.

### **3.3. Construction of (Language) Identity**

The discussion what identity actually is and how it can be defined appears to be a highly complex matter. In the literature numerous interpretations and different viewpoints can be found on this topic. Since this paper is not mainly a cultural study investigation, the following is merely a selected extract from the recent identity discourse.

According to Joseph (2004: 1-4), identity is what a person 'really' is. This is described to be a two way path; at first, identity is constructed about oneself but secondly also about others. This reactively influences the self-constructed identity. Even the smallest amount of input is enough to construct and then categorize someone's identity. One of the first stimuli after appearance is, of course, language. This fact makes identity construction inescapable for every person. Inbar-Lourie (2005) detects a gap between self identity and the identity imposed upon someone by others, especially in the case of NNSTs. Inbar-Lourie's (2005) study has shown that NNSTs are much more critical and insecure about their often ambiguous role as a teacher. It has to be added that the concepts of identity and the more specific language identity can overlap and share common features. That is why in NNSTs' identity discourse it is often used interchangeably.

The study of identity, and more specifically that of language identity, gained in weight in previous years. Recent sociopolitical and socioeconomic development has changed the general opinion on identities. Globalization, the explosion of media technologies and the formation of new regional coalitions, as well as a higher number of transnational migrations made social identity, i.e. national, language identities and others, grow in importance for theory and practice in Linguistics and Cultural Studies (cf. Pavlenko &

Blackledge 2006: 2). Consequently, Joseph (2004: 185) states that due to the above-mentioned societal developments it is very likely that “we all have many layers of linguistic identity”. These are interpreted by others unknowingly but also knowingly. These features are typical for the contemporary stance of identity, which can be regarded as a poststructuralist approach.

In the following, the definition of (language) identity is discussed in more detail, based on two major works by Varghese et al. (2005) and Pavlenko and Blackledge (2006). Varghese et al.’s (2005) definition displays the societal changes and reveals a wider range of possible identities for each individual. It can be summarized by means of three basic strands.

1. Firstly, identity is never stable or fixed, but rather transformational, mostly unintentional and not determined, as opposed to interpretations of identity in earlier identity theories.
2. The second strand emphasizes the importance of the context of every individual situation to highlight that it can be manifold in terms of social, political or cultural perspective.
3. Thirdly, the potential of identity construction and negotiation depends strongly on discourse and language.

Identity can also be a subcategory of the concept of representation, in this case group representation. Either oneself or others try to categorize detected features according to typicalities of or clichés about the respective group (Joseph 2004: 40). This is strongly intertwined with the development of prejudices. As soon as one feature is spotted, numerous others are connected to this and the impression is maintained that all members must obtain the same traits, what, of course, is not true. Notwithstanding the fact that this can be very influential, a further discussion of this matter cannot be pursued in this paper.

According to Pavlenko and Blackledge (2006), who also consider a poststructuralist approach, power is one of the main aspects in negotiating identity. For Joseph (2004: 5) it is the tension between the identity of a group and that of an individual that generates

power. Group membership is characterized by certain specificities and these are expressed by oneself and interpreted as such by others. However, if an individual is not content with this identity and the produced power, one is able to transform this not satisfying feature of identity into a more acceptable one (cf. Inbar-Lourie 2005: 266). Theoretically, status and power can be changed more or less deliberately. Unfortunately, this appears to be rather difficult to be realized. Due to this negotiability a constant reconstruction and re-negotiation of identity is theoretically possible.

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004: 21) differentiate between three groups of identities. Identities of the first group are imposed and non-negotiable, i.e. an individual is not able to change what others think about him/her. Those of the second group are assumed and non-negotiated, which means that an individual believes to know what others identify him/her with and perceives it as unchangeable. The third group consists of generally negotiable identities, which overlap with those of the second group. These five main features of identity can occur in isolation or altogether, viewed by the same individual or group and at the same or a different point in time. This makes the construct of identity even more complex and hybrid. These three groups perfectly picture the relationship of a person's self with assumed expectations of other parts of society. Power relations and status are strongly influenced by imposed and assumed features. The imposed characteristics are mainly prescribed by a hierarchical higher or more powerful group or authority. Furthermore, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2006) combine the essentials of the social constructionist and the poststructuralist approach to provide a new theoretical framework with five main characteristics of which the first three are considered to be of prior relevance for this theoretical background. This definition is very similar to Varghese et al.'s (2005) above mentioned. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2006: 13-19) state that an identity is most importantly shaped by

- a location within particular discourses and language ideologies
- an embeddedness within power relations
- multiplicity, fragmentation, and hybridity
- [...]
- [...] .

In short, it can be said that the first point describes how identity is formed through communication. Discourse and context impact the form and function of its language. Different situations in communication require varying registers and the ability to adapt language accordingly. With this, also language identity can be altered.

Secondly, identity and thus, language identity is strongly connected with power relations of varieties or functions of a language. Attitudes towards a certain usage of English transfer a picture of its users and define their imposed and constructed identities in terms of power and hierarchical status. As already mentioned before, NNSs are often categorized using a deficient form of English lacking in proficiency. Due to this assumption, they are probably not granted a higher level of prestige or membership in a more powerful group. Additionally, NNSs' deviant form is constantly corrected by teachers. In general, they cannot discover their language in any materials or manuals and interpret this, quite rightly, as daunting. This is one reason for possible identity struggles or inferiority complexes. Seidlhofer (2001: 136) says that NNSs can work as hard as they can but will never be accepted as a member of the NS community. This is also because of strong social and cultural interconnections of society and not merely because of language.

The third point deals with the complex aspect of multiplicity of an identity. Individuals constantly adjust their identification leading to fragmentation and hybridity. This offers new alternative identity options (cf. Pavlenko & Blackledge 2006: 13-19). These changes can happen at the same time, only due to a different interlocutor or a change in context. Joseph (2004) argues that modern scientific research allows to discern this variability. Additionally, the hybridity of identity due to migration, globalization and a more liberal view on the self can be investigated more easily. Nowadays, people from all over the world have more possibilities to design their lives according to their needs and wants than decades ago. However, these people are also influenced by assumed expectations. Furthermore, the interpretation of their speech, look or behavior by others is always an influential factor. All in all, Pavlenko and Blackledge (ibid.: 8) rightly define "social identities [including language identities] as fluid and constructed in linguistic and social interaction", context dependent and strongly interconnected with power relations.

To put it in a nutshell, in recent models identity is always either about oneself or a group and constructed by others or oneself. It is considered to be very unstable, hybrid and multi-layered. Unfortunately, “some identity options are more valued than others” (ibid.: 3). An identity, no matter if concerning language, religion or ethnic and gender relations, in the best case can be developed and (re-)constructed over a life time and can alter frequently and immediately depending on different contexts and situations. Finally, the following quote can be considered as a suitable definition of identity in relation to language:

[Language] inscribes the person within national and other corporate identities, including establishing the person’s ‘rank’ within the identity. It constitutes a text, not just of what the person says, but *of the person*, from which others will read and interpret the person’s identity in the richest and most complex ways (Joseph 2004: 225).

In the following, not mere English users’ language identity is the most relevant concept but that of language teachers, more precisely, that of nonnative language teachers. They have already been identified as struggling with their self-perception caused by feeling overshadowed by NSs. Hence, the next section concentrates on a possible improvement of identity through ELF.

### **3.4. Towards an ELF Identity**

Now the question arises, which factors are crucial for a positive NNS identity? How can ELF help to overcome possible troubles or insecurities re-constructing it? With a closer look on NNSTs and their identity construction, I want to find out if an ELF identity could minimize doubts and maximize language effectiveness. It seems to be of importance to improve the identity construction process in order to incorporate it into teaching more successfully. Since NNSs hardly ever become part of the NS community (cf. Seidlhofer 2001: 136), why not use the ELF community as a basis for an in-group feeling, based on the mentioned “collective ELF identity” found by Virkkula and Nikola (2010: 266). This can help to gain confidence when using English and the interconnected construction of language identity. It has already been mentioned that NNSs, especially NNSTs of English, are assailed by doubts due to their non-membership in the NS-group and rather categorize themselves as L2 learners instead of ELF users. This strongly influences their

identity construction and reinforces their negative feelings about their English and the assumed 'deficient form' they speak. In other words, learners seem to have no other chance than staying learners of the English language, disregarding their effort (cf. Seidlhofer 2001: 152; Virkkula & Nikola 2010: 255). This appears to be the case caused by an intensively praised NS norm in ELT. After having experienced English use in 'real' life, mostly through conversations with other NNSs, former learners of English try to develop their identity into that of a rightful user of English. However, this does not mean that they are granted this status by other members of the English speaking community. The connection to the described development from EFL to ELF is highly relevant in this respect. As elaborated, its influence on individual and group identity formation seems to be crucial. Nevertheless, the opportunity developed to abandon the former sole reference point of English, the NL, and a new comparison group emerged: the community of NNSs of English (Virkkula & Nikola 2010: 267). Completely different emphasis is drawn providing users with identity options they have never thought of before. Consequently, the self is perceived as that of an in-group member in a very positive way. This is in vein with Seidlhofer's (2011: 187) claim to grant NNSs the full right to be effective users of English "allowing speakers' native-culture identities to 'shine through'" (Seidlhofer 2006: 43 quoted in Virkkula & Nikola 2010: 256). As discussed in 2.3., the objective of the use of the English language alters from a 'formal' to a 'functional' approach which requires a new attitude towards language and its use.

The next sub-sections explain new identity options for NNTs; in how far these impact language teaching and if there is a chance to change problematic situations to relieve teachers in the future. Consequently, this would also improve students' language identity options and guarantee a wider acceptance of ELF. ELF could moreover trigger the development and the acceptance of new and more appropriate identity options for all English speakers.

### 3.4.1. NNT Identity

Medgyes (2001: 433) defines a NNT of English as someone

for whom English is a second or foreign language, who works in an EFL environment, whose students are a monolingual group of learners and who speaks the same language as his or her students.

Apart from the “monolingual group of learners”, this definition can be accepted willingly. Noteworthy is that in today’s language learning classes the group of learners has become more and more heterogeneous. Due to migration, many students bring more than one language to the classroom. What Medgyes means with the “same language”, could be interpreted as one agreed official teaching language, which in this case is German. Optimally, teachers and learners should know how to use it as a reference point and with this it could simplify the teaching situation.

The NST of English thus is “the opposite of the above but he/she has English as a mother tongue” (ibid). Medgyes argues that this simplifies the teaching process due to a higher language proficiency and general confidence of the teacher. These two definitions seem to be rather rigid categories. Consequently, teachers can only belong to either the one or the other category. This dichotomy summarizes Medgyes’ assumption that: “NESTs and NNESTs differ in terms of their language proficiency” (ibid.). Furthermore, he states that “they differ in terms of their teaching behavior” but that “they can be equally good teachers on their own terms” (cf. Medgyes 1994; 2001: 434). For a long time, it has been assumed that this classification has nothing to do with the identity of a teacher. However, since this differentiation by means of proficiency levels and teaching behavior determines the status of the NS as higher than that of a NNS, this dichotomy is significant for the construction of an English teacher’s identity. Medgyes’ (2001) definition of these two different ‘species’ carries a negative connotation. It only appears realistic after having stated that both can be good teachers in their own ways (ibid) which is scant comfort. This system seems to downgrade the NNT to be less able by birth, which clearly is nothing but a prejudice. This is also why scholars (cf. Brutt-Griffler & Samimy 1999; Pavlenko 2003) postulate a complete deconstruction of the strict differentiation between NSs and NNSs. The definitions of NSTs and NNESTs cannot be maintained if the circumstances are closely analyzed on an equal and reasonable basis

without prejudging proficiency. Why does the idealized NT construct still exist and in how far does it influence teachers' self and their consequential teaching approach? Is there any possibility that ELF may improve this situation?

According to Varghese et al.'s (2005: 22) research results, various aspects of teacher identity, social or linguistic ones, play a major role in the language learning classroom. From their conducted studies (Varghese et al. 2005), the conclusion can be drawn that language teacher identities are similar in their construction to other people's identities. Noteworthy is that they play a crucial role in the language teaching process and cannot be simply neglected as a personal issue. This is described by the comparison of different teacher identity studies conducted by Varghese et al. (2005):

Teacher identity is a profoundly individual and psychological matter because it concerns the self-image and other-image of particular teachers. It is a social matter because the formation, negotiation, and growth of teacher identity is a fundamentally social process taking place in institutional settings such as teacher education programs and schools. It is a process that is inextricably intertwined with language and discourse, insofar as all identities are maintained to a significant degree through discourse; yet it is also very much a real-world phenomenon that impacts teachers' standing in their communities as well as affecting their wages and working conditions (2005: 40-41).

This nicely pictures the reality of a teacher identity which is influenced by many factors. However, what is particularly remarkable is that language identity can change the teaching due to little self-consciousness. This deficiency can result in a negative impact on learners and also working conditions. Once more, this displays in how far the matter of a suitable NNT identity is relevant for the whole society and must not be neglected as a personal issue.

Particularly, in terms of teacher education and material design, a step towards an equal status should be desired. Multiple identities can be represented by teachers as well as by any other speaker of English in different ways and again are either imposed, assumed or negotiable (cf. Pavlenko & Blackledge 2006) which makes them rather hard to be abandoned. On the one hand, NNSTs identify themselves as language teachers. On the other hand, they find themselves in the position of language learners, never being accepted as a member of the NS community. To enter this group is still perceived as the

ultimate goal of NNTs in order to become an 'ideal teacher' (cf. Phillipson 1996). Consequently, the NN feature is categorized to be part of an assumed identity which makes them feel less able to be a good teacher. At the moment, they are caught in an ambiguous trap. Other crucial factors for the current situation of NNTs are ideologically shaped influences from materials, curricula and teacher education programs. These may impose a certain deficiency on NNTs and harden the assumed inferiority. Such circumstances make their identity less negotiable and can hinder the identification as a professional teacher and an efficient language user. Varghese et al. (2005: 28) see the NNSTs' "personal and [...] professional self intertwine". Consequently, it can be said that teachers obtain a "multi-identity reality", which appears to be accepted among them as "a natural part of their professional existence" (Inbar-Lourie 2005: 277). This makes obvious that it is a widespread phenomenon, being discussed within the NNST community but no serious changes occur. Obviously, this situation causes problems:

A possible conflict, however, may arise between the language teachers' chosen identity versus their perceived identity by other speakers of the language – both native and non-native – as well as by their students (Inbar-Lourie 2005: 268).

These conflicts are often initiated by the distribution of power according to the prestige of the, either assumed or imposed, identity markers which then again lead to a re-negotiation of their identity construction (ibid.). This is also described by Jenkins (2006). She concludes that NNT identity is often not as much imposed as assumed. Prominent aspects of the perceived identity of language teachers are their pronunciation, their general English language proficiency and also how self-efficient they present themselves in subject matters (Inbar-Lourie 2005: 269). The first two can be positively influenced by a wider acceptance of ELF which will also lead to a better teacher presentation due to more self-consciousness.

According to Seidlhofer (1999: 235), NNTs of English lead a life as "double agents". Her stance adds a more positive light to the multi-identity discussion. On the one hand, NNTs are professionals in the target language English but on the other hand, they went through the same process of language learning. Most interestingly, they share their learners' L1 and mostly their culture. These teachers also might have encountered

troubles, fears and difficulties studying English as a foreign language and can act more learner-sensitive. Nevertheless, this experience is often not valued enough. However, being a NNT should rather be a source of confidence and security rather than the opposite (Seidlhofer 1999: 238). This is also why this paper is based on the hope of a possible relief and improvement of NNTs' perception and identity construction. The fact that NNSTs share numerous helpful experiences with their students may strongly influence NNSTs' identities positively, as well. Seidlhofer (1999: 243) summarizes the benefits of the NNST as following, providing them with a repertoire of so far neglected advantages:

The double capacity to be at the same time familiar with the target language and distanced from it enables these teachers to lead a *double life* in the best sense of the word.

The benefits of a NNT of English are elaborated more closely in another section of this thesis but it is really worth highlighting that not only negative factors are available for teachers regarding their identity construction. This indicates that there is a large possibility that NNTs can be 'ideal' teachers, especially in the light of ELF.

Another factor for a less proficient image of the NNTs is that they are not only expected to teach their students 'proper' English in an authentic way but also to know the best method to do so pedagogically (cf. Seidlhofer 1999: 236-237). This may sound paradox because good pedagogical tasks are rarely authentic in the common sense. Thus, this expectation even intensifies the pressure on NNSTs (Widdowson 1994: 386-387). Especially, if teaching materials are produced by NSs, to which according to Canagarajah (1999: 86) "[...] [p]eriphery teachers look up to [...] for professional advancement and assistance", it is hard to emancipate from these rigid norms. This superiority of the NSs depicts its strong influence on NNTs professional and personal identity. Seidlhofer (2001: 152) observes that the acceptance of ELF can function as a very potential relief for teachers. They are enabled to define their identity in a positive way, not as NNSs or learners of the ENL but authoritative users of ELF and thus respected teachers.

Seeing English as a language that belongs to individuals from all nations, racial, and ethnic backgrounds is an empowering experience, [...] (Pavlenko 2003: 264)

and can support NNSTs to ascertain their advantages as English teachers. With the help of a multi-language competence (cf. Cook 1999) paired with an ELF aware self, NNTs are provided with a wider range of opportunities and more room to (re-)negotiate their identity towards professional ELF users and not eternal deficient L2 learners (cf. Seidlhofer 2001).

### **3.5. Can non-native English Teachers be better English Teachers?**

As can be seen from the previous passage, the benefits of a NNST seem fully convincing. Nevertheless, they are not yet acknowledged ubiquitously. One of the main counter arguments in public discourse is that English, the language the NNTs teach, is not their mother tongue. It is as simple as it sounds: the major reason for seeing NN English teachers as less able or proficient in the language they teach is the fact that they do not speak a native form of English. Medgyes (2001: 434) states that NTs and NNTs are both good teachers “in their own ways”. Others (cf. Canagarajah 1999; Cook 1999; Widdowson 1994; Seidlhofer 1999; 2011) immediately find benefits of the NNT, as has already been mentioned above. One of the most prominent benefits is the fact that NNTs are at least bi- or even multilingual speakers. This language multicompetence (cf. Cook 1999) offers them a greater possibility to be proficient English teachers. A distanced perception of the English language system enhances their ability to analyze and then also teach it more adequately (cf. Seidlhofer 1999: 238). This can have numerous positive pedagogical implications, no matter if on a grammatical or a phonological level. Especially, the connection to their students in terms of shared culture and language provides NNTs with a “cognitive bridge” (Canagarajah 1999: 80) towards the acquisition of the language. Furthermore, teachers and learners possess a societal membership in the in-group of NNSs of English. This membership can help gain self-esteem. This functions due to “an intimate awareness of the learning styles, language attitudes, and functional needs of the students [...]” (ibid.). Furthermore, it is argued that although NNSTs obtain numerous benefits as English teachers, they are not accepted and the native speaker fallacy is adhered to. Reasons therefore are mainly political and economic factors determined by dominant speech communities. Historically, these do not leave room for adaptation and negotiation.

One of the starting points for this biased discussion is the formation of language attitudes. Jenkins (2007) provides a clear overview in how far language attitudes influence the perception of NNS of English. Sociolinguistic studies are summarized and it is stated that the findings of Lindemann (2005) and Niedzielski (1999) built the basis for Jenkins' (2007) investigation into English teachers' attitudes towards NNS varieties in ELF contexts. According to Jenkins (2007), the constant neglect of ELF and a strong ENL adherence is rooted in persisting negative attitudes and prejudices towards it. Consequently, language attitude highly moulds the expectation of interlocutors in a conversation and leads them to judge NNSs. This mostly happens because of the way they say something and not what they say (Jenkins 2007: 73). This affirmation that judgment is passed in a strongly biased way is of utmost importance. Now the question arises, why this is the case and in how far this influences NNSs' self perception and identity. As stated by Jenkins (2007: 105),

[t]he studies of teachers' [...] attitudes towards ELF represent an important contribution to both language attitudes research and to ELF research.

This indicates why attitudes towards languages are of great importance for this thesis. Especially, in terms of accent, people adhere to a rather negative attitude towards NN English. Although ELF research has revealed interesting and liberating facts about its users, attitudes towards it and towards users' prestige seem to be petrified. Garrett (2010) argues that people label languages and language behavior very strongly, especially that of societal minority groups. This leads to prejudices and generalization in order to argue against people using a language which is not their mother tongue. These are often connected with an ambiguous feeling about people's roots and cultures of origin. Nevertheless, "[c]itizens of today's world are acting out their identities in English along with their other languages" (Mauranen 2005: 291) and should be treated with the respect they deserve.

It is still widely believed that a NN accent implicitly displays a lower level of education, social rank, professionalism or language deficiency of the speaker. These assumptions impose inferiority on NNSs. In Pavlenko's (2003: 259) words this means that "[...] the aspiring members may feel second class and worse 'less than human being'". Also scholars (see Medgyes 2001) seem to walk in this trap and over-generalize about NNSs,

who they claim to obtain a lower proficiency level of English. Proficiency cannot solely be connected to the language of birth. Consequently, this argumentation is no longer tenable. As long as teacher training is comparable for NSs and NNSs, NNTs tend to be advantaged because of their own language learning experience and their language multicompetence. Furthermore, NNTs have experienced “physical and psychological difficulties” (Walker 2010: 68) of learning a new language. Thus, they can more easily understand students’ problems and are able to help to overcome or even avoid these by means of adequate teaching approaches. Nevertheless, attitudes towards and beliefs in ELF strongly influence the general opinion on its users and impose rather negative traits on individuals resulting in identity problems and self-doubts.

