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ambivalent attitudes towards ELF variation

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Real proficiency is when you are able to take possession of the language, turn it to your advantage, and make it real for you. This is what mastery means. So in a way, proficiency only comes with nonconformity, when you can take the initiative and strike out on your own (Widdowson 1994: 384).

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To my loved ones.

I never intended to write acknowledgements, but now I feel the need to.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
ELT	English language teaching
L1	First language
NS	Native speaker
NNS	Nonnative speaker
StE	Standard English

1 PREFACE

Undoubtedly, owing to rapid changes in the last decades, it is now both an already globalised and still globalising and thereby increasingly interconnected world that we live in. Needless to say, languages and communities are deeply affected by (and, in fact, affecting) processes of globalisation. In response to the proliferation and speeding up of communication technologies (Coupland 2010: 24) as well as growing mobility, things such as intercultural communication, rising multilingualism and the hybridity of language are becoming commonplace, with languages increasingly dissociated from cultural boundaries.

Clearly, the role that English assumes in global growth is unassailable, with English as a Lingua Franca (in the following referred to as ‘ELF’) being “simultaneously the consequence and the principal language medium of GLOBALIZING PROCESSES” (Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey 2011: 303). The use of ELF as a contact language and the main means of communicating transculturally is spreading fast, and research into the field has been thriving in recent years (Jenkins 2007, 2009, etc.; Seidlhofer 2006, 2009, 2011, etc.). Given that ELF communication transcends linguistic and cultural boundaries, it comes as no surprise that its usage allows for or even requires deviations from a fixed set of norms, in other words, from native speaker (in the following referred to as ‘NS’) standard norms. Not only has it “right-based appeals to linguistic ownership and autonomy” (Coupland 2009: 32), considering that its non-native speakers (NNSs) have long outnumbered its native-speakers. Also, there is considerable evidence of communicative effectiveness despite, or rather *because of* non-conformity to a certain set of norms (Seidlhofer 2018). Notwithstanding, extensive research into ELF attitudes has revealed that attitudes towards non-conformity in using ELF tend to be rather negative, and, most surprisingly, often ambivalent and self-contradictory.

Looking back at the beginnings of when ELF was becoming a part of my daily life during my exchange in Manchester, I was no exception myself. Underpinned by a formalist, almost folklinguistic view of language and a strong sense of *correctness*, I was being critical and sometimes judgemental when it came to ‘errors’, as I used to unreflectingly call them. Clearly, though, I did not have any bad intentions in stigmatising ‘wrong’ ELF use deviating from NS norms. In fact, I was probably much stricter with my own language use than with that of others. Most importantly, however, I did not even question and seriously call into

question that strong attachment to and focus on conformity to norms. It was deeply entrenched ‘common sense’ for me. Yet things changed: The more experienced I got in ELF communication, the more I started to realise that ELF is not and *cannot* be motivated by formal(ist) properties. ELF communication does not work despite deviations from norms, it works *by* deviations. Non-conformity is not an obstacle but deconstructs obstacles – a suggestion not only implied by personal experience, but also highlighted by the large body of ELF research.

Now deeply engaged with ELF, I find it odd that I had barely scrutinised this view until ELF became daily routine for me, but even more, until enlightening conversations with Professor Seidlhofer and Professor Widdowson triggered my interest and encouraged me to read into and write my diploma thesis about this matter. So in a way, this thesis is motivated by the oddity, almost absurdity of negative, but also ambivalent attitudes towards non-conformity. Yet, importantly, research into ELF attitudes also matters from an ideological point of view. It is still commonplace to measure any use of English against NS Standard English (in the following referred to as ‘StE’) norms, which may be of considerable disadvantage not only to NNSs, but also to those who lack what has traditionally been promoted as ‘proficiency’. Consequently, it is of utmost importance to explore the roots of ELF attitudes, which has, up to now, left a considerable gap to close. So far, investigations of influential factors have only scratched the surface rather than contributed to a deep understanding of how such factors combine and conflict in the formation of attitudes. Therefore, the main research question, being *What are the reasons for negative and ambivalent attitudes towards non-conformity to standard NS norms in the use of English as a Lingua Franca?* will be pursued more in-depth in the present thesis.

A key factor is, as most frequently suggested and discussed in the literature, the standard language ideology. Having impacted attitudes towards language variation ever since, it can be defined as “a bias toward an abstract, idealized homogenous spoken language, which is imposed and maintained by dominant bloc institutions” (Lippi-Green 1997:64), which, in the case of English, implies that the standard English variety should be valid on a global scale (Seidlhofer 2011: 42). According to Bourdieu (1991), the standard variety has evolved out of socio-political interest in the course of history as the only *legitimate* variety, bound up with the formation of unified linguistic *markets* and the preservation of social *distinction* between the dominant and the dominated classes. As a result, the conversion of linguistic

practices on linguistic markets can endow its *agents* with *profit* or *symbolic power*, but possibly also lead to sanctions, which shapes both linguistic discourse and linguistic values.

Ever since official languages were established, and probably even before, linguistic practices have been associated with certain stereotypes and values, with the standard variety usually valued more highly than non-standard varieties. While Bourdieu dealt with 1960 France specifically, the standard language ideology can probably be extended to a much broader context – both transnationally and transhistorically. Hence, representations of non-standard varieties as markers of lower-class characters can already be found in literary works of authors such as Emily Brontë or Elizabeth Gaskell (Beal 2004: 190-191); and looking at the linguistic landscape, the perception of a stable variety, promoted as the most prestigious variety, seems to be a phenomenon spread across most Western countries. Therefore, deeply entrenched in the ‘linguistic habitus’ (Bourdieu 1991) of most ELF-users, the standard language ideology has far-reaching implications for the perceptions of not only languages but also ELF, although, as a flexible and hybrid tool for communication rather than a bounded entity, it differs significantly from common varieties and languages.

Although it serves as a good point of departure, a historical enquiry of the standard language ideology still does not fully account for the ambivalence frequently found in attitudes. Clearly, ELF cannot be treated in isolation from issues of globalisation, which have brought about significant changes in the world we live in and our sense of self. Thus, as the title of this thesis suggests, a large part of this work was dedicated to socio-cultural identity in its broadest sense, not only because it is inseparably bound up with language, but also because identity issues have gained rising attention recently (Baker 2015). Identity is now considered as fluid and constructed through the instrumentality of language (see, for instance, Edwards 2009). Through the acceleration of globalisation and communication technologies, social relations have become fluid and are now shifting (see Outhwaite 2006), giving rise to infinite optional sources for identification. The fast-moving world we live in brings forward changes that affect our identity and thereby also our attitudes towards language. While postmodernity highlights the ambivalence yet also the fluidity and hybridity of identities and languages, Bourdieu’s theory of the linguistic habitus is based on a class system, on a structured society within a unified linguistic market. The blending of those two theories will demonstrate how identities are in flux, resulting from the tension between a new, high-speed era and our traditional sense and beliefs of community and communication. Hence, while users of ELF

generally recognise the fluidity of language and start to take issue with the exclusive reference to standard norms and the ownership of English by native speakers, this may collide with the deeply-internalised value of the standard variety and cause ambivalent attitudes.

With the aim of arriving at a conceptual framework for explaining ‘linguistic schizophrenia’ (Jenkins 2007), the thesis is organised as follows: First, the foundation for this thesis is laid by giving a brief introduction of the phenomenon of ELF, the motivation for this thesis as well as methodology. It will continue by dealing with the heart of the whole ELF debate, namely the (non)conformity to NS StE norms. Hence, it will shed light on societal and lingua-cultural transformations caused by globalisation, identify inequalities raised by the native speaker and the standard language prevalences as ideological constructs, and address common misconceptions whose revelation highlights the legitimacy of non-conformity. Chapter 4 examines and exemplifies the ambivalence in ELF attitudes by looking at previous studies and illuminates the research gap that is to be investigated in the subsequent chapters. In chapter 5, the linguistic habitus will be introduced, along with some psychological issues of group membership that are relevant for the study of attitudes. By largely drawing on Bourdieu, then, chapter 6 serves to establish a deep understanding of the extent to which our linguistic habitus entails traditional understandings of language legitimacy a product of ideological work; and therefore rather outdated economic principles which are all tied to traditional communicative and communal assumptions, as dealt with in chapter 7. Chapter 8 will cast light on lingua-cultural shifts and changes in the wake of globalisation, which question traditional conceptions rooted in our linguistic habitus. This will, it is hoped, help to develop and work towards an understanding of ambivalent attitudes. The penultimate part will address the main objective of this thesis and introduce a framework that provides combined insights into the factors that contribute to the formation of conflicting attitudes. The thesis will then finish off with some concluding marks and an outlook on future research.