Jenkins’ (2007) summary of her study findings indicate what has been presumed: After conducting questionnaires and interviews with NNTs of English, similarities can be detected in terms of attitude towards and beliefs in both, NS and NNS accents. (It has to be mentioned, that this survey concentrated on accents only.) Nevertheless, the participants display a rather differing picture of showing their membership in the ELF or their L1 group. On the one hand, the strong wish for a native-like accent and identity is found. This is especially the case in the participants’ role as language teachers. On the other hand, subtle feelings for their L1 or nationality can be detected, which cause the impressions of two different linguistic identities in one. This is congruent with the “multi-identity reality” by Inbar-Lourie (2005). After Jenkins (2007), this seems to cause rough tensions and a strong need for further research to improve this situation. However, according to Giles and Coupland (1991), pronunciation and accent are the aspects of a NNS English which predominantly influence the interlocutors’ attitude. These two are part of a wider range of factors of their sociocultural judgment. To sum up, NNTs are ambiguous about their identity and do not know which goal they want to reach: either to sound like a NS or express their own identity through language by means of ELF. I expect that with a generally higher acceptance of ELF, this ambiguity will become obsolete. Furthermore, this development would empower teachers to value their personal background and trust their professionalism.

Interestingly enough, for ELF pronunciation the NS accent is not of much value, since it is not an objective of ELF to sound like a NS in order to achieve mutual intelligibility

(Walker 2010: 67). Even NSs mostly do not use 'Standard English' but their dialect or sociolect. 'Standard English' even more appears to be an abstraction of a model which does not exist and consequently was predefined according to ideological rather than intelligibility matters. For ELF, it is of more importance to negotiate pronunciation and wording to be commonly understood. Rarely this procedure is observable in conversation with NSs.

Medgyes (2001: 434) offers a counter-perspective of the advantages and disadvantages of the NNT. He insists on the fact that NNSTs have a less proficient command of the English language, especially in spontaneous communicative situations. The NNST, he says, is self-conscious of this 'deficiency' and can never reach the level of the NS. The often occurring inferiority-complex is explained by the knowledge of this problematic situation (cf. Medgyes 2001). Needless to say, the by the individual perceived lower level of English does not have to be a real and also identifiable deficiency able to be tested. As discussed before, this self-perception is affected by countless factors imposed by society or assumed by oneself and should therefore not be seen as a given deficit. Moreover, due to this perceived lower linguistic ability, NNTs are said to balance this by being more accurate and fastidious about grammar mistakes and form. This is the area most easily learnt, whereas aspects such as fluency, "real language" in context or "language in use" is often avoided or neglected by NNSTs due to insecurity (ibid.: 434). This seems to be an untrue assumption questioning NNTs' didactic repertoire. The connection of pedagogical knowledge and NL use leads to this argumentation which seems to be rather far-fetched. A closer analysis of Medgyes' (2001) survey design should be considered in order to detect possible misconceptions or suggestive remarks. Surprisingly, Medgyes (2001) also lists benefits of NNTs: Besides being a better reference point in terms of using and learning English, he agrees with a beneficial characteristic of the NNT to be broader language awareness (ibid.: 437). Walker (2010) and Seidlhofer (2011) accept of Medgyes' (ibid.: 439) stated benefit that NNTs share their learners' mother tongue and can use it referring or translating to ensure a better learning progress. An aspect which should not be forgotten is NNTs' ability to better comprehend their students' feelings, positive and negative respectively, due to a similar language learning history (ibid: 436-439).

Although numerous benefits are identified in the literature, deficits of the NNSTs are in the foreground of the public opinion. For instance, they are said to be insecure about their role as a speaker, learner and teacher of English. Because of this, they end up struggling with their identity as a part of society, personally as well as professionally. This phenomenon is described in the next sub-section and should bring light into this controversial discussion. After all, it is expected that if ELF is better incorporated in the language learning classroom and accepted in society, NNTs and their learners will experience a great relief in many respects.

### **3.6. Non-native Speaker Teachers' Identity Struggle**

Identity is a site of struggle where values, positions, frictions of a social, affective and moral nature constantly contend with and explode pre-existing boundaries: boundaries guarded by institutionalized discourses and canvassing genres – conventionalized forms of social action in language (Cortese & Duszak 2005: 24).

These rather complex sociopsychologic and anthropologic troubles with identity are tackled in parts of the previous theory definition. The fact that the NSs of English still perceive themselves and are perceived as the only custodians of the English language appears to be adhered to very strictly, although scholars long have criticized its idealized and unrealistic nature. Even the terms NS/NNS have been deconstructed theoretically but with little success in practice. Many NNSTs see themselves as not able to enter the NS community and thus feel as deficient users of English. This fact assails them by doubts about their language skills and professionalism. Numerous reasons have already been listed above but according to Rajagopalan (2005) these troubles are all triggered by a highly competitive language market turning the NS privileges into money. This even enforces the NS/NNS dichotomy instead of helping to overcome it. Consequently, NNSTs end up trying to learn to live with their low self-esteem and resulting distress. It is common that due to this vicious circle of identity construction, the market demands mainly NSs and allows “discriminatory hiring practices” (Rajagopalan 2005: 294). A further problem with eliminating these insecurities and doubts is also the fact that

NNSTs try to cover up their nagging inferiority complex by pretending [...] that they are perfectly at ease with their subaltern condition (ibid: 288).

This feature inspired Rajagopalan (2005) to conduct a survey to find out more about NNTs' thoughts and troubles concerning their job as NNTs. Rather shockingly large percentages of participants agreed on statements expressing their "constant pressure", "chasing an impossible ideal", that they were "under-prepared" or even "second class citizens in their workplace" (ibid.: 289). Not even long-term stays in an English speaking country correlate with an enhancement of their feelings about themselves. Not their real language proficiency influenced their confidence but how they perceived themselves in comparison to NSTs (Rajagopalan 2005: 289-290). Additionally, it was found that the younger asked teachers were, the "less they were worried about their being non-natives" (ibid.) contrasting those who had more than ten years of experience. This could indicate a development towards a more liberal view on language models, maybe due to a wider acceptance of ELF of younger speakers in the contemporary world. As already stated before, many teachers exaggerate their defective use of English and sell themselves below their fair value. NNTs still perceive themselves as very limited in terms of influence and decision making, concerning language models and reference examples for themselves and for their students. This often leads to a feeling of resignation. There is not enough enthusiasm to invest in a change in attitude and appreciation of their benefits. For Rajagopalan (2005), his 'action research project', described above, is the first step to empower NNSTs and make them leave their fears behind. However, it is still at an embryonic stage. It needs to be observed more closely in the future. Particularly teacher education and training requires a major change according to recent scientific findings in the light of an ELF reality to minimize teachers' self-doubts and to give them a feeling of language security and self-esteem. This would not only result in a higher life and work quality but also improve the students' situation.

### **3.7. Implications for Teaching**

According to Cook (1999) the previously discussed problem with identity and adherence to the NS norm can only be overcome if teachers acknowledge the shift in emphasis in their classroom from the NS model to the support of the student as a future user and not a learner of English. The term 'English language learner' is rather problematic. Cook (1999) claims that it labels multi-language users as mere learners.

Walker (2010: 61) describes further benefits of including ELF into the classroom by emphasizing pronunciation. Firstly, the concentration on ELF important pronunciation characteristics would mean “a lighter workload for both teachers and learners” by leaving out not desirable, unimportant or rather hindering NS pronunciation sounds (ibid.: 61-63). Secondly, if not the NS norm is adhered to, the teaching goal can be achieved much faster and leads to more motivation and progress (ibid: 63-64). Thirdly, students’ accents are no longer seen as in need of reduction. Their mother tongue accent can express their identity while they are internationally intelligible which is tightly linked to relieve speakers’ identity issues. It allows them to keep their identity, unless they do not wish to do so (ibid: 64-66; see also Jenkins 2000). Lastly, the reference to and inference of L1(s) is not perceived as negative and can, on the contrary, help to overcome troubles by finding similar structures or parallels. This can support the understanding or remembrance of certain language traits or pronunciation patterns more easily (ibid: 66).

Another feature for a successful implication of ELF into teaching according to Seidlhofer (2011: 197-198) would be to concentrate not on “learning *a language* but learning *to language*”, which involves strategic competences, as well as the willingness and ability to negotiate and refer to different linguistic competences and mother tongue(s). ENL would be marginalized in the sense of becoming an *English for Specific Purposes*’ matter. It should not be neglected in total, since NSs are also part of the ELF discourse. However, ENL should be in a different role than it is now (Seidlhofer 2011: 200). Cook (1999: 200) quotes Kramsch (1993: 9) stating that “[n]onnative teachers and students alike are intimidated by the native-speaker norm” and thus concludes that the NNST is a better example of effective language use, agreeing with Seidlhofer’s (2011) claims. Another important aspect in favor of abandoning a role model in the language classroom is the fact that it is nearly impossible to achieve NS language and thus leaves numerous teachers and students being frustrated (cf. Cook 1999: 204; Seidlhofer 2011; Jenkins 2007, 2009). The objective to acquire an ELF user stage is more closely in reach and is more likely to further learners’ motivation and to increase users’ possibilities.

Since it is common knowledge that it takes a long time from theory into practice, it would be too much to ask, to postulate a complete change of the objective of ELT to the

single goal of achieving the ability to communicate effectively in English and completely abandoning the NS model from one year to the next. However, the awareness of ELF in the classroom would lead to the possibility, as Seidlhofer (2011: 197) puts it, that “[f]ailed’ learners can be(come) effective users of English”. The shift of emphasis from form to function in teaching would enable students to better incorporate their own resources in speaking and would relieve them from the burden of a role as an eternal deficient learner of English.

Before incorporating all these new tenets of English language learning and use into the classroom, these stances need to be established in language teacher study programs. After the first phase of awareness raising at universities and in school, wider acceptance in society will hopefully be achieved.

### **3.7.1. Education and Power**

Alexander (1999: 29) states that “power and education are tied together” and political questions will always be part of ELT as well as of the ELF discourse. This power is expressed through money and traditions. Curricula are mainly planned according to economic expectations, as well as standards are set to compare schools, countries or even continents. However, the ‘real’ proficiency and efficiency of students and teachers often stays concealed. ELT course books are still mainly written by NSs and thus do not represent the L2 user in a positive light, or even mentions their importance as fully efficient users and influencing factors of the development and spread of English. This ideology is adhered to and further insisted on by institutions and corresponding parts of society. Consequently, the focus of teaching materials needs to be adjusted to a contemporary use of English and to cultural specificities and varying contexts, no matter who is responsible for its production (cf. Cook 1999: 199). Very closely tied to this aspect is teacher education, which is often sponsored by organizations, institutions or governments having the aims of their ideology in mind. These narrow-minded conventions need to be abandoned. Consequently, it is important to try to establish ELF as a leading concept teacher education.

### **3.7.2. Practical Implications for Language Teacher Education**

Fortunately, there are scholars (Seidlhofer 2011; Jenkins 2006) like Kamhi-Stein (1999), who developed a number of practical implications for teacher training programs, incorporating NS and NNS teacher trainees in her studies. With recently won insights into the multiple teacher self which have been briefly discussed in previous sections referring to Cook 1999, Varghese et al. 2005, Rajagopalan 2005 and Seidlhofer 2011, a reformation of a teacher education program has been started. Furthermore, a new focus regarding possible NNTs' insecurities was found. Three points are defined to be of most importance for a highly qualitative teacher education: Firstly, the basis is pedagogical knowledge. Secondly, the theoretical "understanding of the English language" (Kamhi-Stein 2009: 150) is obviously crucial and lastly the "knowledge of the L2 acquisition process" (ibid.) appears to be indispensable for a good English teacher (cf. also Medgyes 2001). Consequently, an absolute inaptitude of the N/NST dichotomy is revealed due to the fact that both are faced with different challenges. All teacher students need to give their best in these three areas in order to achieve professionalism. Furthermore, it seems crucial to empower novice NN teachers to endure the contradictions of still discriminatory employment procedures in the job market. Progressive teacher education programs and the underlying ideology need to be enforced. Language teachers' cognitive development indicates a new discipline which researches teachers' beliefs and conceptual changes. In this fairly new field numerous insights in how to improve teacher education according to nowadays' challenges are gained: as well as motivational, dispositional and contextual factors are won (cf. Kamhi-Stein 1999). The possibility to work on one's identity should be simplified and spread, providing teachers with the opportunity to reconstruct theirs in order to optimize it.

A further problem seems to be the fact that even from the field of ELT professionals' voices are raised against ELF and its implication in the language classroom. It is often seen as a threat to traditional pedagogic conventions and it is said to leave learners with language fragments due to a lower-than-standard goal (Seidlhofer 2011: 191). Authors (see Maley 2009; Kuo 2006) often use their learners' weaknesses to defend their own opinion. They pretend to only want to protect their students from acquiring deviant

English and prevent them from learning English without the chance of a 'proper' ENL model (Seidlhofer 2011: 191).

All in all, it can be said that the theoretical development provides numerous possibilities of how to incorporate ELF in teacher training and consequently in ELT. However, practical implementation needs more time and resources in order to be realized. Nevertheless, there are scholars (Seidlhofer 2011; Kamhi-Stein 1999; Walker 2010) who developed very clear guidelines of how to implement ELF into the classroom. Awareness raising and a change in attitude come first in importance and are estimated to be the best starting points to follow their goals. Novel techniques (see Walker 2010: 71-96) and new goals which institutions - teachers and learners alike – have to achieve are provided. The claim for a reformation of teacher training as well as for adequate materials is prevalent. The focus should be on supporting learners and teachers to gain strength, self-confidence and a higher number of opportunities in their linguistic reality. Luckily, Virkkula and Nikula (2010: 267) detect that

[a] discursive position as a language user in the community of ELF users is a new resource for identity-building available to the participants. A shift from adherence to native speaker norms to those of lingua franca, a novel discourse, can thus be identified.

This emphasizes my view concerning ELF in the classroom and the outside world. Since the theoretical part of this thesis is supposed to serve as a basis for the empirical questions discussed in the following chapters, I concentrated on ELF's actual and possible influences on identity, self, attitude and teaching.

## **4. Austrian NN Teachers' Attitude and Implications for their Identity: A small scale Questionnaire Survey and semi-structured Interviews**

### **4.1. Aim and Outline**

The empirical part of this paper consists of two different case studies which should both help to find out more about Austrian teachers' attitudes and identity as NNTs and a possible connection with ELF. The general aim is to establish whether a correlation between these factors exists, whether they influence NNTs' English teaching and if they could be changed in order to improve the current situation.

The first part comprises a small-scale questionnaire study. The questionnaire is based on true-false items with additional open questions giving room for personal comments after each item. The design and content of these will be discussed in 4.2. The second part is a semi-structured interview study that was conducted in order to consolidate an understanding of the questionnaires' results and to be able to go into further depth when discussing the outcomes. Since this is mainly a qualitative survey, the interviews were done to ascertain a deeper insight into participants' views and opinions and as such emphasize interpretations of the questionnaire results accordingly. Dörnyei and Taguchi (2010: 10) state that while the engagement of participants in a questionnaire can be rather brief or superficial, a more intense involvement is induced with an interview study. Although, an analytically structured analysis of the quantitative results has to follow, the qualitative analysis of the collected data provides the researcher with more freedom to group and then interpret the findings according to the respective research interest (Dörnyei 2007: 242). This study does not claim any statistical significance due to an insufficient number of participants, despite subsequent SPSS testing. The frequency of ticked answers is analyzed in order to ascertain a clearer overview of the respondents' opinions and contrast this with previous studies' outcomes. The interviews should provide a more detailed picture of individuals' opinions and back up assumptions drawn from the questionnaire results. At the beginning of the investigation, it was unsure whether the outcome of the micro scale questionnaire study would justify the time invested in its design, pilot, execution and analysis. However, in the end it proved to be of value due to the numerous interesting and also challenging comments it produced.

The questionnaire study appeared to be of utmost importance to gain a broader overview of teachers' attitudes.

The main reason for undertaking the empirical aspect was to investigate whether NNETs really felt what has been described in the literature. In general, it was crucial to investigate what they think about themselves as NNTs in comparison to NSTs. A broader acceptance of ELF and the possibility of its incorporation into the English language learning classroom was the center of discussion and should lead to an improvement of a potentially negative self-perception. On the one hand, an attempt was made to concentrate on individual circumstances, which is necessary for an opinion analysis. On the other hand, the professional circumstances and conditions of NNTs were also of significant concern. It was decided to replicate parts of three existing questionnaires from the field of which one was conducted twice in order to better compare and discuss the findings in relation to them. The majority of the questions used are strongly influenced by Seidlhofer's (1996) questionnaire study. Its results and the subsequent discussion were published in the VIEWS magazine in 1996 with the title "'It is an undulating feeling...' - The importance of being a non-native teacher of English". This article can be considered to be a seminal work, which incited a boom in research into the benefits of NNTs in connection to ELF in a teaching environment. Additionally, the investigation of NNETs self-perception in the light of ELF connected with the teaching profession found a place in scholarly research after the publication of this and other works. Undoubtedly, this article was one of a few which finally triggered my interest in this narrow topic area. Kaim (2004)<sup>1</sup> replicated Seidlhofer's questionnaire survey eight years later in her diploma thesis with a special focus on Austrian NNETs and their self-perception. Her discussion will be used as a reference point. Since Seidlhofer's original questionnaire was not published in VIEWS 1996, the exact replication in Kaim (2004: 123) was taken as the major source. Two more questionnaire surveys influenced the current study. Firstly, Llurda's (2007) study on "The representation of EFL teachers' views on the role of English as a lingua franca" was partly incorporated when researching Austrian NNTs' attitudes. Secondly, Murray's (2003) interest in Swiss English teachers and their

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<sup>1</sup> It has to be added that Kaim conducted her questionnaire study in 2002. However, her thesis was only approbated in 2004. In order not to confuse any information, I refer to her data and discussion with the year 2004.

opinion on Euro-English changed the focus of the current study more towards investigating a native language norm in the language teaching classroom and initiated the decision to have a closer look at two groups of Austrian NNTs, namely teachers of children and teenagers (secondary level) and teachers of adults (private sector). The two groups were chosen according to Murray's (2003: 156; 160) findings of adult teachers' greater acceptance of Euro-English. In light of these results, it was subsequently expected that adult teachers would have a more liberal and progressive view on ELF in general and on its implementation into the language classroom. The three studies were designed to investigate very special features of English teachers and ELF, respectively. These specific features, helped define my area of interest, and function as reference points.

The distribution of the questionnaires was mainly done personally. Distribution of questionnaires via E-Mail is held to be ineffective under time pressure (cf. Dörnyei & Taguchi 2010: 65). I therefore chose to hand out questionnaires in person in order to avoid a negative response rate. I attempted to gather information about potential volunteers from teaching acquaintances. Additionally, I distributed questionnaires in Upper Austria in the school my mother teaches at and other schools in Vienna with which I have a personal connection to. The fact that I wanted to compare two different groups of teachers (schoolteachers and adult teachers) slowed down the process of finding suitable participants. It soon became apparent that it is not easy to find a larger number of adult teachers who are willing to complete the questionnaire if no personal connection exists. Notwithstanding initial hesitation, the idea to observe the two groups from a closer perspective was pursued. Consequently, my participant group consists of Austrian NNS school and adult teachers of English.

Since I wanted to capture the impression of the attitude of any Austrian NN teacher, there were no age, educational or regional limits. Since this is a small scale survey, no statistically significant differences but mere tendencies were expected. The analysis of separate groups (age, target students) can only be seen as a reference value.

After some rather unpromising attempts to find adult teacher participants personally in the private teaching sector, the next step was to reach them digitally via social networks,

friends and colleagues. This was more successful and helped to find more respondents from the adult teaching sector. Finally, 37 Austrian English teachers were found who were willing to fill in my questionnaire. 27 schoolteachers and 10 adult teachers compose the two groups, which make up 73% and 27% of the participants, respectively. Of a total of 37 people, 78% were female and 22% male. Participating adult teachers were found to be 100% female. Due to the fact, that there are not the same number of participants in each group, the quantitative results of the yes/no-questions are illustrated in percentages to make them easier to view for the purposes of comparison. This way, the unequal number of participants will not cause any problems. Unfortunately, the groups are too small to deliver statistically significant results. Notwithstanding these circumstances, informative tendencies were expected, analyzed and interpreted as well as possible. Additionally, comments, which were optional after each item, were grouped and analyzed individually. Together with the interviews, they provide the main information for the qualitative analysis. The results will be discussed in sections 4.3. and 4.4.

The questions can be grouped in three distinct sub-topics: Firstly, participants were asked to give information about their language background and their self perception as a NNT. Secondly, the native norm in the language teaching classroom was questioned and thirdly, questions regarding ELF and its possible incorporation into the classroom were posed in the hope that telling results would be forthcoming.

The guide for the semi-structured interviews was modeled according to these sub-topics in order to deliver in-depth information for each topic area. Naturally, during the interviews there was sufficient time for additional questions, a further elaboration and an individual focus regarding the interviewees' attitude and engagement. Furthermore, it needs to be mentioned that the questionnaire, as well as the interviews, were conducted in German in order to provide a more relaxed atmosphere. Since all of the participants were German native speakers, this decision did not appear to be a problem at any point. In the description of the results, comments are listed in German and English in order to better demonstrate strong tendencies and viewpoints. For better readability transcriptions were modified and additional information added in square brackets. These will be followed by the respondent's questionnaire number also in

square brackets. In quotes from interviews, the number of the interviewee plus the section number can be found afterwards. A summary sheet of the respondents' personal characteristics and respective yes/no-answers ordered by number and an abstracted interview progress overview with transcriptions is added in the appendix.

## **4.2. Methodology**

### **4.2.1. Questionnaire Design**

The questionnaire consists of a short biographical section regarding participants' sex, age, school and location. Then there are thirteen multiple choice questions of which question 1 is a double-choice question with other answer options than yes/no-answers and question 3 is a multiple-choice question with five answer options. Question 2 and 4 to 13 can be responded by choosing *Yes* or *No*. All questions are supplemented with open questions, such as clarification or short-answer questions (Dörnyei 2007: 107). The vast majority of the respondents used the space given to clarify their answer or stated that for them either both were relevant or that a third option, such as "neutral" or "neither" for them would have been required (see Dörnyei & Taguchi 2010: 32). Additionally, it should be known that the questions are in the format of statements implicitly asking participants to agree or disagree by choosing *Yes* or *No*. In order not to confuse them with the respondents' comments, they are referred to as questions. Only the first eleven are of content relevance, whereas the last two ask for contact details in order to be able to inform the participants about results and if they wanted to take part in the interview study. As mentioned above, all questions were written with reference to existing studies. Only question number 5 was added because the need for further investigation appeared. Question 3 and 4 were originally used as one question but the question was too complex to be posed as a true or false question. Typically, the original questions were translated into German and slightly adapted, if necessary. Given multiple choice answers were changed to a preferred true-false format except for question 3. This format was used to keep it as simple as possible for the participants. Additional space after each question provided the opportunity to explain consent, dissent or to suggest an alternative answer not given as an option. The majority of the participants

were highly engaged with the topic and the filling in of the questionnaire. Most of the space was used adequately, which helped me to analyze the participants' yes/no choice or their respective comments and underlying attitude.