2 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to provide some contextual pre-knowledge that lays the foundation for an understanding of the issue under investigation. It will follow a tripartite structure: First, it will be explained *what* ELF is, what its origins are and what it stands for; subsequently, *why* the issue matters; and last, a few thoughts on methodology and sources will introduce *how* the investigation will proceed.

2.1 WHAT IS ELF ANYWAY?

As both a cause and consequence of globalisation, it is a widely accepted fact that English is now the most common means of intercultural communication that has ever existed (Seidlhofer 2011: ix). Fostered by the expand of mobility, digitalisation and interconnectivity, the use of ELF has become global commonplace. Defined as “any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often only option”, it includes interlocutors across all of Kachru’s (1992) circles and takes place in various communication contexts (Seidlhofer 2011: 7). In contrast to *World Englishes*, which is particularly interested in “postcolonial varieties with their independent identities” (Seidlhofer 2011: 4), it is not viewed as a variety but is based on an acknowledgment of English as fluid, flexible, contingent, hybrid and deeply intercultural (Dewey 2007, referred to in Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey 2011: 284). Unlike other concepts such as *World Standard Spoken English* (Crystal 2003), *International English* (Görlach 1990) or *World Standard English* (McArthur 1998), which are by now widely acknowledged as outdated, it follows a multilingual and multi-dialectical approach, and welcomes the hybridity of language. A key issue in ELF is that it strongly questions the prevalence of NS models. Hence, given that NNSs of English have long outnumbered its NSs (Crystal 2003), they are now argued to be “at the forefront of innovation and change in lingua franca English” (Jenkins 2007: 4).

Having started with papers by Jenkins (2000) and Seidlhofer (2001), the extensive body of research into ELF is relatively recent (Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey 2011: 282). Yet owing to the unneglected global spread of English and the majority of uses being “far removed from its native speakers’ linguacultural norms and identities” (Seidlhofer 2001: 134), research has rapidly grown ever since. Most importantly, ELF is not just a linguistic phenomenon. Thus, research into the matter stretches over a wide range of fields and discourses, many of them

bound up with issues of globalisation. For, in fact, as Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey (2011: 303) explain, “ELF is at once a GLOBALIZED and GLOBALIZING phenomenon”. Thus, on the one hand, the English language has emerged as a worldwide lingua franca partly in response to globalisation. On the other hand, the spread of a globally diffuse lingua franca has certainly fostered and accelerated the processes involved in globalisation. As Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey (2011: 303) argue,

[i]f globalization is the means by which the world has become more INTERCONNECTED, with our economic, cultural, political, professional and social spaces ever more entwined, then lingua franca interactions in English are the primary means by which those connections are made, by which human relations are maintained across conventional boundaries.

So in a way, ELF research inevitably touches upon and takes into consideration the conditions of globalisation, which, as “an accelerating set of processes involving flows that encompass ever-greater numbers of the world’s spaces and that lead to increasing integration and interconnectivity among those spaces” (Ritzer 2006: 1), has led to decisive changes in the world we live in. Fuelled by increasing technology and global mobility, our “borderless world” (Ken’ichi 1991) has naturally given rise to a pluralism, fluidity and hybridity of culture, identity and language, underlined by postmodernism and poststructuralism. As a global lingual phenomenon, ELF allows for and highlights the transcendence of linguistic and cultural norms in our global(ising) world. In Motschenbacher’s (2016: 106) words, it “epitomises language use in our postmodern world”. Therefore, ELF cannot but be treated against the backdrop of globalisation and postmodernity.

2.2 WHY ATTITUDES MATTER

In a way, the study of ELF, just as the study of any other social or linguistic phenomenon, cannot but involve and be motivated by ideological issues (Heller 1995). Yet no matter one’s beliefs, “there is some obligation [...] to make explicit the grounds for the belief through argument and empirical evidence” (Seidlhofer 2011: xiii). The motivation and aspiration of the current thesis is to come up with a combination of factors that may serve as starting points for future research in order to contribute, in the long-term, to linguistic equality. Not only has non-conformity to NS Standard English (in the following referred to as ‘StE’) norms long become linguistic reality. Yet also, research has shown that, despite the theoretical legitimacy of ELF variation, orientations towards it are rather negative, ambivalent and self-contradictory. Nobody would doubt that, if NS StE norms continue to