After piloting the questionnaire with colleagues, minor changes were implemented in order to guarantee successful results. Pilot participants without background knowledge of the field of ELF may have been more useful. The participants chosen to complete the questionnaire understood the questions exactly as expected or were not critical enough because of a possible personal bias. Unfortunately, minor ambiguities in the design of question 8 were only detected after the real survey was conducted and a small number of 'real' participants explained their feelings by adding a question mark or not commenting at all. Nonetheless, this is not seen as a failure of the questionnaire study, since it is mainly qualitative and the different responses are taken as a point of discussion in the analysis (cf. Dörnyei 2007: 75). Furthermore, question 2 was not answered three times and question 8 and 9 twice. Question 2 may have been over demanding in that I required participants to assess their own skills, and as such may have made them feel uncomfortable. Regarding question 8 and 9, the wording might not have been focused enough, to be responded to "succinctly, with a short answer" (ibid: 107). Altogether, compared to other questionnaire surveys, the missing answer rate between zero and 8% is acceptable. Nevertheless, the focus of these questions was strongly emphasized in the interviews in order to gain the wanted insights.

To briefly come back to the participants, 37 Austrian NNETs took part. Of these nearly one-third consisted of teachers from adult education (henceforth adult teachers). As already mentioned above, nearly 80% of the participants were female. This is congruent with Kaim's (2004: 28) claim that language teachers are mostly female. In her replication study 74% were female. She also referred to Medgyes (1994: 30), in whose study nearly 88% of the participants were female. My personal experience as a language teaching student has given me a similar impression. Unfortunately, reasons for this development cannot be discussed in this paper.

Concerning the age of the participants, around one-third of them were in the 51-60 range and the rest were evenly distributed across the other four age-groups. This fact

helped to exclude any general demographic tendencies due to age. After separating the participants into two groups consisting of teachers of adults and schoolteachers, the age distribution did not change significantly.

All of the participants stated German as their mother tongue. Furthermore, the vast majority lived and taught in either Upper or Lower Austria or in Vienna in the public or private sector at the time of the investigation. Adult teachers predominantly worked in and around Vienna either at the WIFI, a VHS<sup>2</sup> or referred to private tutoring classes. Schoolteachers were either employed at traditional grammar schools (Gymnasium) or vocational schools for social or touristic professions. The teacher education they had received was the same for all participants, namely, the official Austrian teacher training program (Lehramt). A small minority of the respondents had continued their studies with a doctorate after graduating from the teacher training course.

The results of the questionnaire will be discussed in 4.3. question by question. Answer frequencies will be analyzed in comparison to the reference surveys, expectations will be stated and discussions started. This will be done by connecting comments from the questionnaire with statements from the interviews and as well as previous expectations and results.

#### **4.2.2. Interviews**

Finally, it was decided to conduct interviews to supplement the questionnaire survey. As soon as it was clear that the number of respondents would not be enough for a full quantitative analysis, supplementary interviews deemed necessary. They were designed to emphasize tendencies found and assumptions made from comments and answers from the current and the original questionnaires.

In total, four interviews were conducted. Two of them were with teachers of adults and two with schoolteachers, of which all were female. It cannot be highlighted enough, how much their volunteering and their invested time and effort are appreciated. I am very

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<sup>2</sup> The WIFI and the VHS Wien are adult education centers with free access for everyone in Vienna. The further is partly run by the Austrian federal economic chamber (WKÖ) and the latter by the city of Vienna. Students study voluntarily and mostly pay fees for the courses.

grateful that all four participants were highly motivated to help me. They tried to answer all the questions, even if sometimes it was not easy for them to immediately understand what was meant. After months of reading, thinking and writing about a given topic, many connections and interrelations become clear. For outsiders, this is very often not the case and the need for further explanation is frequently required. Nevertheless, in the end, the interviews were successfully recorded in order to fulfill the task of further explaining opinions and attitudes. It is obvious that these four participants cannot be representative of all NNTs, neither that of my survey nor in general. However, they can work as genuine examples and help to facilitate a better understanding of NNTs' situation in the English teaching profession in Austria.

The interviews were conducted rather freely but following an interview guide. This guide was prepared beforehand so as not to forget important questions or topics, which needed to be covered while carrying out the interview. It is a usual instrument for semi-structured interviews and provides the interviewer with a certain guideline, which is especially important for novice interviewers (Dörnyei 2007: 137). The interview guide can be found in the appendix. After asking for permission, the whole conversation was recorded with a handy digital recorder, which made it easier to analyze the data afterwards. The duration of the interviews ranged from 50 minutes to around one hour and 20 minutes. Every interviewee reacted differently to the questions and elaborated their answers at varying lengths. All in all, they were highly willing to become engaged with the topic and answered in detail. After a tape analysis of the data (cf. Dörnyei 2007: 48f), the most relevant parts were transcribed and used for the analysis of NNTs' self-perception and attitude towards ELF. A collection of these passages can be found in the appendix.

#### **4.3. Expectations and Results**

In the following, the questions of the questionnaire are described and their original study use discussed. Furthermore, the answers to the original questions are compared to those of the 2013 questionnaire survey. It should be noted that the questions are actually statements which should be agreed or disagreed with by the respondents. For the sake of ease, in the following they are referred to as questions.

#### 4.3.1. Questionnaire Results

In order to investigate how teachers think about the condition of teaching a language that is not their mother tongue, **Question 1** asks about possible feelings of confidence or insecurity given that the participants are teaching a language that is not their mother tongue:

*Die Tatsache, dass Englisch nicht meine Muttersprache ist, ist für mich eher eine Quelle der Sicherheit / Unsicherheit.*

This question was also asked in Seidlhofer's (1996) survey and consequently in Kaim's (2004) replication. After analyzing the results of the 1996 survey, it was found that half of the participants admitted feeling insecure because they were not NNTs. Kaim expected a much higher number of people feeling confident with their situation. She was rather disappointed with the result in 2004, with 43% of participants reporting feeling insecure and only 22% feeling confident (cf. Kaim 2004: 53-54). Prior to conducting her survey, Kaim had expected a rise in confidence among NNTs in the period between 1996 and 2004 given the growth of ELF discourse and a supposed wider acceptance of NNTs and their alleged benefits. Contrasting with her expectations, the development was rather negligible. It is therefore not unreasonable to assume that levels of confidence among NNTs remain similar today, despite a further growth of this particular academic field. Interestingly, in 2013, 36% chose *Insecurity* and nearly the same number of respondents opt for *Confidence*. The number of participants who ticked *Insecurity* is too high to be able to suggest that NNTs are satisfied with their situation. However, it decreased again by 7%, which justifies the assumption of a gradual move away from a sense of insecurity over time. The percentage of confident people rose by 17% to 39%, supporting this positive evolution. Since the question was designed to have people decide between only two options, quite a high number of participants wrote in the comment area that they would have wanted a third option. This development can also be interpreted as rather positive, i.e. that more NNTs were unwilling to describe themselves as insecure, and may want to describe themselves as secure in the near future.

| Question 1 |            |            |              |
|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
|            | Confidence | Insecurity | neither/both |
| 1996       | 20%        | 50%        | 30%          |
| 2004       | 22%        | 43%        | 35%          |
| 2013       | 39%        | 36%        | 25%          |

**Table 1:** Development from Insecurity towards Confidence

Respondents gave different reasons to account for their selection of the ‘neither/both’ option. In 2013, they give reasons similar to the following example:

[Es ist eine] Mischung aus beidem! [Einerseits habe ich] besseres Verständnis für Schüler, [andererseits] Unsicherheit zum Beispiel beim Wortschatz. [15]

It is a mixture of both! On the one hand, I better understand the pupils and on the other hand, I am insecure concerning vocabulary.

In 2013, the majority of participants commented on their choice in question 1. Reasons for choosing *Insecurity* are mainly due to a perceived *lack of vocabulary* and *fluency in everyday language*. The comments after ticking *Confidence* are rather diverse: for instance *experiences abroad* (17, 34), *high grammar proficiency* (19, 28, 36), *same experiences learning English* as their students (1, 4, 7, 13, 26, 33, 35, 37) or *nobody is perfect* (17, 24, 34) make NNTs that were questioned feel confident in their role as an English teacher. Below are some of their comments:

Ich begründe meine Sicherheit damit, dass ich mich besser in die SchülerInnen beim Englisch Lernen hinein versetzen kann. [37]

I explain my confidence with the fact that I can better comprehend pupils’ English learning process.

[...] [W]enn ich mir unsicher bin, rede ich darüber. Kein Problem. Unsicherheiten gibt es auch in der Muttersprache!! [34]

When I am not sure, I talk about it. No problem. There are also insecurities in your mother tongue.

Ich begründe meine Sicherheit damit, dass ich Fehler machen darf. [24]

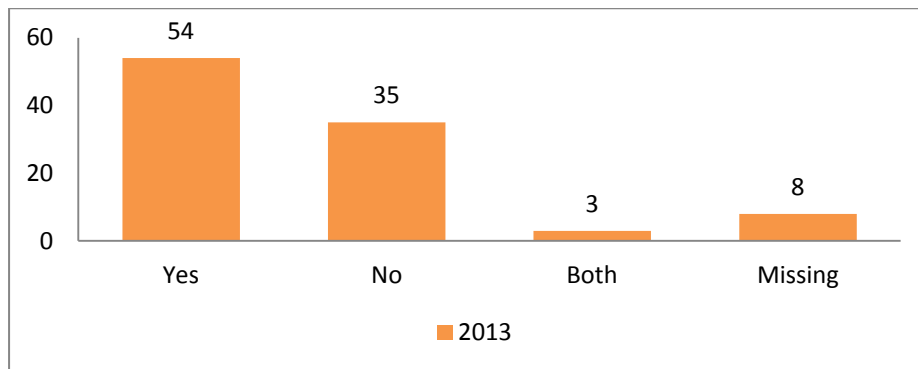
I explain my confidence with the fact that I am allowed to make mistakes.

The separate analysis of the two groups, school teachers and teachers of adults, reveals that a majority of the schoolteachers chose *Insecurity* (42%) and most of the teachers of adults opted for *Confidence* (60%). Since these groups were not looked at in previous studies, no comparison is possible. Nonetheless, it is very interesting to note that the numbers correspond with what was anticipated. A great majority of the questioned teachers of adults stated that they are confident with their situation, whereas only one-third of schoolteachers reported this. While previous studies did not discern between schoolteachers and teachers of adults, the general trend of rising confidence of NNTs in their own abilities suggests that schoolteachers' confidence will also rise further in the future.

**Question 2** investigates self-evaluation and self-perception of English teaching skills. It was also used by Seidlhofer and Kaim. In order to adapt the question format, the given multiple-choice answers were changed to a yes/no-answer. In the original question, participants could decide on various relevant teaching areas, e.g. *Literature* or *Speaking*. These topic classifications seemed to be rather vague and open to interpretation. Instead, Yes and No as answer options are considered to be more adequate and additional space for comments is provided. The original question translated into German, which was used in the 2013 questionnaire, runs as follows:

*Ich würde mich selber in einem bestimmten Bereich des English-Lehrens als nicht gut genug bezeichnen: Ja / Nein.*

A surprisingly high number of 54% agreed that they would classify themselves as not skilled enough in a specific area of English teaching. However, slightly more than one-third of the participants are convinced that they are proficient enough. One person adds an extra option "jein", which is a mixture of yes and no.



**Figure 1** (all numbers in %): Relation of given Answers to Question 2

In the outline of the questionnaire it was noted that in this question 8% of all participants were not willing to choose an answer option. Although this value is not very high compared to other questionnaire surveys, this question has the highest missing answer rate in this survey. Possible reasons for this have already been tackled briefly in the outline but cannot be accounted for convincingly. However, it could be said that it further strengthens the expectation that the majority of NNTs are not completely convinced of their ability to teach English.

The original analyses from 1996 and 2004 found that in 1996 nearly 40% and in 2004 around one-third described their worst area to be *Speaking*. The second was *Literature* and the third *Linguistics*. Then, this result was taken to demonstrate that NNTs were aware of a genuine deficiency in their spoken English. This seems to be inconclusive, since the answer options are rather general and only display the respondents' subjectively perceived weaknesses. It is not clear which aspects of the question make the participants choose. It can be said that these options leave too much room for speculation. Nevertheless, the tendency of a perceived lack in speaking skills seems to have been detected in 1996 and 2004, which corresponds with prevailing attitudes in the literature. It is irrelevant if participants ticked speaking because they perceive themselves as not eloquent or fluent enough or if they think that they have a 'wrong' accent. Numerous other reasons could account for this choice.

From the responses to this question in 2013, the majority of participants who consider themselves not good enough commented that they lack vocabulary, content of a specific topic area or a special teaching or organizational technique. Approximately 27% describe

their perceived deficiency either with *Vocabulary* (10, 15, 24, 25, 26, 27), *Comprehension* (2, 23, 27) or *Pronunciation* (36). The following individual comment is representative of their perceived proficiency:

[Ich würde mich nicht gut genug im Bereich] Wortschatz [bezeichnen], der war schon mal besser (lebte 2 Jahre in England), doch man vergisst vieles, weil es im ‚Schul-Englisch‘ nicht verwendet wird. (15)

I would describe my vocabulary as not good in enough; it used to be much better (I lived in England for 2 years), but one forgets so much, because it is not used in ‘school-English’.

Additional comments reveal that a small number of respondents are unconcerned that their vocabulary is sometimes lacking; they felt it does not impair their ability to teach English and is only natural:

Es kann vorkommen, dass ich mal etwas nachschlagen muss. Würde ich aber nicht als negativ ansehen und die SchülerInnen nehmen mir das auch nicht übel. (26)

It can happen that I have to look something up. However, I would not say this is negative and also the pupils do not hold this against me.

Finally, it should be noted that the valid percentage of 38 ticking *No* is not insignificant, and suggests that many of the questioned NNTs are at ease with their abilities as an English teacher. Additionally, it can be said that a separate analysis of the adult and schoolteacher groups does not result in any significant differences between the groups. A majority of the participants within each group find themselves to be *not good enough* in a specific area.

**Question 3** asks about the English model participants had to adhere to during their studies at university.

*Wenn ich an meine Universitätszeit zurückdenke, erinnere ich mich an ein bestimmtes Englisch-Modell, das es zu erreichen galt, nämlich: native BrE / native AE / near-native BrE / near-native AE / sonstige.*

The questionnaire provides five possible answers: *native* and *near-native British English*, *native* and *near-native American English* and *sonstige* (other). The vast majority ticked *near-native British English*, while a small minority ticked either *near-native American*

*English* or *other*. It is noteworthy that 10% chose *native British English* and 3% *native American English* as their model during studies. All of them belong to the age group of 51-60 or 60+. The original question additionally contains the aspect of proficiency and does not give any prepared answers. This was altered for the 2013 survey because of a rather misleading design. Kaim (2004: 47-48) anticipated that more participants would correlate their English language proficiency with terms such as *advanced* or *university level* as opposed to *native*. Even if more participants wrote answers like *advanced* in 2004 than in 1996, she found the percentage of 26 too small to draw strong conclusions. In the case study of 2013, only a very small number ticked *other*. The reason behind this could either be the differing design or content perception. It should be noted that a higher percentage of people choosing *other* was expected due to Kaim's interpretation. Since *near-native BrE/ AE* were frequently ticked, this may suggest that the term 'near-native' could have undergone a change in meaning over the years. This could be possible because of the progress in the topic area. Furthermore, it could be the case that participants associate a different meaning with the given answers. Unfortunately, a relationship between the two results remains doubtful after conducting the survey. The differing answer options appear to have been more influential than expected. Nonetheless, the majority of questioned teachers try to approximate a native level of English, either deliberately through personal choice or because of institutional demands. This result suggests that tertiary education exercises a strong influence over NNTs' self-perception and language identity. Not much can be done to diminish feelings of inadequacy regarding the use of the English language should it not correspond with departments' expectations.

**Question 4** refers back to question 3 and asked if the participants think that they have attained proficiency as per the prescribed model indicated in the prior question:

*Ich glaube dieses Ziel erreicht zu haben: Ja / Nein.*

| Question 4 |     |     |              |
|------------|-----|-----|--------------|
|            | Yes | No  | neither/both |
| 1996       | 34% | 53% | 13%          |
| 2004       | 50% | 33% | 17%          |
| 2013       | 70% | 22% | 8%           |

**Table 2:** Perceived Achievement of set Language Goals

In 1996, slightly more than half of the respondents said *No*, whereas in 2004 only around one-third chose this option. In 2013, a surprisingly large 70% state that they have achieved the expected goal, which stands in contrast to a much smaller number of confident participants (cf. question 1). A small number adds a comment to underline that they have reached this level at a certain point in their lives due to experiences abroad (24, 10, 11, 31). Additional comments regarding the NS model were informative:

Mein Englisch ist definitive auf Muttersprachenniveau, auch wenn es laut Briten manchmal noch immer etwas zu amerikanisch klingt. (13)

My English definitely is at NS level, although British people sometimes think that it sounds too American.

Ja, ich glaube dieses Ziel erreicht zu haben. Es wurde mir von AmerikanerInnen gesagt. (37)

Yes, I think I have achieved this goal. Americans told me so.

The people who choose *No*, often comment that they either will never be equivalent to a NS (10, 20) or that they have a ‘wrong’ accent (25, 17, 13):

Es ist quasi unmöglich und unnatürlich einen native accent zu bekommen. [20]

It is virtually impossible and unnatural to develop a native accent.

This comment somehow implies that she finds it ok to be ‘unmasked’ as a NNT. Consequently, it seems that the answers *Yes* and *No* cannot necessarily be equated with a positive or negative view of the self. A small minority commented that they only partly reached this goal or that it is not objectively detectable if they have reached it or not. Such a positive response to this question was not expected. According to Kaim’s (2004: 48-52) interpretation, an improvement in teacher education was achieved to help teachers reach a higher level of language proficiency. That a greater number of NNTs regard themselves as equivalent to native level is not necessarily an improvement in

itself. It does also not imply that they immediately feel better as a NNS. This is rather an ideological question and ignores the factor of ELF in education.

Generally, it can be said that a gradual increase in the number of respondents who thought that they had reached the prescribed university goal can be observed. Kaim (2004: 49) claims that all of those who tick *No* lack a feeling of competence after graduating. This interpretation can be highly dubious. The results of the questionnaire, now and then, do not indicate that there is a correlation between the participants' feeling of competence whether they feel they conform to the standards of language proficiency according to a model prescribed by an institute or department. The strong difference between respondents admitting confidence in their abilities in question 1, and the amount of those stating to have reached the required level of proficiency while studying in question 4, suggests a more complex relationship between these factors left open to debate.

**Question 5** again refers to a possible model during the participants' study time and interrogates whether they perceive the goal, which they were asked about in question 3 and 4, to be necessary for their professional lives.

*Im Nachhinein betrachtet, war dieses Ziel für meinen späteren beruflichen Alltag notwendig: Ja / Nein.*

This question was added in order to better interpret the answers to question 4. It should partly explain, if NNTs had to pursue a certain language model during their studies, whether they are content with this situation or not. It was assumed that most NNTs think that a model was important. According to Kaim's (ibid.) briefly afore-mentioned interpretation, this could be an indicator that respondents who think they have not reached the goal are also not confident with their abilities. Altogether, this question is expected to reveal important features about the self-perception of the questioned NNTs. As many as two-thirds of the participants answered with *Yes*. This again reflects what has been discussed intensely in the literature: NNTs still strive towards the goal of achieving a 'native-like command' of English and find it important for their profession to do so. Departments and professors support this finding, as they expect individuals

studying to strive for this target. According to an SPSS-cross tab, a vast majority who answered question 4 with *Yes* again chose *Yes* in question 5. This is also valid for the exact opposite: the larger group who felt they had not reached the goal, also state that it is not important to them. According to those who opt for *No* in both cases, it can be assumed that their reason for rejecting a language model is their insecurity and not having reached the expected goal they are supposed to emulate as much as possible. This correlation indicates a reaction against a NS norm due to personal insecurity and reveals interesting information about the reasons for identity struggles as found in other studies (see Inbar-Lourie 2005; Varghese et al. 2005; Jenkins 2007). Those respondents who think they have reached the expected goal and also find it important for their profession should be predominantly confident with their situation as NNTs.

**Question 4 \* Question 5 Crosstabulation (1 response missing)**

| Count      |       | Question 5 |    |       | Total |
|------------|-------|------------|----|-------|-------|
|            |       | Yes        | No | other |       |
| Question 4 | Yes   | 21         | 5  | 0     | 26    |
|            | No    | 2          | 6  | 0     | 8     |
|            | other | 0          | 1  | 1     | 2     |
| Total      |       | 23         | 12 | 1     | 36    |

**Table 3: Q4 \* Q5 Crosstab**

Respondents explained their choices with rather different comments. 15% of people who give *Yes* as an answer, say that only achieving a goal can give a teacher enough language confidence in front of the pupils (4, 21, 28, 34, 37) and nearly 10% state that only then can the teacher be an appropriate model for his/her pupils (3, 28, 29, 30):

Die SchülerInnen müssen das Gefühl haben, dass du die Sprache beherrschst. Du bist der Orientierungspunkt. [28]

The pupils need to get the feeling that you have mastered the language. You are the point of reference.

Ein breiter Wortschatz und eine möglichst authentische near-native Ausdrucksweise sind für einen Sprachenlehrer unabdingbar, da er ja für die Schüler das Hauptmodell ist. (29)

Since the language teacher is a model of a language student, a broad vocabulary and an authentic near-native command of the language are required by him.

From the previous comment, a prevalent tendency is noticeable: The NS, mainly the British English NS, still functions as the dominant reference model. However, as the literature suggests, ambivalent and somehow contradictory opinions are revealed. One further aspect needs to be mentioned which was picked up by respondents: A small group refers to the term 'authenticity' in a meaningful relation to the NS norm. They state that a model is important in order to use *authentic* English in the language teaching classroom (10, 32). The term *authentic* is often used to refer to NS examples and materials, whereas in a learning environment outside of the English speaking world, one can legitimately argue that a NNT can be held up as an *authentic* example of an English speaker, given the nature of the modern world.

For one-third of the participants who tick *No*, answers like 'all models are equally useful' (24), 'the accent does not matter' (25) or 'the ability to communicate effectively is enough to be a good model' (14) are significant.

It can be inferred from the responses to this question, how NS-focused the majority of NNETs are. They regard pursuit of the native model as the best means to achieving proficiency in the English language. Although they seem to have accepted the fact that a native level pronunciation is not of the utmost importance, they are of the opinion that general language command is better when modeled on the NS use in order to be 'authentic'.

**Question 6** is designed according to question 8 of Seidlhofer's (1996) questionnaire. It has a similar aim to the previous question and investigates the teachers' perception of their status as a NNT.

*Generell denke ich, dass ich es im Lehrberuf leichter hätte, wenn ich Englisch als Muttersprache sprechen würde: Ja / Nein.*

It says that it would be easier to be an English teacher if one were a NS. The possible answers were again *Yes* and *No*. The results from this question are similar to those of the previous surveys. The general tendency appears to be rising with a higher percentage of participants opting for the self-confident answer, *No*. All in all, it can be said that in 2004 the numbers developed minimally against the expectation and then rose in 2013. That only a small number of participants chose *Yes* is interpreted in a positive light and is regarded to be a development that suggests NNTs' self-esteem is rising. Interestingly enough, the majority of respondents seem to be convinced that they are not disadvantaged compared to the NST when teaching English. The question now arises why the majority of the asked teachers regard a native model for them and their students as important (see question 5) and despite this think that they are as capable of teaching it.

| Question 6 |     |     |              |
|------------|-----|-----|--------------|
|            | Yes | No  | neither/both |
| 1996       | 27% | 69% | 4%           |
| 2004       | 32% | 62% | 6%           |
| 2013       | 16% | 73% | 11%          |

**Table 4:** Are NSs advantaged over NNSs teaching English?

The answers to this might be revealed from the participants' comments. Slightly more than one-third of the questioned teachers who answer *No*, argue that they more easily understand problems the students might encounter when studying English because of their own experience:

Ich würde Probleme der Englisch-Lernenden nicht verstehen [wenn ich ein NS wäre]. [24]

I would not understand English-learners' problems [, if I were a NS].

Furthermore, they find it important to have lived through the same process to be able to teach in a student-sensitive way. Others comment that the fact one is a NT does not necessarily mean that one is a good teacher:

[NSs haben] Erklärungsnotstand bei Strukturen und fehlende Einsichten in den Lernprozess der Fremdsprache. Muttersprachler sind erst ab einem hohen Niveau hilfreich. [28]

NSs often do not know how to explain structures and they lack insights into the learning process of the foreign language. NSs are only helpful at a rather high level.

8% of the respondents state that they disagree with the comment but think that both groups have advantages and disadvantages:

[Es ist] völlig unrealistisch, wenn an österreichischen Schulen nur native speakers unterrichten würden, **beide** - native und non native speakers - haben **Vor- und Nachteile**. [2] (emphasis in the original)

It would be completely unrealistic, if only NSs taught at Austrian schools; both – NSs and NNSs – have advantages and disadvantages.

The majority of comments mention the same advantages as Medgyes (2001) discusses in his survey concerning advantages and disadvantages of both groups. The minority of respondents who agree that teaching English would be easier for NTs claim that a major advantage would be the ability to correct tests and exams much faster (3, 5, 23). Another argument is that NSs have a broader vocabulary and thus, it is believed that they will be more confident when teaching English (18, 25). Before the survey was conducted, it was expected that a higher number of contemporary NNTs would find themselves advantaged over NTs than in 1996 and in 2004. However, after analyzing question 5, doubts started to arise as to whether this might actually be the case. It is rather surprising that although two-thirds said that they are convinced that a native model is indispensable, more than 70% agree that they are more capable of teaching English than their NS colleagues.

Furthermore, it was assumed that teachers might make mention of the issue of a heterogeneous classroom with learners with numerous mother tongues other than German due to increased number of immigrants compared with the average classroom of 17 years ago. Unfortunately, this was wrong. Only one respondent commented upon this intricacy (7). She states that pupils with a higher level of German could profit more from her advice than those with a lower, which could be a disadvantage for them. This language diversity in a classroom can also have numerous benefits for the teacher and the pupils. However, this expansive issue lies beyond the scope of this paper.

In summary, the rather divergent answers to questions 5, 6 and 7 indicate how controversial the topic is. Further interpretation and the discussion of possible connections can be found in the next chapter.

**Question 7** originates from a different survey, which was used as an example when designing this questionnaire. This study was conducted in 2007 by Enric Llurda in Spain investigating Spanish English teachers' views about the role of ELF in comparison to EFL. In the original questionnaire this was Question B. In contrast with the assumptions made in the previous question, it is assumed that having gone through the process of learning English as a foreign language NNETs are familiar with the difficulties encountered by students of the English language, and as such are better able to teach it:

*Die Tatsache, dass ich Englisch als Fremdsprache gelernt habe, gibt mir die Möglichkeit mich besser auf die SchülerInnen und ihre Schwierigkeiten einzustellen: Ja / Nein.*

Respondents could choose between *Yes*, if they agree or *No* if they disagree. Congruent with question 6, the vast majority answered *Yes* (95%). In this case the questioned teachers remain consistent with the opinions they had already expressed before in question 6. However, in this case it was more succinct than in the previous question. Nevertheless, it displays what they think of the NNT's teaching skills including themselves compared to a NS. Comments on their choices are similar to those made on the previous question but they are far more elaborate.

In favor of the statement, they argue that the language *learning process is the same*, that they can *understand possible troubles* and that they can *better track Germanisms* and mistakes made when attempting to apply German language structures to the English language. In the original questionnaire a smaller majority of 63% opted for *Yes*, meaning a much larger group said *No* than in 2013. This answer is interpreted by Llurda (2007: 17) as indicative of a feeling of inferiority or even a lack of self-esteem, if the respondents compared themselves with the abilities of NTs. The significant contrasting result of the 2013 study indicates that most of the NNTs are well aware of their advantages in comparison to NTs. It is hoped that a closer analysis of the comments and the interview study will reveal more about a potential relationship between constant

adherence to the NS model and NNTs awareness of their advantages in virtue of their NNT status. It is very likely that a majority of NNETs conform to the recognized need for a NS model despite the publicized advantages of NNTs as indicated by the results of question 5. Nevertheless, the Yes-answer of a total of 95% rather corroborates the idea that the self-esteem of NNTs is no longer so precarious as was often implied in the literature.

**Question 8 and 9** are equivalents to Statement 5 of Murray's (2003: 153) study on the "[...] changes in native speaker prestige and power that a larger role for Euro-English in ELT might entail":

*Viele Lehrbücher nehmen an, dass SchülerInnen in Zukunft hauptsächlich mit englischsprachigen Menschen kommunizieren werden: Ja / Nein.*

The original statement seems to include two statements in one and therefore, in the replication, it is separated into two (question 8 and 9). Generally, question 8 asks whether course books assume that pupils might predominantly communicate with English NSs in the future. Slightly more than half of the participants agreed with this statement. This is consistent with the results of Murray's (2003: 156) study that adult teachers are more open and tolerant towards linguistic variation. A repetition of this result was also anticipated here. However, such a stark contrast between the opinions of the two separate groups (teachers of teenagers and teachers of adults) was not found in 2013. Only a hint of this is evident in the 2013 questionnaire: Namely, a smaller proportion of schoolteachers agree with the suggestion that the books assume more conversations with NSs in the learner's future. This difference of opinion has not proved significant ( $p > .05$ ). Nevertheless, it emphasizes the expectation that with a larger group of respondents, a relevant difference between the two groups' attitudes can be assumed and therefore, Murray's argumentation can be verified. Teachers of adults and a minority of schoolteachers commented strongly against the necessity of a NS norm, for example as in the following quote:

Das ist für Business English oder Legal English eine völlig falsche Annahme.  
(35)

This assumption is completely wrong, especially if business or legal English is concerned.

The conclusion drawn in 2003 that NNETs of children and teenagers are rather skeptical about neglecting the NS model and ELF usage in general seems coherent with these results. The answers and comments to question 9 appear to be highly interesting concerning this matter.

As mentioned above, **question 9** is connected to question 8. Firstly, participants are asked about their attitudes towards known or recently used course books in relation to their communication tasks (question 8 in this survey). Secondly, it investigates if a change towards a wider implementation of NNS English into the teaching materials is desired (question 9):

*Ich denke, dass es in den Lehrwerken mehr Situationen geben sollte, in denen die Kommunikation mit Menschen nicht-englischer Muttersprache geübt wird: Ja / Nein.*

It has already been mentioned when describing the results of question 8 that in the original study by Murray (2003), NNS schoolteachers are generally against a wider incorporation of ELF. In 2013, slightly more than half of all respondents (51%) disagreed with the idea of more NNSs as examples in course books. Notwithstanding this high percentage, as many as 46% of participants agreed with the suggestion in question 9, supporting the idea of preparing students for communication through the use of NNSs. In both, question 8 and 9, one person requested a third option, saying *both* and two did not answer at all. After the  $\chi^2$ -test investigating a possible difference between schoolteachers and teachers of adults, which was expected to be found, no significant result is detected ( $p=.066$ ). Although no significant difference was found between schoolteachers and teachers of adults in terms of their attitudes towards the use of NNTs in the 2013 study, the slight difference visible in the results does conform with the anticipated trends. Nearly 60% of teachers of children reject the suggested idea, whereas, only one-third of teachers of adults do so. Since this result proved to be statistically significant in Murray's (2003: 156) study, it is worth noting that this tendency is once again visible in the 2013 study. Although it can only be seen as a sample case study, it is still of use when analyzing the real situation. Further academic contribution could initiate a larger quantitative study investigating these possible differences. Such a study could potentially be very valuable. The comments in question

8 and 9, explaining the participants' choice for either *Yes* or *No* can be described as fairly distinct. A small number of teachers seem to have already used material, in this case books, which at least once incorporate ELF as a chapter or sub-chapter. Respective participants write comments like the following to express their support:

Es gibt aber auch zunehmend LC mit Aufzeichnungen von non-native English speakers (diese rufen bei den Schülern aber meist Heiterkeit hervor). [31]

There are more and more LCs with recordings of NNEs (however, mostly they provoke laughter among the pupils).

Wie gesagt, in den neueren Werken ist das zum Teil schon der Fall; Englisch ist nun mal als weltweite Lingua Franca nicht das „Eigentum“ einer bestimmten Nation/Region. (29).

As said before, in the more recent books, this has already been the case; anyhow, English is a global lingua franca and not the “property” of a certain nation/region.

Darauf [*Situationen mit Menschen nicht-englischer Muttersprache zu üben*] zielt außerdem der GERS<sup>3</sup> ab, also sind wir Lehrer derzeit mehr oder weniger verpflichtet Schüler darauf vorzubereiten. (14)

Actually, this is the aim of CEFR, therefore, we teachers are more or less obliged to prepare the pupils for this situation.

From these comments it seems clear that at least this minority of questioned teachers are aware of the fact that ELF is an accepted concept which should be spread to favor NNSs. Individual course books seem to have already adopted the term ELF in their content. However, in contrast to this apparently growing acceptance of the use of ELF when teaching English, many gave opposing statements agreeing with question 8 that the books assume that the pupils will converse mainly with NSs:

[Ich finde es] [s]innvoll. Es ist wichtig ein **höheres Niveau** anzustreben als unter Umständen. [22] [emphasis added]

I find this useful. It is important to aim at a higher level than under special circumstances.

[Man hat] [**h]ohe Erwartungen**. Wenn es anders kommt, ist es auch recht. [7] [emphasis added]

One has high expectations. If it develops differently, it is ok, too.

Man sollte sich immer an dem **Sprachgebrauch / die Aussprache von NS orientieren** [31]. [emphasis added]

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<sup>3</sup> GERS is the German abbreviation for Common European Frame of Reference (CEFR).

One should always orient to the native language use and pronunciation.

Consistent with this opinion, others oppose the statement made in question 9 strongly:

Es [ENL] ist trotzdem authentischer und motivierender. [20]

Nevertheless, ENL is more authentic and motivating.

Das korrekte Vorbild ist immer noch wichtiger. Sich mit Händen und Füßen zu verständigen, funktioniert dann schon. [21]

The correct model is still more important; to communicate by gestures will work anyway.

From these additional comments, a strong tendency to adhere to the NS model as the only correct version of English is clear. Nevertheless, a general ambiguity towards the statements made in questions 8 and 9 is visible given participants' answers, which were divided fairly evenly into the *Yes* and *No* camps. However, a high number of participants regard it as crucial to prepare their students for their future using English with more NNSs than NSs. One respondent speaks for those favoring more ELF in teaching, when she says that she would be for more communication with NNSs in the course books,

[...] weil man im Beruf ja ebenso mit Leuten zu tun haben wird, die English als erste oder zweite Fremdsprache lernten. [6]

[...] because at your work place you will also have to deal with people, who learned English as a first or second foreign language.

However, the ideal model still seems to be the NS who is described as speaking the ultimate form of English providing the ideal basis for all requirements. The assumption that if they try to reach this form, they will be able to communicate with everyone appears to be implied. Furthermore, from a small number of comments it can be observed that they find it important to strive towards this goal, even if they already know that in real life it is different. The interviews that were conducted should ascertain whether a slight majority favor the use of ELF or EFL, notwithstanding NNTs' recognition that both have a role to play. The rather controversial double-sidedness of the group of NNTs, as well as each individual has been extensively discussed in the literature, and is again crucial in the discussion of the results.

**Question 10** is the second question after question 7 originating from Llurda's (2007) study. It is modeled according to Question E of the original questionnaire. It directly asks whether a certain standard language in the classroom is used as a model:

*In meinem Englisch Unterricht nehme ich ein bestimmtes Standard-Englisch als Vorbild:  
Ja / Nein.*

The original statement is slightly different. It includes a student variable as well, asking if a model for the students' use is suggested. It was slightly varied in order to direct the focus more on the teacher's self-perception of his/her English classes. Furthermore, Llurda designed the question adding three answer options (*'British English (RP)', 'American English'* and *'I would like them to be able to speak English efficiently for international communication.'*). These are omitted in 2013 and substituted by a simple *Yes* and *No* option. The reason for this is the attempt to reduce the possibility of a socially desired answer. The participants are expected to strongly think about their teaching situation and decide if they use any model at all. Additionally, the third choice *'English for international communication'* appears to induce the perception of EIL as a substitute for an ENL model, which should be vehemently opposed according to the theory (see ch. 2.1.). Moreover, it is not clear from the question and its answer options if by *'English for international communication'* ELF is actually meant or and thus whether *'English for international communication'* should be held in opposition to the traditional models of the English language, namely, BrE and AE. If this were the case, it would somehow propagate a false image of the concept of ELF as a means for international communication. In Llurda's questionnaire in 2007 as many as 90% of participants opted for *'English for international communication'*. This surprisingly high percentage seems to be anomalous since the current study, as well as others, gives the general impression that a large group of teachers still favor a NS model, even if they know about ELF. It may be the case that the third option, *'English for international communication'* was misinterpreted by the participants of the 2007 study, and was chosen by the vast majority of participants who also regarded it as the most socially valuable or most wanted option. There are further reasons that could account for the high response rate to this option in the 2007 study.

The results of the 2013 study can be summarized as follows: Nearly 70% of the respondents say that they use a certain model in their English language classroom. This answer seems to correspond with prior expectations and is in line with the previous results. Given the majority indicated that they do use a specific model when teaching English in the classroom, comments received from teachers who indicated that they do not, should be particularly informative when discussing how the current situation might be improved. The number of participants who responded that they do not make use of a particular model is large enough to be significant. This suggests some NNTs have developed or are developing an identity as a teacher of the English language less influenced by a NS model. Comments such as the following emphasize this idea:

Mir geht es um die Inhalte, da ich keinen klassischen Englisch-Unterricht halte. Dafür sind andere Lehrer zuständig. Für mich ist Englisch die Lingua Franca.  
[12]

For me, it is more about the content because I do not teach English in the classic sense. Other teachers should do that. For me English is the lingua franca.

[...] Ich achte drauf, dass Schüler kommunizieren können – der Situation angemessen (z.B. Freunde / Vorgesetzte etc.). Standard ist eine Abstraktion; [ich] habe bisher noch keinen Standard-Speaker getroffen! [14]

I take care that the pupils are able to communicate – depending on the situation (e.g. friends / authorities etc.). Standard language is an abstraction; I have never met someone who spoke Standard English.

All in all, these opinions are reassuring, although the vast majority of the respondents stated that they used BrE as a model. Reasons that might account for this preference include the availability of *materials* with this focus (7, 10, 25, 28, 34, 35) or a *personal passion* for this variety of English (1, 2, 6, 13, 15, 16, 18, 31, 36) or that they are used to this model.

To summarize, it can be said that in contrast with the results of the original study, the majority of questioned NNTs still use BrE as a model in their courses. In line with the expectations of the standardized CEFR, results like those in 2007 that English teaching should focus more on international communication, should be targeted in any English teaching classroom in Europe in order to ascertain a more realistic language target. However, at the moment this appears to be wishful thinking. Nevertheless, it should be noted that not a few participants in 2013 mentioned attempts to incorporate other

varieties of English into their lessons, although they stick to the British version most of the time. The incorporation of more than one variety of English somehow can be seen as a positive development although it seems to be outmoded considering recent findings on international communication. Besides, the number of Standard English opponents is not as small as expected, which seems to encourage the idea of a gradual development away from the NS model.

The last content question, **question 11** is taken from Murray's (2003) questionnaire and is drawn from its fourth statement. It asks if the teacher prefers "to foster communication or to push the learner towards a closer approximation to ENL forms through error correction" (ibid: 155):

*Ich versuche im Unterricht mehr Zeit damit zu verbringen, die SchülerInnen sprechen zu lassen und Konversation zu üben, als zu versuchen immer wieder Fehler auszubessern, die Typisch für Englisch-Lernende sind: Ja / Nein.*

More than three-quarters of the original respondents choose *Communication*. In the current questionnaire 65% of respondents also selected *Yes*. Again, this is the vast majority of the participants. Only a very small group preferred *error correction* (11%). The remaining 24% ticked both or added a third answer option. Splitting the answered questionnaires into two groups (adult/school teachers), the majority of participants from both groups supported *Communication*. Many teachers said that they have already spent more time in their lessons practicing communication rather than only correction errors and repeating grammar. The result for this question might be explained by a general opinion amongst teachers that efficiency is more important for them than grammatical correctness (14, 24, 29, 33, 34):

Kommunikation ist wichtiger als Sprachrichtigkeit, daher weniger Konzentration auf Fehler. [24]

Communication is more important than language correctness; this is why I focus less on mistakes.

Even more argue that the pupils and the teachers themselves prefer active tasks in order to increase their motivation and to reduce stress and timidity (1, 4-7, 10, 15, 17, 19-21, 31, 32):

Man darf Fehler machen! Ich mache selbst auch Fehler; ständiges Ausbessern ist lähmend und bremst die Motivation. [6]

It is allowed to make mistakes! I make mistakes, too; constant correction is paralyzing and decreases motivation.

Others add that they like this idea of emphasizing communication but that it is of utmost importance to know how to use the language correctly, especially when it comes to writing. The differentiation between written and oral work is made several times:

In der Erwachsenenbildung gibt es oft eigene Kurse für Konversation beziehungsweise Schreiben. Formale Fehler werden da nur bei Zweiterem wirklich beachtet. Um flüssig reden zu lernen, muss man „dahin reden“ lernen ohne dauernd unterbrochen zu werden. [27]

In adult education, there are different courses for conversation or writing. Formal mistakes are more important in the latter. In order to learn to speak fluently, it is important to learn to “speak on” without being interrupted all the time.

Participants who argue for emphasizing error correction justify this choice in that they regard grammar together with vocabulary and idioms as basic language knowledge. Generally speaking, although the majority of teachers favored *Communication*, the opposition towards it was predominantly founded on a preference for a NS Model and a disregard for recent insights into the potential of ELF as an empowering tool for NNTs. In comparison to the model questionnaire, there is no significant difference found between schoolteachers and teachers of adults.

In this question, earlier expectations are exceeded although the number of teachers who favored communication in 2003 was larger. A large group of NNETs have already been focusing on communication in their English classes and mention this in the questionnaire. This could be the case because of political changes in the curriculum and also standardized testing and assessment (cf. CEFR ). Nevertheless, it came to light that teachers are aware of the fact that communication in an international setting is crucial for their students’ future. Until now, it seems that this ability is often connected with a native speaker like command of English.

**Question 12** and **13** do not ask for content opinions but for contact information in order to find volunteers for the interviews and to distribute findings. A large number of the respondents were interested in the results of the questionnaire and a slightly smaller

number of teachers said that they want to support this survey as an interviewee. From this group four seemingly representative NNETs were chosen as interviewees. These interviews are the subject of the next sub-section.

From this description of the most frequent answers, it is clearly apparent that on the one hand, a majority of the questioned teachers are aware of changes in the use of English in an international context and that this also requires different forms of teaching. On the other hand, a prevailing acceptance of a native speaker norm with the use of a model in the language classroom still appears to be extant. Occasionally, the given opinions seem ambiguous or even contradictory. It is not clear why a majority finds a NS model useful in order to become a successful teacher but many are unconfident with their situation. Additionally, a general development towards a more communicative centered teaching is visible. It is not clear yet, how this interrelates with the prevalent NS norm. To summarize, it can be said that although a large number of respondents find a language model, which is still mainly the NS, important, a minority reject it. Explicit explanations that account for an identity struggle within teachers remain undiscovered. Indicators for participants encountering struggles with identity matters are not discovered, although the assumption for underlying troubles is reinforced by the mentioned discrepancies and ambiguities. Interestingly enough, a vast majority perceive themselves as more capable of teaching English compared to a NS.