serve as the only yardsticks for measuring traditional notions like competence and thereby endow their users with the highest ‘linguistic capital’ (Bourdieu 1991), NNSs or speakers who are not willing or capable to conform will always remain victims of what Milroy (1999) refers to as *language discrimination*, and hence continue to be disadvantaged in global linguistic markets. For, as Burchfield (1985: 160, quoted in Phillipson 1992: 5) reminds us, “[l]inguistic deprivation is a less easily noticed condition [than poverty, famine, and disease], but one nevertheless of great significance”. For in fact, despite the increasing recognition of the independence of the NNSs of English, the notion that they should endeavour to adhere to the variety of English used by the NS minority “is proving very resistant to change” (Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey 2011: 308). In a way, an investigation of ELF attitudes is therefore not an issue motivated solely by academic interest and curiosity. Future research into the matter is hoped to arrive at a deeper understanding of why the dynamics of ELF variation and thereby its users are sometimes stigmatised. Essentially, considering the extent to which they can bias social interaction and impact life opportunities in many contexts, “language attitudes represent important communicative phenomena worth understanding” (Cargile et al. 2006: 443).

2.3 A FEW THOUGHTS ON METHODOLOGY

In order to obtain conclusive results, the present thesis will try to combine theoretical groundwork with conceptual work. By doing so, it will draw on renowned scholars such as Seidlhofer (2004, 2009, 2011, etc.), Jenkins (2007, 2009, etc.) or Widdowson (1994, 2017, etc.). Clearly, it will also make use of sources that assume somewhat postmodern approaches, often with reference to identity (e.g. Baker 2015, Canagarajah 2005). Apart from that, the thesis will to a large part be inspired by the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1984), in particular by his work *Language and Symbolic Power* (1991), which combines most of his writing on language. In a way, Bourdieu follows a Marxist-sociological, ideology-sensitive approach towards language, by which he regards language as social practice that bears the traces and reproduces the sociohistorical conditions of its use. His exploration of the legitimate variety, the structure of society and the economics of language provide useful insights into how language use obtains certain values, making his work “an obvious starting point for anyone who is interested in linking the question of language with the notion of value” (Park and Wee 2012: 27).

In the course of writing this thesis, it has turned out that Bourdieu's view of language¹ both has things in common with and differs from the way ELF is commonly conceptualised. Yet, both commonality and differences provide useful insights into how conflicting languages may establish as a product of the current reality as opposed to the past; for, in Seidlhofer's (2011: xi) words, "although the global spread of English as a *lingua franca* belongs very much to the present, it needs to be put in perspective by reference to the past".

As for common threads, two aspects of Bourdieu's views have turned out particularly intriguing for ELF attitudes and the aims of this thesis. First, Bourdieu emphasises that language is a social practice rather than a code. He stresses the social conditions under which it has evolved and operates, and thereby assumes a rather anti-formalist linguistic perspective. This is largely in line with perspectives on ELF, which, in fact, cannot but be functionally oriented and dismiss the notion of single codes (see chapter 3). Second, Bourdieu links the value of standard varieties as 'normalised products' to socio-political interest in standardisation, which he refers to as the construction, legitimation and imposition of an official language (Bourdieu 1991: 46-49). Thereby, as he aims to uncover ideologies, his theory makes it possible to unearth the seemingly 'naturally' occurring norms of 'naturally' occurring entities of languages, which devaluates language variation, including ELF. Additionally, given that, as commonly argued, any attempt to uncover the standard language ideology "will [...] have to proceed historically to some degree" (Seidlhofer 2011: 43), Bourdieu's exemplification of the standardisation of French may be a fruitful point of departure.

Further, Bourdieu's economics of language explain how language, once it has been established as an abstract unity, receives certain values by being converted into other forms of *capital* in a particular *market*, and how it can endow an *agent*, hence a speaker, with profit or symbolic power. Linguistic capital, usually measured against the *legitimate* variety, also serves as a crucial marker of social *distinction*, which reproduces the power of the upper classes. The legitimacy of the standard variety and the economic principles of using language are naturalised dispositions rooted in our linguistic habitus, which generate practices, perceptions and attitudes.