#### **4.3.2. Interview results**

Since the interviews were conducted in order to emphasize the findings from the questionnaire and give a deeper insight into the participants' thoughts and views, this section attempts to provide an overview of the four interviews. Due to the fact that two different research instruments were used in this case study, full transcriptions would be of little use. As mentioned before, after a tape analysis, parts supporting the main themes were transcribed. In this sub-section, the findings of the interviews are summarized. An in-depth discussion and the relation of the interview results to the questionnaire results and the research topic can be found in the discussion section (4.4.). As clearly visible from the previous section, teachers' opinions range from one

end of the continuum to the other, from welcoming ELF as an improvement for their teaching to rejecting it as a nuisance.

Of the four interviews, two are with English teachers from the adult teaching sector and two from the public school system. They were chosen because of their interesting viewpoints and also because of a convenient interview date and location. It was expected, that the teachers of adults would have already used ELF in their language classes and would not have used a certain model as a reference point, given their answers to the questionnaire. The opposite attitude was expected when conducting the interviews with schoolteachers (see Murray 2005).

To begin with the teachers of children and teenagers (No. 2, 4), it can be said that the expectations are at least partly met. Both state a clear preference for a British NS model during their studies, as well as in their current lessons due to a personal passion for this variety and its culture (interviews 2.6.; 2.8.; 4.2.; 4.3.). Interviewee 2 adds that she does not find this variety more easily understandable but that the European school system is plainly used to teaching it (interview 2.16.). Although both seem to be informed about the concept of ELF (interviews 2.13.; 4.11.) and their advantages as a NNT (interviews 2.1.; 4.4.), they repeatedly refer to the NS or Standard English as the ultimate reference point and an essential basis for every English user (interviews 2.15.; 4.10.). Additionally, they are not ignorant of the importance of different varieties but still seem to focus on NS varieties. Interviewee 2 states that she is neither confident nor insecure about her being a NNST, in contrast to interviewee 4, who says that she is confident because she could understand her students' problems (interview 4.4.). Besides that, she once lived in an English speaking country for a year in order to overcome any potential insecurity (interview 4.1.). Concerning identity, interviewee 2 answers that she probably changes her identity when switching between languages (interview 2.3.) and 4 said that she even tries to hide her Austrian identity while speaking English to emulate the NS as closely as possible (interview 4.5.):

Da [über Identität] denke ich eigentlich eher weniger darüber nach, um ehrlich zu sein. Was mir vorkommt, wenn ich die Sprache wechsele, wechsele ich auch die Identität. [...] Man wechselt irgendwo mit der Sprache auch Weltbild

und Anschauung und Werte. [...] Weil man mit einer Sprache schon auch ein Stück dieser Identität dieser Nationalität mitnimmt (interview 2.3.).

Honestly, I have not been thinking a lot about this issue. I found that when I switch to the other language, I also change my identity. [...] Somehow, one changes his view of life and values [...] because with the language one adopts parts of the national identity.

Ich habe mir wenige Gedanken darüber gemacht. Man versucht immer, [...] dass man so spricht, dass man es nicht kennt, dass man von Österreich ist (interview 4.5.).

One always tries to talk in such a way, that it is not recognizable that one is from Austria.

Generally, they find it important to have different varieties (interviews 2.5.; 2.9.; 2.10.; 4.9.) of English discussed in their classes and mention ELF in this respect. Furthermore, they criticize the Austrian school system for being too limiting, especially regarding the number of English lessons per week, dated materials and teachers being examiners as well (interviews 2.11.; 2.15.; 4.8.).

The opinions of interviewees of the group of teachers of adults (1, 3) are often incongruent with what was expected. Both state that they are confident with their situation (interviews 1.1.; 3.2.). One of these two respondents stated a stronger rejection of the NS norm than the other. Interviewee 1 answers that she finds a model for teaching quite useful (interview 1.5.). From the answers to the questionnaire, it seems that she is at ease with a NS model. From the interview it is found that she is rather critical and only accepts a Standard English in order to be able to reject this norm or refer to it, depending on the context.

Ich glaube, dass sich das Standard English, so starr es daher kommt, wandelt. [...] Ich finde es schon gut eine Norm zu haben und diese Norm zu kennen, eben [...] um sich darauf zu beziehen oder sie ablehnen zu können (interview 1.6.).

I think, that the Standard English, as rigid as it seems, is in a process of change. [...] I think it is good, to have a norm and to know this norm, in order to refer to it or to reject it.

Nevertheless, she finds a norm rather useful and found it necessary during her studies. Interviewee 3 completely rejects a NS norm. She feels forced to imitate something she would never want nor wanted to be, namely a NS (interview 3.1.). This slightly differing opinion could be due to the age difference between the participants (1=41-50, 3=20-30). Both have never experienced negative comments because of their NNE (interviews 1.4.; 3.1.). Interview participant 3 states that she sometimes is unhappy with her

pronunciation in general (interview 3.4.). It is clear that for both, effective communication is more important than trying to conform to the NL (interviews 1.4.; 3.2.). What is interesting is that both interviewees are confident because of their NNT training and experience and regard this as an advantage over NSs. They consider ELF a useful tool with which one can communicate, and a source of self-confidence. (interviews 1.10.; 3.12.; 3.13.). Both conclude their interviews by suggesting a general trend towards ELF in teacher education and consequently in language teaching (interviews 1.11.; 3.11.), especially if they have already used books which have integrated NNSs as sample speakers in their listening activities and introduced the concept of ELF to their students.

When answering the question about differences of status between a learner and a user of English, all four agree that they are not able to decide which category they would prefer for themselves (interviews 2.2.; 3.5.; 4.6.). They do not find it negatively connoted to be a learner in a specific situation (interview 1.1.; 4.6.), which could possibly suggest a generally positive opinion of the concept of LLL<sup>4</sup>. Furthermore, they all support the fact that there are more NNSs of English in the world and therefore, grant themselves and generally the NNST an advantage over the NS when teaching English. The reasons for this discussed in the interviews are completely congruent with those mentioned in the questionnaire answers and in the literature. Especially, the two schoolteachers and one of the teachers of adults (1) are unsure how to incorporate ELF into the classroom. Although they know well about it (interview 2.14.; 4.10.; questionnaire 17). The opinion of these four interviewees can be seen as partly representative of the broad spectrum of answers and comments received from respondents to the questionnaire.

It is not immediately clear from the interviews whether NNTs struggle with their identity construction, as suggested in the literature. In the interviews, the participants appear to be taken by surprise when posed this question and try to think about how to describe their feelings about their identity in words (interview 2.3.; 4.5.). The question also arises, why numerous teachers state that they acknowledge ELF as a concept theoretically, have used it in their lessons and yet are not aware of possible multi-layered identities.

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<sup>4</sup> Life Long Learning (LLL) is a promoted concept by the European Union for further education in all domains and phases of life.

Furthermore, they also often state that they have no idea how it could be included into their English lessons or even improve English users' self-perception. Either something similar to ELF is described indirectly without using the term 'ELF' but not being acknowledged as such or they use ELF skeptically, believing it to lead to a chaotic teaching and learning situation due a presumed loss of basic language knowledge. It is referred to several occasions, the suggestion being that it makes a bad impression or degrades the English language (interview 4.13; questionnaires 8, 28). Only a minority of all the participants refers to it wittingly as the concept of English for the future with a potential to empower its speakers and teachers.

#### **4.4. Austrian NNTs' attitudes towards ELF**

In this section, an attempt is made to build bridges between the theoretical assumptions and the practical findings described in the last sub-section. This is done by connecting tendencies that arose in the answers to the questionnaires and the interview questions with the respective theoretical tenets. The intention was to use examples from the questionnaire comments together with the interviews to build sound arguments for ELF in the classroom.

A positive development in the right direction could be claimed if ELF can be used to build a satisfying, maybe multi-faceted, identity. From the literature, it is sometimes hard to believe that an improvement of the current NNT situation is possible. Theorists criticize the linguistic hierarchy NNETs work within and describe the teacher training and thus, English teaching to be dated (cf. Kaim 2004; Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer 2011). Numerous studies were conducted in order to find out more about the linguistically precarious situation the teachers and learners are thought to be in. Jenkins (2007) functions as one of the fundamental guidelines on attitude and identity research in the ELF discourse. These studies are conducted to better understand teachers, students and users and the complex issues of teaching English in a NNS environment. An investigation of their attitudes and opinions on the matter is crucial. For the same reason, in this study, Austrian NNETs are asked about their attitude towards ELF and English language models in their lessons and their identity and perceived status as a NNT.

Scholars (cf. Medgyes 2001; Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer 2001; 2006; 2011) put forward that NNTs often suffer from a feeling of linguistic insecurity and struggle to find the right identity when speaking and teaching English in order to accept the status of a failed NS. They construct their own multi-layered identity, strongly influenced by their L1 and culture. As described in the third chapter, identity traits can be chosen and are perceived by and ascribed to other speakers and learners, which can cause conflicts (cf. Inbar-Lourie 2005: 268). Consequently NNETs also assume a certain identity and try to adapt to this assumed ideal identity successfully. Varghese et al. (2005: 40) describe this as a complex social process not only influenced by language but also by discourse. Since the questionnaire does not explicitly ask for a self-evaluation of the participants' status as a NNT and their identity, it is a complex task categorizing and interpreting their answers concerning this matter, when only referring to their choice between *Confidence* or *Insecurity*. From the interviews, in which identity matters are more explicitly investigated, it is clear that it is not easy for them to specify their identity. According to the literature, the social and psychological aspect of identity construction is highly diverse and dependent on individual characteristics. Nevertheless, questions 1, 2, 4, 6 and 7 attempt to investigate the teachers' self-perception implicitly. Unluckily, the answers to these questions do not all point in the same direction.

The fact that a large group of respondents opted for *Confidence* clearly indicates a positive development in the NNST's process of identity development. Additionally, less than one-third were for *either / both* and a bit more than one-third choose *Insecurity*. A fairly even distribution across all three answer-options illustrates a general sense of ambivalence which could be caused by the same reasons why Varghese et al. (2005: 28) see the "personal and [...] professional self [of the NNT] intertwine". In order to be better able to see any possible indication for an improvement, a comparison to the two previous studies is made. It can be clearly stated that in both earlier studies the numbers for *Insecurity* were larger and those for *Confidence* smaller. From comments like the following, the hope is voiced that in future there will be a continuous development in this direction:

Der Vorteil, der mir in der Schule Sicherheit gibt, ist wahrscheinlich, dass ich eher verstehe, warum Schüler welche Fehler machen, weil sehr viele Fehler

durch die Interferenz Deutsch-Englisch entstehen. [...] Für die Schüler mit deutscher Muttersprache fällt es mir schon leichter zu verstehen, was ich mehr und deutlicher erklären muss und wo ich eher schnell drüber gehen kann (interview 3.3.).

The confidence providing advantage in school probably is that I better understand why pupils make certain mistakes. Many mistakes are made because of an interference of English and German. [...] With students whose mother tongue is German, it is easier for me to understand what I have to explain more often and in more detail and what I only need to tackle superficially.

Where the two groups of schoolteachers and teachers of adults are concerned, it clearly follows the expected pattern. Since the majority of schoolteachers opt for *Insecurity* (42%) and that of adult teachers for *Confidence* (60%), it can be assumed that teachers of adults have made greater progress in constructing a self-valuing identity. One possible explanation for this tendency is that Austrian NNETs of adults are more aware of international communication and its requirements from personal experience. This opinion is also emphasized by teaching materials mentioned in the interviews mainly by teachers of adults, and the absence of an institutionalized preference for a NS model. This lies in stark contrast with the schoolteachers' situation. Although no significant differences can be found from the quantitative analysis, the comments and answers in the interviews make it more than clear how these teachers seem to have developed differently. This is in accordance with what Murray (2003: 160) concludes: Adult teachers are more open and tolerant towards linguistic progress. Various reasons for this can be seen in the comments. On the one hand, adult students predominantly learn English more or less voluntarily. Furthermore, they have a certain aim in mind when learning English. This is often connected with the wish for a professional and personal further education in the business sector. Normally, these students pay for their courses and quit if they do not like it or do not find it useful for their purposes. This is also an important factor, which must not be forgotten. All these aspects influence the students' motivation and thus, that of the teachers. Adults and their teachers seem to be more aware of the fact that they will mostly converse with other NNSs in the future. By now, it has already become clearer why more attention needs to be paid to this group of teachers. These statements are representative of their opinions:

[Ja, ich denke, dass es in den Lehrwerken mehr Situationen geben sollte, in denen die Kommunikation mit NNSs geübt wird], da es näher an der Realität

ist. Englisch ist eine Lingua Franca. [Es ist wichtig] für Geschäftsbeziehungen. [1]

Yes, I think that it is important to incorporate conversations with NNSs in the course books, because it is closer to reality. English is a lingua franca. It is especially important for business relations.

Es müssen so viele Kommunikationssituationen wie möglich geschaffen werden, um sprechen zu üben. [Sprachverständnis] ist in vielen, speziell wirtschaftlichen Bereichen notwendig. [9]

A variety of communication situations need to be created in order to practice speaking well. Speaking comprehension is very important for many areas, especially economic ones.

This interconnectedness of economic and motivational reasons lead to the faster development of course material and an attitude, from teachers, of greater tolerance towards ELF, the NNSs and their varying backgrounds and cultures.

On the other hand, children in school learn English because they are obliged to do so by the curriculum. In the ideal case, they are interested as well. Furthermore, teenagers are normally not yet aware of their future plans or the general linguistic requirements and changes in the world. That is why course books often use cultural aspects of English speaking countries to enlarge their motivation and arouse the pupils' interest (cf. Modiano 2005). Interviewee 4 (a school teacher) says:

Ich glaube, dass man auch viele kulturelle Sachen an sie weiter gibt, nicht nur das Fachliche, vor allem weil jetzt die Grammatik in den Hintergrund tritt und weil es mehr um die Kommunikation geht. [...] [Es ist sehr interessant] wie man glaubt, dass [die NSs] wirklich leben, was sie machen, was wir nicht machen (interview 4.7.).

I think that you hand over a lot of cultural aspects too, not only the functional stuff. Especially now, when the grammar loses significance and communication is more emphasized. It is interesting, how you think, [the NSs] really live, what they do, that we do not do.

What is also obvious from comments like these is that NN schoolteachers more often take NSs and their culture as inseparable from the English language. They need to be informed about the possibilities of a shift from EFL to ELF if they aspire to better international communication skills. This knowledge can be connected to their awareness of the fact that they are in a better position in contrast with NTs teaching English, due to their own experiences as a language learner, which in many cases explains their

confidence and concurs with the expected effect. These two aspects of NNTs can enlighten them regarding the concept of ELF and its positive potential.

All in all, it seems that, despite opposing voices, the adult teaching sector is more reality-oriented and can better integrate new found insights into their materials and curricula, whereas the public school system appears to be rather rigid and system-oriented, tending to maintain traditions and regulations. From this survey, the assumption that teachers of adults are more open in contrast with teachers of children and teenagers due to manifold reasons can be confirmed. The question arises: How can this gap be closed? Progress must be brought into the public teaching sector as well. A start has already been made by the intense research and scholarly work going on in the academic field. Furthermore, individual teachers, children and adults who are open to ELF in their English teaching classroom should be encouraged to spread their views. Why are some more tolerant than others? Llorca (2007: 18; 21) concludes his survey that long stays abroad may foster this tolerance, which could also be one of several reasons evident in the current survey. It is possible that personal experiences from conversations and positive feedback improve the image of the NNS as a fully proficient user of English.

One other possible reason for this attitude is the idea of strongly assumed identity characteristics (see section 3.3. Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004). NNTs of children perceive themselves as different from NTs and immediately presume that they need to change in order to emulate the NS model. Reasons for this are varied; one is habit:

Vielleicht, ist es wirklich Gewohnheit, weil alle anderen Hörbeispiele bis dahin [waren] in einem British oder American English (interview 3.7.).

Maybe, they are just used to it because until then all the other listening examples were either in British or American English.

Due to its geographical proximity and its former status as a colonial power, it can be assumed that Great Britain has continuously been preferred as the first point of reference for the English language. Together with a personal preference and habit this has helped to defend a NS norm. In the questionnaire, it is mainly explained by a personal passion for this nation and its language variety. Additionally, it is referred to in the course books in use, and their preference for BrE is made clear. These aspects have

helped to enforce the constant use of a native Standard variety with the consequence that a large number of teachers feel obliged to use it. The opposite position is held by those teachers who are convinced that this promoted and preferred NS model is outdated in relation to the current use of English.

It can be said that the majority of participants, teachers of adults and children, believe that it is useful to have gone through the same language learning process as their students are currently doing so. They find it very important to know possible problems in order to be able to prepare appropriate material for their pupils and to teach it as adequately as possible for the pupils' needs. The interviewees' opinions emphasize this esteem enhancing stance (see also interview 3.3.):

Man weiß, wieso der das jetzt fragt. [...] Man kann wahrscheinlich die Grammatik besser aufbereiten, damit dass für den Schüler klarer ist (interview 4.4.).

One knows, why someone is asking something. [...] Probably, you can more easily summarize grammar, so that is clearer for the pupil.

This accords with the advantages of NNTs Medgyes (2001: 436-439) lists in his respective article. The development of this awareness seems to have risen when comparing previous studies' and the current survey's findings. It can be interpreted as a part of a development in the right direction. Apparently, research has started to make its way into reality and more NNTs are convinced of their skills. It is agreed by a large majority of the respondents that

[o]ne could say that the native speakers know the destination, but not the terrain that has to be crossed to get there: they [NSTs] themselves have not travelled the same route. (Seidlhofer 1999: 238)

From this, it can be said that the assumption made in question 7 that it is easier to teach English as a NS is not true. As already discussed in the first part of this paper, it is found tenable in practice that NNTs perceive themselves as the more adequate English teachers.

Furthermore, it is presumed that not as many contemporary NNTs suffer from a low self-esteem and struggles constructing their preferred identity as their predecessors did.

Llurda's (2007: 20) conclusion that "[...] teachers' views are distant from current proposals on the implications for teaching of English as an international language [...]" cannot be fully supported. It is argued that although they are not predominantly confident as NNTs, their general opinion is that they obtain more useful skills than a NST to teach English. From Llurda's study, the teachers' views appear to be generally dated, which is also true of several participants of this study, whereas, concerning identity construction, the current survey reveals a tendency towards improvement, in that NNTs now have a generally higher opinion of themselves. Although there are aspects in need of further clarification, in 2013 it was found that, especially concerning NNTs, linguistic benefits to teach English have already been acknowledged. This is inferred from the answers to questions 6 and 7. Far more than two-thirds of the participants respond to both questions that they are convinced that they hold an advantage over a NS, at least in terms of student sensitive teaching. However, they also see themselves as rather deficient language wise. This is especially apparent from the comments pertaining to question 2. A large number of participants state that they perceive their specific vocabulary knowledge as insufficient, or that they lack eloquence in every-day language use. Consequently, a big group of NNTs perceive themselves as not good enough linguistically, although they recognize their advantages as English teachers due to their own language experiences. Jenkins (2007: 32) calls this "linguistic insecurity" which implies NS superiority (see section 3.2.). This insecurity can often be encountered in the respondents' views referring to the native norm, commenting that "the highest level possible should be achieved" or "one has to assume the ideal situation" (3, 7, 16, 17, 22, 31). In these cases, the highest level or the ideal situation always implicitly means the ENL. Even if the respondents acknowledge the current situation that there are more NNSs than NSs of English, the NS is, nonetheless, referred to numerous times. It can be argued that this is an early stage of the correct process towards further acknowledgment NNSs as efficient users. Maybe, it starts with the perception of the language reality first, and then, it needs more time and further scientific findings to develop the ability to realize the linguistic benefits of ELF. Only if these steps are taken can the concept of ELF become part of NNETs' reality, and misinterpretations abandoned.

It is possible that they feel forced to maintain the NS norm in the classroom as well as in private use due to this insecurity and pressure from the school system. So why do a large number still adhere to a NS model (see question 5), if they know about the advantages of being a NNT? Is it possible to connect their awareness with ELF and their every-day teaching and learning in order to overcome linguistic insecurity? The demand for a change in language teacher education has been put forward before and should be restated afresh in order to achieve wider acceptance for current NNSs' linguistic characteristics.

A further aspect that should be grasped is the fact that there are traditional grammarians, mainstream linguists and other scholars who refer to the NNS derogatorily as generally less language proficient. In doing so, the large group of NNSs is made out to be inferior language users than NSs (Jenkins 2007: 232). Medgyes (1994; 2001), who himself is a NNS and claims that NNSs naturally cannot reach the language proficiency of a NS and thus will always have to live with difficulties with appropriate word selection and pronunciation. Such an attitude hinders any development away from the native norm and cannot be considered useful. It can be said that theorists' dissent is based on misunderstandings of the concept of ELF. With their superficial opinion that "ELF is a threat to be resisted" (Seidlhofer 2011: 193) they are only hindering the positive effects of ELF and its implications for English language teaching, and prevent the acceptance of NNSs as fully capable English language users. Stances like these consolidate NNTs' insecurity.

The general impression of teachers' self-perception is not predominantly negative because answers to question 4 suggest that a majority feels that they have reached the language model set by the university. However, answers to question 2 and a general tendency to adhere to the NS model, lead to the assumption that there are areas relevant for teaching with which the respondents are not satisfied. Around two-thirds perceive themselves as not good enough in a certain area. This is in line with expectations drawn before the survey was conducted that a large number were not content with their teaching abilities. On the one hand, this could be associated with difficulties faced by NNTs in the classroom. On the other hand, this could also mean that the respondents are not fully satisfied with the education they received at university

and need further training possibilities alongside their daily teaching. This claim has also been made by Seidlhofer (1999) and later by Kaim (2004), Jenkins (2007), Kamhi-Stein (2009) and others. It is therefore regarded as important that in future ELF is more fully incorporated into teacher training education programs, in order to prevent possible identity struggles. Such an improvement can make NNTs feel more confident about their linguistic situation and bestow them greater belief in their language professionalism.

Obviously, this paradox cannot be explained here completely. Nevertheless, the current survey leads to consequential interpretations, which are consistent with Seidlhofer's (2004) and Dewey's (2012) claims. Dewey (2012: 152) states that for numerous NNTs the concept of ELF is "[...] acceptable in theory but not in practice [...]". It seems that this is one of the most crucial problems why most teachers in Austria persist with a NS norm. It has been mentioned frequently in the literature and also in the current questionnaire and interview results that a practical implementation has not yet been carried out. This causes problems for those who are already willing to integrate a wider language variation into their teaching. Although some teachers answer that they find chapters in newer course books that incorporate current English usage, especially teachers of adults, for a small number of schoolteachers this does not make sense. Besides, according to how ELF is currently touched upon in most teaching materials, it is rather unappealing, misleading and not often used in an appropriate context:

In einem Kapitel haben Spanier, Italiener in ihrem Akzent gesprochen. [...] Jedes Kapitel hat so ein Thema. [...] Bei dem war es halt Urlaub. [...] Die Rezeption der Studierenden war nicht so gut. [...] Ich hab es eigentlich gut gefunden. Es gibt einfach mehr NNS als NS. [...] Sie haben gefragt: Warum hatten die so eine komische Aussprache, was soll uns das bringen für die Aussprache? [...] Es war ungewohnt für sie, da es kein Standard Englisch war (interview 3.6.).

In one unit Spaniards and Italians talked in their respective accents. [...] Each unit has such a topic. [...] In this one it was, naturally, about holidays. [...] However, the students' reaction was not that good. [...] Actually, I found it good. In fact, there are more NNSs than NSs. [...] They asked: Why do they have such a weird pronunciation, what should we take from that for our pronunciation? [...] This was unusual for them, since it was not Standard English.

Ja, dass [NNSs in den Schulbüchern vermehrt vorkommen sollen] ist eh gut, weil es einfach der Realität entspricht, weil es ja mehr Sprecher von Englisch gibt, die NNs sind. [...] Und es ist sehr interessant, wenn Leute aus Indien reden (interview 4.9.).

Yes, it [that NNSs are incorporated into the books] is good, because it is more realistic, because there are more English speakers who are NNSs. [...] It is very interesting, when there are people from India talking.

Furthermore, these comments also reveal that for the teachers it is not fully clear what the aim of ELF is and therefore, it cannot be appropriately used in class. This would be different if they are provided with more appealing materials with recommendations for their use and respective training. However, this requires a change in attitude in material design and teacher education. Since this claim is strongly ideologically and politically loaded, its realization has proved difficult so far.

Additionally, it should be mentioned that it is possible that participants who opted for *Confidence*, are satisfied with their situation and “do their best to achieve a high standard within the accepted constraints” (Jenkins 2007: 230). It can be said that this is what Inbar-Lourie claims (2005: 277): teachers accept their ambiguous identity characteristics and try to take it as a “natural part of their professional existence”. In other words, some of the respondents are apparently struggling but assume this as the way it has to be and consequently, do not complain or think about an alternative. This phenomenon could account for the paradoxical finding that only around one-third claim to be confident in their situation, although, more than two-thirds state they have achieved the required language objective and therefore, consider a NS language norm as a precondition for a valuable language education.

I am convinced that this attitude portrays the ambivalent and complex nature of the process of language identity construction. Dewey (2012: 161) picks up on an important problem when he presumes that ELF is generally perceived as non-codified, which implies non-stability in contrast to the preconceived NS model and the respective teaching approaches. It can be seen as a “[...] mental barrier for teachers [...]” (ibid.), which makes it even harder to properly incorporate it into their teaching universe. Very likely, this is one of the reasons why a Standard English model is still perceived as essential for teaching. From comments such as,

Wozu? Diese Situationen ergeben sich von selbst. Ich übe ja in der Muttersprache auch nicht „radebrechendes“ Deutsch, [18]

What for? These situations appear anyway. I do not practice bad German either,

it can be assumed that the respondents view ELF as a rather negative development, which emerges automatically and consequently does not or even should not have to be implemented into the language teaching classroom, despite its prevalence in reality. A small number of NNTs state that they would prefer to resist this development.

Ich glaube sowieso, Englisch ist im Wandel, dadurch dass es so viele Leute sprechen. Ich glaube trotzdem, dass es wichtig ist, [...] dass man diesen Kern [NL] weitergibt, damit sich das nicht gar so verfremdet (interview 4.10.).

I think English is undergoing a process of change anyway, only because so many people are speaking it. Despite this fact, I think that is important, to pass on the core of it [NL] in order not to make it become too alien.

Fortunately, scholars are intensely researching the structures of ELF with corpus analysis in order to provide a deeper insight into the regularities and patterns, which could possibly function as a basis for a better understanding and an integration of ELF into the language classroom. The distribution of such information must be further promoted in order to give every English teacher the chance to profit from these findings and to finally abandon the NS model and understand the importance of acknowledging ELF and its potential for every user's identity construction.

The fact that, on the one hand, NNTs function as English teaching professionals but still find themselves in the position of the EFL learner, accounts for a multi-identity reality, which some seem to accept and others seem to have troubles with. However, this linguistic plurality should rather be perceived as a positive aspect, along with its potential to offer the right mixture of identity characteristics for everyone. Instead of focusing on not reaching the NS model, it could be a source of relief and support for teachers in their daily work and life. Teachers and learners can see their multi-language competence as a benefit, helping them to communicate more effectively and use a broader linguistic repertoire confidently. This is congruent with Seidlhofer's (cf. 2001; 2011) and Jenkins' (2007) claims that additionally to more competences these users can feel a greater sense of belongingness within an ELF community (see section 3.4.; Virkkula & Nikola 2010). Consequently, ELF users are granted the ability to see themselves as multi-competent users who are part of a larger language community and who receive esteem-building support and who self-consciously plan their lessons autonomously without any insecurity.

In general, it can be stated, that although a significant number of the respondents do not claim to be insecure in their situation, it is conceivable that they have learnt to live with their constant struggles and attempts to emulate the NS, so much so that they do not even think it worthwhile to state this. Numerous statements that indicate that identity construction has so far been unimportant to them, suggest that this is the case. In the interviews especially it is more than obvious that only after the identity issue is pointed out to the interviewees do they reflect more on it (see interview 2.3.).

Since in this survey the spectrum ranges from fully rejecting ELF as an appropriate concept for a better English teaching and learning situation to highly welcoming a development in this direction, it is impossible to generalize the attitude of NNETs towards ELF. The only realistic assumption that can be made is that a process in the right direction has already started and with the right amount of support will lead to behavior sensitive to recent ELF findings. However, it will need a greater academic contribution with direct recommendations to foster an acceptance of ELF in practice. It is sure that as soon as teachers are more informed about the multitude of options concerning their L1 and respective culture, they would immediately profit from this situation and would also be able to confer this improvement to their students.

What about the group of schoolteachers who are open-minded and state their interest in the recent changes in the questionnaire, a majority comprising NNTs from the adult teaching sector? It seems that so far the school system does not allow a special focus on NNS communication. Even the CEFR, which was briefly tackled before, mentions the NS as a valid reference, although, the CEFR attempts to foster communication and language skills, especially for economic purposes (Seidlhofer 2011: 185). Progressive teachers can become frustrated by official regulations further propagating a NS norm. Additional emphasis on teacher education and continuing training is desirable in order to inform NNTs about their possibilities and to better integrate ELF along with the knowledge and interest of those teachers who already have a progressive view, especially in the light of the CEFR. Secondly, political and full academic support needs to be granted. Only if authorities change their opinions that are expressed publicly, and as a consequence induce a more open discourse concerning NNSs, can total approval in favor of the NNSs be expected. Unfortunately, the best interest of the language user whether a teacher,

learner or any other kind, is not the primary concern of authorities. Political and ideological preferences play a major role in this subject matter, which has been discussed in 2.6. Traditionalists welcome the rejection of the concept by others due to misconceptions and lead the discussion in circles by adhering to dated power relations.

The aspect of a negative self-perception as an eternal learner and not yet user of English were not encountered in this survey (Seidlhofer 2001: 152; 2011: 189). Although a large number of participants are convinced that they are both, user and learner of English, depending on the situation, the majority do not regard the state of being a learner as something wholly negative. According to Seidlhofer (2011: 189), the simultaneous process of learning and using a language is natural. Frequently, questioned NNTs state that English is not only their profession but also their hobby and therefore, they spend time reading books or magazines or watching movies and programs in English. Especially, in a German monolingual environment, they believe it important to regularly expose themselves to various forms of Anglophone culture to stay in practice. Different kinds of information concerning the language but also the culture of English speaking countries fascinate English teachers in Austria. They formulate this attitude in such a way so that they appear happy with sometimes being a learner and not at all desperate about this situation. Especially, with the new curriculum and the CEFR, this behavior is promoted, as the following statement illustrates:

Nachdem es ja auch so von der EU vorgegeben wird, dieses 'life long learning', ist es klar, dass man eigentlich nie stehenbleiben kann (interview 4.6.).

Since this 'life long learning' is required by the EU, it is clear that one cannot remain static.

Broadly summarized, the concept of being a learner is perceived as very natural and can be seen from different perspectives. This kind of reaction to the demand for a distinction between user and learner originates from a rather holistic perception. The comments express a very positive attitude to life and education in general, which can be considered appropriate for a language teacher. The findings from the current survey display a distinct picture of a group of NNTs who seem to feel good in their capacity as a learner, although it may be possible that they are not yet aware of their problematic linguistic learner situation or are not willing to admit it.

Kaim (2004: 96) interprets the answers in her survey to question 4, which is the same as question 2 in the current questionnaire, regarding what the participants' perceive as their weakest area as an English user the majority stating that *Speaking* is a 'real' deficiency. In reality, it is no more than an assumption that they are deficient speakers of English, and is not something that can be tested objectively (cf. section 3.5.). This is also true for this survey when many participants perceive their knowledge as insufficient in comparison to the NS. This could also be a further reason for the indication of the gap between their perceived advantages as language teachers and disadvantages in general competencies such as vocabulary and speaking. The assumed language superiority of the NS is even fostered by such a juxtaposition of NSs' and NNSs' abilities and disabilities (Medgyes 2001). It leads to interpretations (cf. Kaim 2004: *ibid.*) that have been influenced by the NS-NNS dichotomy and do not illustrate the real situation. From the findings of the current survey and an implementation of the recent literature, it is even suggested that no difference in language proficiency between NSTs and NNSTs can be objectively found. Furthermore, it can be presumed that NNTs are more flexible and can give reasoned explanations for their choices in language use due to the constant effort required, which is also made apparent by the interview participants:

Das hat jetzt weniger mit akademischen oder nicht akademischen Bereich zu tun, aber da gibt es Leute die nicht so viel lesen wie ich, auch in Englischer Sprache, die sind sicher nicht so weit wie ich (interview 1.3.).

That has nothing to do with academic or non-academic but there are people who read less than I do, also in English, for sure, they are not as advanced as I am.

From this it is easier to comprehend how identity is influenced by the expectations of society and a NNT's daily environment. This is a strong reciprocal situation which is not easily abandoned and requires action from the top, i.e. changes in the curriculum and teacher education, and the bottom, i.e. teacher and student initiatives working with the concept of ELF to give users of English in the Outer Circle countries a chance to construct their own language identity that improves their self-regard as an English user.

As has been described, in theory, NNTs are aware of the changing requirements of English users in the world. However, they do not acknowledge this as a chance for them personally to incorporate their bi- or multi-lingual experience, except to better understand the difficulties faced by learners. Higher language variation and a related

positive attitude with reference to different L1s and cultures could be the basis for a new and authoritative image of speakers and teachers of English.

Question 3 asked about a prescribed model at university and question 4 followed on from this, questioning to what extent the respondents think they had achieved this model. A surprising large majority of respondents state that they have achieved the objective and then again nearly as many admit that they find it important to have had this in order to become good teachers. However, the comments to question 4 illustrate that these teachers have also done some extra work in the form of further education and training or stays abroad to reach the criteria of the expected model. Others are simply not satisfied with their education. This gives the impression that the respondents are not content with their studies that prepared them for the teaching profession. An even more striking argument is that they find it important to have had these language objectives in order to become a good teacher. The link between being a professional English language teacher and approaching a NS model is strongly visible. Comments make clear that a large number of NNTs are convinced that they can only be a useful language example for their students if they have already reached that goal, which is either native or near-native English. The recurring implicit references to the native norm as the best proficiency level possible to achieve in order to be a proficient English teacher, underline the ingrained conviction of the NS as the only 'authentic' English language model. One respondent makes this very clear:

Durch mehrere längere Auslandsaufenthalte ist mein Englisch sehr authentisch. [32]

Due to several longer stays abroad, my English is very authentic.

This statement can be interpreted as using the term 'authentic' in the sense of 'native-like'. In how far 'native-like' can be considered to be authentic in an English language teaching situation in an Austrian school might be doubted (see Widdowson 1994; Seidlhofer 1999; results of question 5). Furthermore, it is interesting that this respondent is one of a very small group that says it would be easier to teach English as a NS. This controversial debate about authentic material and language samples in ELT has been tackled in 2.6. and 3.4. Authenticity is dependent on the given context, and cannot be generalized for every teacher, class or situation.

The concept of ELF functions as a bridge between the authentic language use of a NNT and the authentic learning situation in the classroom. It would provide both teachers and learners with a more positive approach towards 'authentic' English language use, which is full of variation and creative flexibility in order to be more intelligible. Also at university level, the group of successful ELF users in academia and teaching could function as a good reference group for a realistic and professional use of English. This implementation is understood as the first step of Sifakis' (2007) framework as a necessary exploration of the ELF discourse. Ultimately, this development should combine the teachers' awareness of their advantages in teaching in contrast to NSs and the 'really authentic' English language use of everyday life.

To underline the development found in this area, it should be emphasized that in question 10 as much as one-third of the respondents reject a strict model for their language teaching. It is important to acknowledge a certain positive development with this number of participants. This group, which does not adhere to a language model in class, should be the target group for further implementation of the concept of ELF mentioned above. These participants seem to be convinced that a NS norm does not bring any advantages and try to include different 'Englishes' into their courses. They mainly refer to the need of being able to speak intelligibly and to be open concerning ways of pronunciation. Some of these participants mention that they find it useful to vary BrE and AE, but do not, however, know how to integrate other variations of English use into their courses. This group can be said to be very open and welcoming to an incorporation of ELF, whereas a further number of respondents are not really convinced by it, but at the same time are also not against it.

Sifakis (2007), for example, provides a very detailed and interesting list of suggestions as to how to implement recent scholarly findings into teacher education in order to foster NNTs' empowerment. The option of having a differing perception of NNTs' statuses and the possibility of varying identity options especially need to be pursued. It seems that this highly influential aspect has been ignored for too long. With this, Sifakis (2007: 370) postulates a "five-phase framework for ELF teacher education":

1. Authentic ELF discourse should be explored.
2. Extensive reading of literature on the topic is essential.
3. Teacher students should reflect on their own experiences and feelings towards ELF.
4. It is important to realize which teaching approach is suitable for the teacher.
5. It is crucial to find out more about every personal role as an ELF teacher.

This guideline is an obvious consequence of the recent development to improve teacher training adequately in the light of ELF and its language teaching relevance. It has to be added that this framework needs adaptation to specific cultural differences, since ELF and a sensitized teaching is strongly intertwined with societal and culturally specific factors (Sifakis 2007: *ibid.*). With this, more tolerant teachers' positive attitude towards ELF can be expanded and the awareness of others can be raised.

Dewey (2012: 163f) also gives recommendations how to effectively implement ELF into the classroom by quoting Guskey (2002: 383). He summarizes the objectives of an educational development towards ELF in three steps:

- A major change in classroom practice, along with
- a change in attitude and most importantly
- a change in expected learning outcomes must be pursued.

Frankly, these are all wide-ranging changes, because the whole ELT system would be concerned. Unfortunately, it is not so much the good of students and teachers but rather the maintenance of traditional norms and power relations that is regarded as important and the implementation of recommended steps like the above are slowed down considerably or hindered completely by traditionalists.

Even if it will take time to put these bullet points in practice, on a whole, the theoretical foundation has been established in multiple formats, all postulating a change in English language teaching and teacher education. It needs to be acknowledged what was stated in the 'Position Statement on English as a Global Language' (TESOL 2008: 1, cited in Dewey 2012: 147) that

[...] the broad geographic spread of English, and the variety of world Englishes being spoken globally, English is seen less and less as a “foreign” language, and more and more as an additional language.

Teachers need to become aware of the fact that ELT cannot be compared to the teaching of other languages. A more appropriate attitude towards teaching and learning English must be found. For this, a NS norm or model in English studies needs to be made redundant.

If the results from theoretical findings were acted upon, there are several NNTs who would follow such advice and would teach in an ELF sensitive way and give themselves and their students the opportunity to raise their self-esteem. These more tolerant respondents also state that they are aware of the fact that it would be unrealistic if the focus were on one Standard English in the classroom, while they are predominantly used to the BrE model and need it for their personal confidence and structure, and the students’ expectations. It seems certain that if there were more appropriate materials and recommendations, these teachers would not be reluctant to use them. These findings can be seen as a development in the right direction, which could not have been detected in earlier studies on the attitude towards ELF in relation to teaching.

Consequently, it seems that with the progression of the scholarly research, the acceptance in circles of NNTs has grown larger and hopefully keeps growing. At the moment, many modern and tolerant NNTs stay in the dark and attempt to make the best of their lessons without the support of practical materials and public supporters.

## 5. Conclusion

The main aim of this survey is to contribute to the ongoing research into ELF and its users with a closer focus on Austrian NNTs of English. The question as to whether NNTs' identity is connected with ELF has been answered strongly in the affirmative and deeper insights into NNTs' attitudes towards ELF and their incorporation into NNTs' teaching have been investigated. By means of a small-scale questionnaire study and four semi-structured interviews, an attempt was made to find out if NNTs in Austria have troubles living a life as NNS professionals. The study sought to research how NNTs regard themselves in comparison to a NS norm and if they think that ELF could improve this situation. In order to have explicit numbers to compare the results with, three prior studies on the subject matter are partly replicated in the current questionnaire. This turned out to be very useful in order to actually be able to detect progress in the right direction. Due to the small scale of the questionnaire, its findings do not claim any statistical significance, especially the comparison of the two groups of teachers (of adults and of children). Nonetheless, the comments and interviews of both groups provided interesting information on a range of various topic areas. These were analyzed on a qualitative basis, interpreted and connected with thoughts and ideas on a subjective level. Many complex and ambiguous stances were found and tried to place them in context regarding existing studies and newly found aspects. The essence of the current concepts of attitude and identity can be said to be manifold and multi-layered (cf. Joseph 2004). That is also why a complex set of data was found in the survey, which allows me to conclude this thesis by highlighting the following useful tendencies:

The anticipation that teachers of adults are more aware of ELF and its use (cf. Murray 2003) is corroborated by this survey's findings. This might be explained by a closer connection of the adult teaching sector to economics and business, which also function as a source of motivation for learners. Generally, NNTs of adults tend to be more tolerant towards innovation and progress. In the school sector learner motivation is predominantly stimulated via incorporation of cultural aspects into the courses. This might be one of the reasons that explain why NNTs of teenagers and children adhere to a NS norm while referring to the English native speakers' culture. However, this should not be an excuse for the constant use of a NS model in a classroom of younger learners.

It is important for them to know that they will at some point in the future need different language skills other than emulating the NS. Negotiability, linguistic tolerance and flexibility are just three of a variety of skills users of English nowadays need in international conversations.

The fact that NNSs outnumbered NSs long time ago (cf. Graddol 2006) means by implication that the majority of English teachers are also NNSs. Surprisingly, in this survey it was found that most of the respondents know about their advantages when teaching English in comparison to a NS because of their personal language learning experience. It is suggested that this awareness be used as a basis for further training to understand the benefits of ELF and to better know how to use it. NNETs in Austria should acknowledge their role as a fully competent ELF speaker in the ELF community, which can provide them with confidence and in-group identification (cf. Seidlhofer 2011). An ELF sensitive teacher education would provide teachers with the chance to become authoritative English teachers who are able to adequately prepare their students for the English speaking world and support them to become self-confident and autonomous users of English:

Given the context of a discourse of nativeness that is potentially disempowering for NNESTs, we conceive that they need to develop an identity of their own construction that neither prescribes a limited role for them in the profession nor specifies definite boundaries to their capacities therein. (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy 1999: 418)

Therefore, major changes need to be implemented. Teacher education has to be adopted and teaching materials should incorporate a larger number of positive examples of NNSs. Unfortunately, in the course of working on this thesis, I realized that teacher education and language teaching are strongly intertwined with power relations and ideological matters. It is more than desirable that authorities recognize the theoretical progress in this situation and attempt everything to improve the current practical conditions.

Following Jenkins' (2007: 231) conclusion of her attitude and identity study, it is surmised that NNETs of English in Austria have "mixed feelings about expressing their [...] L1 identity in their L2 English", and they generally prefer native-like English for

themselves and their students as a model. The constant link between achieving this goal and a valuable teaching proficiency cannot be disclaimed, which may be one reason that accounts for the ambiguous attitude. Interestingly, the study revealed that a vast majority of participants are convinced that they have achieved the language goal. However, this does not correspond with the rather low number of teachers who expressed confidence with their status as a NNT when answering the survey. This somehow implies that a NS model does not grant a better feeling of proficiency and furthermore, instills a strong sense of ambiguity and complex interrelations between identity and attitude.

All in all, it can be said that a large gap is found between the awareness of the benefits of a NNST and the constant perceived need for a NS model. In between, a rather wide spectrum of opinions is collected. They range from highly welcoming to strictly rejecting a wider integration of ELF sensitive material into the English teaching classroom. Here are examples of striking comments that were strongly in favor of ELF:

Endlich! [10]

Finally!

Das Ziel [vom Englisch-Unterricht] ist, sich in English verständigen zu können! [19]

The aim is to be able to communicate effectively in English.

Lerner fühlen sich [mit einem NNT] sicherer, weil die auch nicht „perfekt“ klingen. [33]

Learners feel more secure with a NNT because they also do not sound “perfect”.

Englisch ist eine international Kommunikationssprache, die nichts mit AE oder BrE zu tun hat. [9]

English is an international language for communication, which has nothing to do with AE or BrE.

In Erinnerung an mein erstes Zusammentreffen mit einem Inder... 18-Jährige sollten mehr als AE und BrE kennen und [danach] handeln können. [12]

Remembering my first meeting with an Indian person ... 18 year-olds should know more than AE and BrE and also use it.

Those who reject ELF know how to express their distress but also their misinterpretations of the concept of ELF:

[...] Kauderwelsch bzw. "Pidgin English" nervt mich! [2]

Gibberish and Pidgin English are getting on my nerves!

[...] Hörübungen sollen von "Native speakern" gesprochen werden. [3]

Listening comprehensions should be spoken by NSs.

Machen diese Nicht-Muttersprachler dann authentische Grammatikfehler, oder geht es nur um das Kennenlernen verschiedener Akzente/Aussprechweisen? [37]

Do these NNSs make authentic grammar mistakes or is it only about getting to know different accents or ways of pronunciation?

Although these comments do not sound very promising, generally, a rather positive development is detected in comparison to the previous studies and it can be summarized that more NNTs are confident and aware of their situation's benefits, although they are generally ambiguous about their status and identity. Ideological power relations and institutional constraints hinder a faster spread of the acceptance of a multi-competence identity reality. Concerning a practical implementation of ELF, the majority of people do not know how to use ELF in the classroom in order to benefit their students. This development is also affirmed by the interviewees. It can be concluded that while NNTs in Austria are on the right path, they still, however, need further support from the authorities, who should provide adequate guidelines for ELF sensitive English language teaching, to begin with improved teacher education programs in order to exploit the full potential of ELF for their and their learners' self-esteem.

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## **Appendix**

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*Fragebogen für Englisch-LehrerInnen zum Thema Sprachenmodelle im Englisch-Unterricht*

*Die daraus gewonnenen Informationen werden streng vertraulich behandelt und nur für die Erstellung meiner Diplomarbeit am Institut der Anglistik Wien verwendet.*

Meine Muttersprache ist \_\_\_\_\_

Ich habe folgendes Studium abgeschlossen: \_\_\_\_\_

Mein Alter: ☐ 20-30 ☐ 31-40 ☐ 41-50 ☐ 51-60 ☐ 60+

Ich bin ☐ weiblich

☐ männlich

Ich unterrichte hauptsächlich ☐ Kinder, Jugendliche ☐ Erwachsene, Berufstätige

Ich arbeite derzeit an folgender Schule/folgendem Institut \_\_\_\_\_

in \_\_\_\_\_ (Bundesland)

- 1.** Die Tatsache, dass Englisch nicht meine Muttersprache ist, ist für mich eher eine Quelle der

☐ Sicherheit ☐ Unsicherheit

Das begründe ich damit, dass \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Dies wirkt sich folgendermaßen auf meinen Unterricht aus: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

- 2.** Ich würde mich selber in einem bestimmten Bereich des Englisch-Lehrens als nicht gut genug bezeichnen:

☐ ja ☐ nein

Wenn ja, in welchem Bereich? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Inwiefern? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

- 3.** Wenn ich an meine Universitätszeit zurückdenke, erinnere ich mich an ein bestimmtes Englisch-Modell, das es zu erreichen galt, nämlich:

☐ native BrE ☐ near-native BrE

☐ native AE ☐ near-native AE ☐ sonstige \_\_\_\_\_

4. Ich glaube dieses Ziel erreicht zu haben: ☐ ja ☐ nein

Inwiefern? \_\_\_\_\_

5. Im Nachhinein betrachtet, war dieses Ziel für meinen späteren beruflichen Alltag notwendig.

☐ ja ☐ nein

Inwiefern? \_\_\_\_\_

6. Generell denke ich, dass ich es im Lehrberuf leichter hätte, wenn ich Englisch als Muttersprache sprechen würde.

☐ ja ☐ nein

Warum? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

7. Die Tatsache, dass ich Englisch als Fremdsprache gelernt habe, gibt mir die Möglichkeit mich besser auf die SchülerInnen und ihre Schwierigkeiten einzustellen.

☐ ja ☐ nein

Warum? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

8. Viele Lehrbücher nehmen an, dass SchülerInnen in Zukunft hauptsächlich mit englischsprachigen Menschen kommunizieren werden.

☐ ja ☐ nein

Kommentar: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

9. Ich denke, dass es in den Lehrwerken mehr Situationen geben sollte, in denen die Kommunikation mit Menschen nicht-englischer Muttersprache geübt wird.

☐ ja ☐ nein

Warum? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

10. In meinem Englisch-Unterricht nehme ich ein bestimmtes Standard-Englisch als Vorbild.

☐ ja ☐ nein

Wenn ja, welches und warum? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Wenn nein, warum? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**11.** Ich versuche im Unterricht mehr Zeit damit zu verbringen, die SchülerInnen sprechen zu lassen und Konversation zu üben, als zu versuchen immer wieder Fehler auszubessern, die typisch für Englisch-Lernende sind.

☐ ja      ☐ nein

Wenn ja, wie und warum? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Wenn nein, warum? \_\_\_\_\_

**12.** Ich wäre bereit an einem Interview zu diesem Thema teilzunehmen.

☐ ja      ☐ nein

Wenn ja, geben Sie bitte Ihre Kontaktdaten an: Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Telefon: \_\_\_\_\_

Email: \_\_\_\_\_

**13.** Ich interessiere mich für die Resultate dieser Umfrage.

☐ ja      ☐ nein

Wenn ja, geben Sie bitte Ihre Kontaktdaten an: Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Telefon: \_\_\_\_\_

Email: \_\_\_\_\_

Natürlich werden Ihre Kontaktdaten vertraulich nur zum Zwecke der Kontaktaufnahme verwendet.

Vielen Dank für Ihre Teilnahme!

Sie haben mir sehr geholfen einen wesentlichen Teil meiner Diplomarbeit zu ermöglichen!

Lisa Lahnsteiner, Universität Wien

| #  | Mother | Studies  | Age   | Sex | group | Working | Q1   | Q2  | Q3                           | Q4  | Q5  | Q6  | Q7  | Q8  | Q9  | Q10 | Q11  | Interview | Interest |
|----|--------|----------|-------|-----|-------|---------|------|-----|------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|-----------|----------|
| 1  | German | E, Sp.   | 20-30 | f   | 1     | AHS     | C    | yes | native BrE + near-native BrE | yes | yes |     | yes |     | yes | yes | yes  | yes       | yes      |
| 2  | German | E, G     | 51-60 | f   | 1     | BHS     | C    | yes | near-native BrE              | no  | no  | no  | bot | yes | no  | yes | yes  | no        | no       |
| 3  | German | E, Geo   | 51-60 | f   | 1     | BHS     | I    | no  | near-native BrE              | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | no  |     | yes  | no        | no       |
| 4  | German | E, F     | 51-60 | m   | 1     | HLW     | both | no  | near-native BrE              | yes | yes |     | yes | no  | no  | no  | both | no        | no       |
| 5  | German | E, Rel   | 31-40 | m   | 1     | HLT     | I    |     | near-native BrE              |     | no  | yes | yes | yes | yes | no  |      | no        | no       |
| 6  | German | E, L, PP | 41-50 | f   | 1     | AHS     | I    | yes | near-native BrE              | yes | yes | no  | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes  | yes       | yes      |
| 7  | German | E, Geo   | 51-60 | m   | 1     | AHS     | C    | no  | near-native BrE              | yes | yes | no  | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes  | yes       | yes      |
| 8  | German | E, Geo   | 51-60 | f   | 1     | AHS     |      |     | near-native BrE              |     | bot | no  | yes | no  | no  | yes | both | yes       | yes      |
| 9  | German |          | 51-60 | m   | 1     | AHS     |      | no  | near-native BrE              | no  | no  | no  | yes | no  | no  | no  | both | yes       |          |
| 10 | German | E,       | 60+   | f   | 1     | AHS     | C    | no  | native BrE                   | yes | yes | no  | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes  | no        | no       |
| 11 | German | E, PP    | 31-40 | f   | 1     | AHS     |      | no  | near-native BrE              | yes | yes | yes | yes | no  | yes | no  | yes  | no        | no       |
| 12 | German | Ling.    | 31-40 | f   | 2     | EWS     | I    | yes | other                        | yes | yes | no  | yes | no  | yes | no  | yes  | no        | no       |
| 13 | German | E, G     | 20-30 | f   | 2     |         | C    | no  | other                        | yes | no  | no  | yes | no  |     | yes | no   | yes       | yes      |
| 14 | German | E, Hist. | 20-30 | f   | 1     | HAK/HAS | both | yes | other                        | no  | no  | no  | yes | yes | yes | no  | yes  | yes       | yes      |
| 15 | German | E, Hist. | 31-40 | f   | 2     | VHS     | both | yes | near-native BrE              | yes | no  | no  | yes | no  | yes | yes | both | no        | no       |
| 16 | German | E,       | 41-50 | f   | 1     | AHS     |      |     |                              |     |     | no  | yes | yes | no  | yes | both | no        | no       |
| 17 | German | E, Arts  | 41-50 | f   | 2     | Uni     | C    | yes | native AE                    | no  | yes | no  | yes | yes |     | yes | yes  | yes       | yes      |
| 18 | German | E, G     | 51-60 | f   | 1     | AHS     | I    | yes | native BrE                   | no  | yes | yes | yes | yes | no  | yes | both | no        | no       |
| 19 | German | E,       | 60+   | f   | 1     | AHS     | C    | yes | near-native BrE              | yes | yes | no  | yes | yes | no  | yes | yes  | no        | no       |
| 20 | German | E,       | 20-30 | f   | 1     | AHS     | I    | yes | near-native BrE              | no  | no  | no  | yes | no  | no  | no  | yes  | no        | no       |
| 21 | German | E, L     | 51-60 | f   | 1     | AHS     | I    | no  | near-native BrE              | yes | yes | no  | yes | no  | no  | yes | yes  | no        | no       |
| 22 | German | E, Hist. | 51-60 | f   | 1     | AHS     |      | yes | native BrE                   | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | no  | yes | yes  | no        | no       |
| 23 | German | E, G     | 60+   | m   | 1     | AHS     | I    | yes | native BrE                   | yes | no  | no  | yes | bot | yes | no  | both | no        | yes      |

|    |        |          |       |   |   |      |      |     |                           |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |
|----|--------|----------|-------|---|---|------|------|-----|---------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|
| 24 | German | E, F     | 51-60 | m | 1 | HLT  | C    | yes | near-native BrE           | yes | no  | no  | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes  | no  | no  |
| 25 | German | E, Hist. | 41-50 | f | 1 | HLT  | I    | yes | near-native BrE           | yes | no  | yes | yes | no  | no  | yes | both | yes | yes |
| 26 | German | E        | 20-30 | f | 2 | WIFI | C    | yes | near-native BrE           | no  | no  | no  | yes | yes | yes | no  | yes  | yes | yes |
| 27 | German | E, PP    | 20-30 | f | 2 | WIFI | I    | yes | near-native BrE           | yes | no  | no  | yes | yes | yes | no  | yes  | no  | no  |
| 28 | German | E, G     | 41-50 | f | 1 | AHS  | both | yes | other                     | yes | yes | no  | yes | no  | no  | yes | no   | no  | yes |
| 29 | German | E, Hist. | 31-40 | f | 1 | AHS  | I    | yes | near-native BrE           | yes | yes | no  | yes | no  | yes | no  | yes  | no  | no  |
| 30 | German | E,       | 60+   | f | 1 | AHS  | C    | no  | near-native BrE           | yes | yes | no  | yes | no  | no  | yes | no   | no  | no  |
| 31 | German | E, F     | 51-60 | m | 1 | AHS  | I    | no  | near-native BrE           | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | no  | yes | yes  | no  | yes |
| 32 | German | E, Hist. | 31-40 | f | 1 | AHS  | I    | no  | near-native AE            | yes | yes | no  | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes  | yes | no  |
| 33 | German | E        | 60+   | f | 2 | VHS  | C    | yes | near-native BrE           | yes | yes | no  | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes  | yes | yes |
| 34 | German | E, Ital. | 31-40 | f | 2 |      | C    | yes | near-native BrE           | yes | yes | no  | yes | no  | no  | yes | yes  | yes | yes |
| 35 | German | E, Hist. | 51-60 | f | 2 | FH   | C    | no  | native AE +near-native AE | yes | no  | yes | yes | yes | no  | yes | yes  | no  | no  |
| 36 | German | E, G     | 41-50 | f | 2 | FH   | both | no  | near-native BrE           | yes | yes | bot | yes | no  |     | yes | yes  | yes | yes |
| 37 | German | E, F     | 20-30 | m | 1 | AHS  | C    | no  | near-native AE            | yes | yes | no  | yes |     | no  | yes | yes  | yes | yes |

## Interview Guide

| INTRODUCTION                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>Hello! I am very glad that you have decided answer some questions concerning your opinion on the topic 'Standard English and language models in the language classroom and their importance for you as a private person'. The questions, I will ask, can be categorized in three sub-topics:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Your personal opinion on English in general and your self-perception as an English language teacher,</li> <li>2. possible English language models in the classroom and</li> <li>3. English as a Lingua Franca in general and in relation to teaching English</li> </ol> |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| ENGLISH TEACHER IDENTITY                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| main topic                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | specific questions                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | clarifying questions                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| educational / professional background                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Where do you teach?</li> <li>• For how long have you been teaching English there?</li> <li>• What were the main reasons for becoming an English teacher?</li> <li>• Have you ever taught adults/kids?</li> <li>• Could you tell me a bit about your personal experiences learning English during your school days?</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Can you expand on this a little?</li> <li>• How did that come?</li> <li>• Can you give me some examples?</li> <li>• Why is/was that so?</li> <li>• Has this changed over time?</li> <li>• Do you want to add something?</li> </ul> |
| language background                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• English is not your mother tongue. Could you please describe your feelings about this? Did they change over time?</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| opinion on NNS/Ns in general and in relation to identity                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In which situations, private or professional, do you perceive this as an advantage or a disadvantage?</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |

|            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |  |
|------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|
| NNS-status | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Can you remember an extremely negative or positive experience due to the fact that you are a NNS of English?</li> <li>• Do you perceive this fact as an advantage or rather a disadvantage when it comes to teaching English? Why?</li> <li>• What do the terms “user of English” and “learner of English” mean to you?</li> <li>• Can you identify yourself with the one or the other? Why?</li> <li>• How would you describe your own status as an English teacher?</li> <li>• How do you feel, when you are talking English with other NNSs and a NS joins the conversation?</li> <li>• Have you ever thought about your language identity?</li> <li>• What are influencing factors for this identity?</li> </ul> |  |
|------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|

| ENGLISH NORMS/MODELS                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| main topic                                                                                       | specific questions                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | clarifying questions                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Standard English in your school days                                                             | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Which Standard English was prescribed during your school days and tertiary studies?</li> <li>• Which goal, do you think, did this aim at?</li> <li>• Which were the consequences of this goal?</li> <li>• How do you perceive yourself in relation to this goal?</li> <li>• Do you think this goal is important for the teaching profession?</li> <li>• What do you think about Standard English in general?</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <p>Ideal English teacher</p> <p>models in the English language classroom</p> <p>course books</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What are the main characteristics of the ideal English teacher regarding the language?</li> <li>• Do you think there is a need for a certain Standard English in the language classroom?</li> <li>• If you use one, which and why?</li> <li>• Which role do the NSs play in your classroom?</li> <li>• Would you say this provides a chance to teach more authentically?</li> <li>• Which Standard English do the school books use? What do you think about this?</li> <li>• How useful do you find the distribution of skills in the books? Do they provide enough tasks to practice for the „Neue Matura“ and for future language needs?</li> <li>• Of which importance is it for you to practice communication in class?</li> <li>• How do you handle spoken mistakes?</li> <li>• What would you like to be changed in the books?</li> <li>• What would be your personal wish to the material editors?</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Can you expand on this a little?</li> <li>• How did that come?</li> <li>• Can you give me some examples?</li> <li>• Why is/was that so?</li> <li>• Has this changed over time?</li> <li>• Do you want to add something?</li> </ul> |

| ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| main topic                                                     | specific questions                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | clarifying questions                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <p>knowledge and opinion about ELF</p> <p>ELF and teaching</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do you know the concept of “English as a Lingua Franca”?</li> <li>• If yes, could you explain it to me? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Since when have you known this concept? Why?</li> <li>• In how far is it relevant for you personally and your teaching profession?</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Have you already talked about ELF in the classroom? Or could you imagine incorporating it into your teaching? How could that be possible?</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Can you expand on this a little?</li> <li>• How did that come?</li> <li>• Can you give me some examples?</li> <li>• Why is/was that so?</li> <li>• Has this changed over time?</li> <li>• Do you want to add something?</li> </ul> |
| final comments                                                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is there anything you want to add?</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |

## Interviewleitfaden

| <b>BEGRÜßUNG</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>Hallo, ich freu mich sehr, dass Sie sich Zeit nehmen mit mir über Ihre Einstellung zum Thema „Standard Englisch und Sprachvorbilder im Englisch-Unterricht und privat“ zu sprechen. Ich werde Ihnen Fragen stellen, die drei Themengebieten zuzuordnen sind:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4. Ihre persönliche Einstellung zu Englisch und wie Sie sich selber als Englisch-Lehrerin wahrnehmen,</li> <li>5. mögliche Englisch-Vorbilder im Unterricht und</li> <li>6. Englisch als Lingua Franca generell und in Bezug auf Ihren Sprachunterricht</li> </ol> |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <b>IDENTITÄT ALS ENGLISCH-LEHRERIN</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <b>Hauptthema</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | <b>spezifische Fragen</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | <b>zur näheren Erläuterung</b>                                                                                                                                                         |
| Schulischer/beruflicher Hintergrund                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wo unterrichten Sie?</li> <li>Wie lange unterrichten Sie schon dort?</li> <li>Was waren die Gründe für Sie Englisch-LehrerIn zu werden?</li> <li>Haben Sie auch schon in der Erwachsenenbildung/Regelschule unterrichtet?</li> <li>Könnten Sie bitte ein bisschen über den Englisch-Unterricht in Ihrer Schulzeit erzählen?</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Könnten Sie das noch ein bisschen genauer erklären?</li> <li>Wie kam es dazu?</li> <li>Könnten Sie bitte Beispiele dafür nennen?</li> </ul>     |
| sprachlicher Hintergrund<br><br>Einstellung zu NNS/Ns in Bezug auf die eigene Identität                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Englisch ist nicht Ihre Muttersprache. Wie standen Sie früher dazu? Wie stehen Sie heute dazu?</li> <li>In welchen Situationen, privat als auch im Unterricht, sehen Sie das allgemein als einen Vorteil und in welchen als einen Nachteil?</li> <li>Hatten Sie schon einmal besonders positive oder negative Erlebnisse, weil Sie kein Englisch ‚Native Speaker‘ sind?</li> <li>Sehen Sie es eher als Vorteil oder als Nachteil Englisch zu unterrichten und es aber nicht als Muttersprache zu sprechen?</li> <li>Was bedeuten für Sie die Begriffe „User of English“ und „Learner of English“?</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Warum war/ist das so?</li> <li>Hat sich das im Laufe der Zeit verändert?</li> <li>Gibt es noch etwas dass Sie dazu ergänzen möchten?</li> </ul> |

|            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |  |
|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|
| NNS-Status | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wo würden Sie sich selber zuordnen? Warum?</li> <li>• Wie würden Sie Ihren eigenen Status als LehrerIn beschreiben?</li> <li>• Wie fühlen Sie sich, wenn Sie Englisch sprechen und ein Englisch ‚Native‘ ist anwesend?</li> <li>• Was ist für Sie maßgeblich für Ihre Sprachidentität?</li> </ul> |  |
|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|

| ENGLISCH-VORBILDER BZW. MODELLE                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Hauptthema                                                                                        | spezifische Fragen                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | zur näheren Erläuterung                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Standard-Englisch in Ihrer Ausbildung                                                             | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Welches Englisch-Modell galt es in Ihrer Schulzeit und in Ihrem Studium zu verfolgen?</li> <li>• Was glauben Sie, warum wurde dieses Ziel gesetzt?</li> <li>• Welche Folgen hatte es?</li> <li>• Wie sehen Sie sich in Bezug auf dieses Ziel?</li> <li>• Denken Sie, dass dieses Ziel wichtig war, vor allem für den Lehrberuf?</li> <li>• Was halten Sie generell von „Standard Englisch“?</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| Idealvorstellung einer Sprachlehrkraft<br><br>Vorbilder im Englisch-Unterricht<br><br>Materialien | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Was sind für Sie die wichtigsten Merkmale einer idealen Englisch-LehrerIn?</li> <li>• Braucht man im Englisch-Unterricht ein bestimmtes Standard Englisch als Norm?</li> <li>• Verwenden Sie eines? Wenn ja, welches und warum?</li> <li>• Welche Rolle spielen für Sie dabei die „Natives“?</li> <li>• Gibt es Möglichkeiten realitätsnahe zu unterrichten ohne auf die englischen Muttersprachler zu verweisen?</li> <li>• An welchem Standard-Englisch orientieren sich die Lehrbücher die Sie kennen bzw. verwenden? Wie finden Sie das?</li> <li>• Wie sinnvoll finden Sie die Kompetenzverteilung (Sprechen, Schreiben etc.) der Lehrbücher in Anbetracht der Neuen Matura im Vergleich zur Notwendigkeit für die SchülerInnen in der Zukunft?</li> <li>• Wie wichtig ist es für Sie das Kommunizieren im Unterricht zu üben?</li> <li>• Wie handhaben Sie dabei Fehler?</li> <li>• Was würden Sie als erstes in den Schulbüchern verändern wollen? Was sind Ihre Wünsche an Schulbuch-Autoren?</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Könnten Sie das noch ein bisschen genauer erklären?</li> <li>• Wie kam es dazu?</li> <li>• Könnten Sie bitte Beispiele dafür nennen?</li> <li>• Warum war das so?</li> <li>• Hat sich das im Laufe der Zeit verändert?</li> <li>• Gibt es noch etwas dass Sie dazu ergänzen möchten?</li> </ul> |

| ENGLISCH ALS LINGUA FRANCA                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Hauptthema                                           | spezifische Fragen                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | zur näheren Erläuterung                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <p>Vorwissen, Meinung über ELF</p> <p>Unterricht</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ist Ihnen das Konzept „Englisch als Lingua Franca“ bekannt?</li> <li>Wenn ja, was verstehen Sie darunter? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Seit wann ist Ihnen dieses Konzept bekannt? Warum?</li> <li>Inwiefern ist es für Sie relevant (persönlich, in der Schule)?</li> </ul> </li> <li>Kommt dieses Konzept in Ihrem Unterricht vor bzw. können Sie sich vorstellen es zu verwenden?</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Könnten Sie das noch ein bisschen genauer erklären?</li> <li>Wie kam es dazu?</li> <li>Könnten Sie bitte Beispiele dafür nennen?</li> <li>Warum war das so?</li> <li>Hat sich das im Laufe der Zeit verändert?</li> <li>Gibt es noch etwas dass Sie dazu ergänzen möchten?</li> </ul> |
| Abschlussbemerkungen                                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Gibt es zum Abschluss noch etwas das Sie ergänzen oder anmerken wollen?</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |

## Interview 1, July 9, 2013:

**1.0. 7'45''** Ich war in meiner Schulzeit auch in Amerika, deswegen habe ich eine gute Alltagskompetenz gehabt. Trotzdem war es für mich ein Schock, von der Schule, wo Kommunikation im Vordergrund stand, auf die Uni zu wechseln, wo richtig Schreiben wichtiger war.

**1.1. 11'05''** Wie gesagt, ich habe viel Zeit in Amerika verbracht, [...] bin dann nach dem Studium nach Australien gegangen und dort wurde ich dann immer wieder gefragt, ob ich aus Kanada bin. [...] Wenn mich Schüler nicht kennen, sind sie sehr verunsichert, weil sie nicht genau wissen, ob ich Deutsch spreche. [...] Es ist ganz nett, dass diese Störung verursacht wird.

**1.2. 15'51''** Egal was ich tue oder vermitteln versuchen, **ich bin immer ein Learner**. [...] Das Gegenüber kann mir ja ganz viel darüber sagen [...] wenn ich glaube, dass alles verstanden worden ist, komme ich vielleicht drauf, dass etwas nicht verstanden worden ist. [...] Ich glaube, dann hört man ja auf zu sein, wenn man nichts mehr lernt.

**1.3. 17'** Das hat jetzt weniger mit akademischen oder nicht akademischen Bereich zu tun, aber da gibt es Leute die nicht so viel lesen wie ich, auch in Englischer Sprache, die sind sicher nicht so weit wie ich. [...] Aber das ist doch im Deutschen das gleiche.

**1.4. 20'12''** Wie weit das im System auch heute möglich ist, würde ich [die Kommunikation] forcieren. Ich finde es ganz viel wichtiger, dass man **gut spricht, als dass man gut schreibt**. Vor allem, da ja heute alles mit den technischen Mitteln leichter geht.

**1.5. 23'30''** Naja, so eine native-like Kompetenz ist natürlich [...] schon **das Ziel eines Sprachunterrichts der praktisch ausgelegt ist**. Aber native und native ist ja auch ein Riesenunterschied und wie ich schon gesagt habe, ich habe nichts gegen regionale Färbungen. Ich finde es charmant, wenn man ein bisschen hört woher die Leute sind.

**1.6. 27'50''** Ich glaube, dass sich das Standard English, so starr es daher kommt, wandelt. [...] Ich finde es **schon gut eine Norm zu haben und diese Norm zu kennen**, eben [...] um sich darauf beziehen oder sie ablehnen zu können.

**1.7. 31'** Ich befürworte einen offenen Umgang mit dem Umstand [dass es mehr NNSs gibt als NSs]. So zu tun als wären wir alle natives, ist ein Riesenblödsinn.

**1.8. 35'13'** Ich bin prinzipiell für Offenheit. [...] Ich bin der Meinung, dass ich nicht alles wissen muss, sondern, dass die Dinge auch exemplarisch funktionieren. [...] Ich finde es wichtig, dass man möglichst viel authentisches Material einbringt, wie auch immer dieser Begriff im Sprachunterricht zu diskutieren ist.

**1.9. 40'20''** Ich würde sagen, dass Englisch als die Sprache gesehen wird, in der sich die meisten Menschen untereinander verständigen können ohne dass es ihre Muttersprache ist. [...] Aber ich sage ganz bewusst, „gesehen wird“, weil ich nicht weiß, ob es nicht gerade diese Position verliert.

**1.10. 48'21''** [NNTs] brauchen vor allem die **Selbstsicherheit**, sich nicht bei jeder Unregelmäßigkeit aus der Bahn werfen zu lassen. Wenn ich immer nur auf das Richtige schaue, ist es mit dem Sprechen bei den Lernern und Lernerinnen bald aus. [...]

1.11. 50'36'' Abgesehen davon, dass es in der Theorie besprochen wird, [...] ergibt sich das automatisch, wenn ich nicht jede grammatikalische Unregelmäßigkeit, die mir im Unterricht bei meinen Schülerinnen und Schülern begegnet, thematisiere, sondern es akzeptiere, solange das Sinnverständnis da ist, eine Kommunikation aufrecht erhalten werden kann, ist das ja **gelebte Lingua Franca**. [...] Ich glaube aber auch, dass das durch Beispiele gut zu machen ist und dadurch, dass man es praktiziert.

## Interview 2, July 15, 2013:

2.1. 5'45'' Der **Vorteil** in der Schule [als NNT] ist wahrscheinlich, dass ich eher verstehe, warum Schüler welche Fehler machen, weil sehr viele Fehler durch die **Interferenz Deutsch-Englisch** entstehen. [...] Für die Schüler mit deutscher Muttersprache fällt es mir schon leichter zu verstehen, was ich mehr und deutlicher erklären muss und wo ich eher schnell drüber gehen kann.

2.2. 7'20'' [Ich verstehe mich] als **beides** [Learner und User]. Ich lerne nach wie vor sehr viel dazu, ganz egal ob das beim Lesen ist oder auch wenn ich das Schulbuch wechsele. Mit jedem neuen Schulbuch kommen neue Dinge dazu, sowohl im Wortschatz als auch in der Kulturkunde, im Background, was auch immer. Es kommt immer etwas Neues dazu. Oder wenn ich selber Literatur oder Zeitschriften lese, lerne ich natürlich genauso dazu. Aber ich verstehe mich natürlich auch als User, weil ich, wenn ich weg bin aus Österreich, Englisch ständig benutze und in der Schule sowieso.

2.3. 13'40'' [Über die Identität] denke ich eigentlich **eher weniger** nach, um ehrlich zu sein. Was mir vorkommt, **wenn ich die Sprache wechsele, wechsele ich auch die Identität**. [...] Man wechselt irgendwo mit der Sprache auch Weltbild und Anschauung und Werte. [...] Weil man mit einer Sprache schon auch ein Stück dieser Identität dieser Nationalität mitnimmt.

2.4. 15'02'' Mein Englisch ist Britisch, andere Lehrer sprechen vielleicht Amerikanisch.

2.5. 15'30'' Die Schüler sollen sowieso jede Aussprache-Variante halbwegs verstehen können.

2.6. 15'40'' [Auch während des Studiums] bin ich auf **Britisch** spezialisiert gewesen. Wir haben nur einen Amerikaner an der Universität gehabt. Bei dem habe ich eine Vorlesung gemacht, weil es mich interessiert hat. Aber im Prinzip war ich immer schon im britischen Bereich.

2.7. 16'10'' Vom Institut war es nicht erwartet, aber es war einfach leichter möglich. Da einfach viel mehr britische als amerikanische Veranstaltungen da waren.

2.8. 20'35'' In meinem Unterricht ist **britisches Standard Englisch sehr wichtig**. Wenn jemand ein anderes hat, stört mich das auch nicht, aber es ist halt meins.

2.9. 26'08'' Ja, da kommt alles Mögliche vor in der Oberstufe. Das nehmen wir dann einfach so wie es ist, da man Englisch ja nicht nur in englisch-sprachigen Ländern verwendet. Das sollte auch so sein, denke ich mir, dass ein Inder, Pakistani oder Süd-Amerikaner zum Englisch-Reden kommt. Diese Akzente lernen sie natürlich schon.

2.10. 26'40'' Das wird von den Schülern nicht negativ bewertet. Ok, der kommt halt von dort und kann auch nicht so gut Englisch. Sie lachen halt dann manchmal, wenn man einen Polen oder Italiener reden hört. [...] Das kommt ihnen ein bisschen komisch vor.

**2.11. 33'24''** Was mir ein bisschen leid tut momentan am Englisch-Unterricht ist, dass der kulturelle, landeskundliche Background wegfällt. [...] Man lernt die Sprache nur um der Sprache Willen und weniger das, was an Weltanschauung, an Kulturellem dahintersteht. Wenn ich nicht selber von mir aus Literatur dazu mache, brauche ich gar keine mehr machen.

**2.12. 42'58''** Wie ich noch in die Schule gegangen bin und das erste Mal über Indien was gehört habe, [habe ich das erste Mal den Begriff ELF gehört].

**2.13. 43'35''** Seit das Internet präsent ist, ist [ELF] überall ein Thema, auch in der Schule. [...] Für mich heißt ELF, dass ich mit den meisten Menschen der Welt irgendwie **auf Englisch kommunizieren** kann, ganz egal welche Muttersprache sie haben. Mit Englisch funktioniert das eigentlich in den meisten Ländern.

**2.14. 46'26''** Ich würde sagen, [man kann ELF im Unterricht sinnvoll gebrauchen], am besten anhand von Beispielen. [...] **Als allgemeines Prinzip würde ich das nicht durchziehen.**

**2.15. 47'05''** Wir haben drei Stunden Englisch in der Woche und wenn ich wirklich jede Variante durchziehe, dann geht einfach die Grundstruktur verloren. Das soll schon ein Ziel sein, dass ich eine **breite Basis** habe und nicht mit Varianten anfangen, bevor das gefestigt ist. [...] Man soll wissen, dass es das gibt, aber ich muss nicht alles in der Schule lernen.

**2.16. 57'10''** Nein, ich glaube **nicht, dass [BrE] leichter verständlich ist**, aber man hat einfach mehr damit zu tun. [...] Man ist es halt einfach **gewohnt**.

### **Interview 3, July 18, 2013**

**3.1. 3'30''** [Negative Erlebnisse] waren nie da, wenn dann gab es die im Studium bei diesen Ausspracheübungen, wo man dazu **gedrillt wird native-like zu klingen**, obwohl man es nicht ist. Ich werde nie ein NS sein. Das war schon ein Zwang, etwas zu imitieren was ich nicht bin.

**3.2. 4'20''** Ich rede so wie ich rede und die Leute verstehen mich, das ist das Wichtigste.

**3.3. 5'26''** Ich würde eher sagen, dass es ein Vorteil ist, [...] Es ist schon Englisch die Unterrichtssprache, aber wenn dann irgendwelche neuen Grammatikregeln kommen, dann erkläre ich es auf Deutsch.

**3.4. 7'57''** Nein, von außerhalb [fühle ich meinen Status] sicher nicht [verändert]. Von mir selber aus vielleicht, weil ich [...] mit anderen Leuten arbeite, die vielleicht eine schönere Aussprache haben als ich und ich mir dann auch kurzzeitig den „hm“, eigentlich hätte ich das auch so gut lernen sollen.

**3.5. 10'42''** [Ich bin] auf jeden Fall **beides** [User und Learner].

**3.6. 14'45''** In einem Kapitel haben Spanier, Italiener in ihrem Akzent gesprochen. [...] Jedes Kapitel hat so ein Thema. [...] Bei dem war es halt Urlaub. [...] Die Rezeption der Studierenden war nicht so gut. [...] Ich hab es eigentlich gut gefunden. Es gibt einfach mehr NNS als NS. [...] [Die Schüler] haben gefragt: Warum hatten die so eine komische Aussprache, was soll uns das bringen für die Aussprache? [...] Es war ungewohnt für sie, da es kein Standard Englisch war.

**3.7. 16'40''** Vielleicht ist es wirklich Gewohnheit ist, weil alle anderen Hörbeispiele bis dahin in einem British oder American Englisch waren.

**3.8. 23'20''** Das Buch geht nicht davon aus, dass nur deutschsprachige [Englisch] lernen, sondern [es geht darum] wo kommt ihr her, wie ist das in eurer Kultur. Trotzdem ist alles im Buch selber sehr auf British abgestimmt.

**3.9. 23'46''** Ich schaue, dass ich viel freie Konversation mache.

**3.10. 25'14''** Gerade in freier Konversation darf man vom Standard abweichen. Welcher native Speaker [...] hält sich an die Standards?

**3.11. 40'** Man spricht dann in der Meta-Ebene darüber, welche Probleme auftreten können. Gerade wenn sie es für das Büro brauchen, bei Telefongesprächen haben die meisten Probleme. Darüber spricht man dann einfach.

**3.12. 41'51''** [Ich definiere] **ELF** als ein Englisch, ein eigenständiges Englisch, nicht als einen Teil von Englisch, das **als Tool benutzt wird, um zu kommunizieren**. Also die, die ELF benutzen, sind ELF Users und nicht English Learners. [...] Bei ELF geht es weniger darum perfekt zu sein, sondern sich gut zu verständigen.

**3.13. 47'50''** Ja, ich denke schon, [dass das] **Sicherheit** bringt, dass man weiß, dass das nicht so sein muss. Es ist kein Problem, nicht nach dem Standard zu sprechen oder zu schreiben und dass deshalb eine Arbeit oder Konversation nicht geringer eingeschätzt soll. Das gibt den Leuten Selbstbewusstsein. Gerade, wenn man ihnen erklärt, dass nicht alles immer Standard sein muss.

## **Interview 4, July 25, 2013**

**4.1. 1'48''** Das war der Grund, warum ich nach England gegangen bin, als Fremdsprachen-Assistentin, [...] um dieser Unsicherheit entgegen zu wirken, damit man das Englische besser vermitteln kann.

**4.2. 4'27''** Der Professor hat im Sprachlabor alles in britisch gemacht.

**4.3. 5'51''** Ja, ich bin eher ein England-Fan. [...] Wenn es um ins Ausland gehen gegangen ist, wollte ich immer nach England.

**4.4. 6'43''** Vorteile sind wahrscheinlich, dass man sich in den Schüler hineinversetzen kann, dass man weiß wieso der das jetzt fragt. [...] Man kann wahrscheinlich die Grammatik besser aufbereiten, damit das für den Schüler klarer ist.

**4.5. 15'05''** Ich habe mir wenige Gedanken darüber gemacht. Man versucht immer, [...] dass man so spricht, dass man es nicht kennt, dass man von Österreich ist. [...] Ich versuche, dass ich [NSs] imitiere.

**4.6. 17'10''** Nachdem es ja auch so von der EU vorgegeben wird, dieses 'life long learning', ist es klar, dass man eigentlich nie stehenbleiben kann. [...] Da würde ich schon **eher sagen, dass ich Learner bin**, kommt aber auch auf das Niveau drauf an. [...] Ich glaube auch, dass das sehr wichtig ist [sich weiterzubilden]. [...] Ich sehe das schon auch als Hobby. [...] Vor allem privat und in der Unterstufe sehe ich mich als **User**.

**4.7. 32'45''** Ich glaube, dass man auch viele kulturelle Sachen an sie weitergibt, nicht nur das fachliche, vor allem weil jetzt die Grammatik in den Hintergrund tritt und weil es mehr um die Kommunikation geht. [...] Wie man glaubt, dass [die NSs] wirklich leben, was sie machen, was wir nicht machen.

**4.8. 38'38''** Da müsste man weiter gehen. Da ist das Schulsystem auch mit drinnen. [...] Das ist schon schade, dass man als Lehrer auf einen Schlag [...] in eine prüfende Position kommt. [...] Du bist der Lehrer, du benotest die Schüler. [...] Man ist halt Lehrer und Prüfer in einem.

**4.9. 44'30''** Ja, [dass NNSs in den Schulbüchern vorkommen] ist eh gut, weil es einfach der Realität entspricht, weil es ja mehr Sprecher von Englisch gibt, die NNSs sind. [...] Es ist sehr interessant, wenn Leute aus Indien reden.

**4.10. 49'45''** Poah, da **weiß ich nicht wo man Materialien herbekommt**. [...] Ich glaube sowieso, Englisch ist im Wandel, dadurch dass es so viele Leute sprechen. Ich glaube trotzdem, dass es wichtig ist, [...] dass man diesen Kern weitergibt, damit sich das nicht gar so verfremdet.

**4.11. 1h1'27''** Auf der Uni bin ich gleich damit in Kontakt gekommen, wahrscheinlich [bei dem Thema] Englisch als Verkehrssprache. [...] [ELF] heißt für mich, dass Englisch als Sprache verwendet wird, wenn die Kommunikationspartner eine unterschiedliche Muttersprache haben und [...] Englisch als Verbindung nehmen. Beide können es mehr oder weniger gut. Sie können sich damit verständigen. Das kann auch zu einem restriktiven Code werden, wo Sachen rauskommen können die ein NS nicht verstehen würde.

**4.12. 1h13'40''** Einfach die Bestätigung, dass man wie man spricht, verstanden wird. Wo man merkt, das passt ja so, wie ich das mache.

**4.13. 1h18'** Es ist schon eine Frage, ob jemand kompetent ist, wenn er **gutes Englisch** spricht oder er es einfach **irgendwie als Lingua Franca** sagt. Er kann das gleiche sagen, aber es wirkt halt einfach anders. Das ist schon auch ein Faktor. [...] Verstehen wird man sicher alles. [...]

## **Abstract (English)**

English as a lingua franca (ELF) is a booming field in applied linguistics. It challenges conventional views about English language use and hitherto acknowledged norms. Since more non-native speakers (NNSs) than native speakers (NSs) in the world use English and because of this development its function in contrast to its form has moved into the foreground, the observed changes of the use of English are of increasing importance also for the field of English language teaching. Consequently, the teaching of English needs to be adjusted to this situation. English language teachers and their attitudes towards ELF have recently been more focused on by researchers. So far, studies found that non-native English teachers are rather unsatisfied with their status and struggle with the construction of their language identity. It is strongly assumed that this is caused by native speaker centeredness particularly in ELT and by the assumption that NNSs' primary language goal is to emulate the NS norm in order to become proficient speakers. In the current paper, an attempt is made to find out more about the opinion of Austrian NNTs towards ELF and their identity and whether a correlation of these two factors can be observed. As a methodological instrument, a small scale questionnaire study and semi-structured interviews are chosen. The aim is to find a way to improve possible language insecurity due to an imposed superiority of the native speaker language by means of ELF and its benefits for the individual user. It is observed that the participants are ambiguous about this topic. On the one hand, NNTs see themselves as advantaged in comparison to native teachers due to the shared language learning experience of their students. On the other hand, a majority of respondents are convinced that a NS model is essential in the English language classroom, although they often feel insecure as NNTs. On the whole, it can be said that in contrast to earlier studies, a slight improvement is detected. In order to support this process, it is of importance to implement the concept of ELF and recent findings on ELT into teacher education in the Expanding Circle countries to raise awareness of ELF and to empower all non-native users of English as fully capable English speakers.

## **Abstract (German)**

Englisch ist international als Kommunikationsmittel anerkannt und die Schulbildung in Europa sieht vor ein bestimmtes Kompetenzniveau dieser Sprache zu erreichen. Darum liegt es nahe, dass sich auch LehrerInnen dieser Realität entsprechend, weiterentwickeln sollen. Aufgrund früherer Studien, die sich mit Englisch als Lingua Franca (ELF) in der Sprachlehre befassen, weiß man, dass Englisch-LehrerInnen, deren Unterrichtsprache nicht ihre Muttersprache ist, mit Problemen konfrontiert sein können. Diese bestehen zumeist aus Minderwertigkeitsgefühlen vor allem im Verhältnis zu Lehrkräften, die Englisch als Erstsprache haben, und auch aus Schwierigkeiten eine geeignete Sprach-Identität zu finden, die genügend Möglichkeit bietet sich als erfolgreiche Sprachlehrkraft zu fühlen. Als Grund für diese Probleme wird sehr oft eine ausschließlich britische und/oder amerikanische Norm im Englisch-Unterricht angegeben. In der vorliegenden Arbeit wird versucht, anhand von Fragebögen und Interviews die tatsächliche Meinung zu diesem Thema österreichischer Englisch-LehrerInnen zu erforschen und ihren etwaigen Problemen auf den Grund zu gehen. Es wird beobachtet, dass die befragte Lehrerschaft geteilter Meinung ist. Einerseits befinden sich viele als Englisch-LehrerInnen den Native Speaker, bedingt durch eigene Sprach-Erfahrungen, als überlegen, andererseits gibt es eine große Gruppe, die eine Standard-Englisch-Norm im Sprachunterricht für unabdingbar hält und dennoch unsicher mit ihrer Situation ist.

Im Großen und Ganzen kann gesagt werden, dass aufgrund theoretischer Weiterentwicklungen in der Sprachforschung auch schon in der Praxis eine Entwicklung stattgefunden hat, die zeigt, dass ELF ein Phänomen ist, das mehr und mehr auch in der Sprachlehre aufgenommen wird. Durch vermehrtes Einbringen neuester Erkenntnisse in die LehrerInnen-Ausbildung und den Englisch-Unterricht insgesamt soll diese weiter begünstigt werden.

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