¹ For a detailed analysis of Bourdieu's conceptualisation of linguistics see, for instance, Susen 2013

On the other hand, however, it will be shown that crucial lingua-cultural transformations of the world we live in challenge the applicability Bourdieu's theory, which relates specifically to the socio-cultural dynamics of 1960s France, and the validity of traditional notions. Although Bourdieu's theory may explain some deep-rooted dispositions of our social identity, which impact us in both our choices of and our attitudes towards linguistic expressions, it simultaneously serves to illuminate how ELF differs from traditional assumptions. This conflict leaves us with a sort of twilight area, which is assumedly just the place where the ambivalence of attitudes is to be found.

Therefore, Bourdieu's contributions will be adopted to build a bridge between the theoretical background, previous study results and the conceptual framework including suggestions on factors feeding into attitude; but also to illuminate contrasts and conflicts. It is hoped that this will develop an understanding of the attitudes we have towards non-conformity to NS StE norms in the use of ELF.

3 THE LEGITIMACY OF ELF: UNREALISTIC PRESUMPTIONS VERSUS LINGUA-CULTURAL REALITIES

3.1 ELF AND THE NOTIONS OF ‘NATIVENESS’ AND ‘STANDARD’

ELF as a hybrid use of language, which can also entail non-conformity to NS StE norms, sometimes fails to be recognised as a *legitimate* means of communication. Such attitudes can most likely be traced back to the supposition that *the* English language exists as “a stable entity, an established preserve of its native speakers” (Seidlhofer 2011: 33). Therefore, the use of ELF, regardless of how much it differs from bounded varieties, tends to be underpinned by notions of ‘nativeness’ and ‘standard’, both of which contradict its basic principles. Hence, it is rarely scrutinised that whenever we learn or speak a foreign language, the norms towards which we orientate ourselves tend to be the codified standard norms or those defined by NSs. However, in recent years, in the light of lingua-cultural transformations in our increasingly pluralist and multilingual world, the appropriateness of the NS as the sole lingual and cultural reference point has been widely debated and crucially reconsidered. Now that languages are not tied to boundaries anymore, one may ask, what are the rights of native speakers? And what is a native speaker of a global language like English anyway? In his critical discussion of ‘[t]he ownership of English’, Widdowson (1994: 377) rather sarcastically remarks: “One answer might be: the English. And why not? A modest proposal surely”. He continues, “England is where the language originated and this is where the English (for the most part live). [...] It belongs to them” – a view that is most likely widely taken for granted. Unsurprisingly, it follows that, due to this perceived ownership, the target use of English remains tied to linguistic NS norms and the culture and identity of the prestigious NS community.

However, with the growing body of research into World Englishes and ELF, this view has been increasingly and convincingly challenged. Many scholars have recognised the need to make visible the hidden symbolic power and the ideological drive towards homogeneity, “which potentially marginalizes or excludes those who either refuse, or are unwilling, to conform” (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004: 28). Clearly, the status of English as an international language is substantially different from all other languages in the world. It is a widely acknowledged fact that it has become *the* predominant international language, and that its ‘non-native speakers’, a “conceptually problematic” term (Seidlhofer 2011: 5), have

long outnumbered its native speakers (Crystal 2003). Consequently, it has been argued that its NSs “have no say in the matter, no right to intervene or pass judgement. They are irrelevant.” (Widdowson 1994: 385). It is therefore increasingly acknowledged that, for the fact that English is now spoken by something like a ‘global community’, it is “a language with global ownership” (Galloway & Heath 2015: x), which means that English NSs no longer have a “special status as the yardstick of acceptability, let alone intelligibility in ELF contexts” (Seidlhofer 2011: 54).

Likewise, the standard language ideology as the belief that language uniformity is good for society plays a crucial role in the formation of language attitudes. Hence, it appears that ELF is overshadowed by the deeply-entrenched belief that the standard variety, in our case the standard English variety, is the only legitimate variety that should be valid globally (Seidlhofer 2011: 42). Clearly, however, current research and insights into the linguistic realities of ELF use have shown that the position “that English is essentially the standard language claimed as the property of its native speakers, and that this should be the norm against which all other usage is evaluated” (Seidlhofer 2011: 61) is more than out-taken. Instead, non-native speakers are, at least by ELF-scholars, accorded the status of perfectly *legitimate* users.

Clearly, questions of what *legitimacy* really is are difficult to answer. Following Bourdieu, legitimacy is equated with institutional support – it is therefore granted by the authorities. Undoubtedly, if that is the only ‘legitimate legitimacy’, ELF will probably never obtain it. For, granting legitimacy to a phenomenon that is characterised by an uncoded (and uncoded) linguistic hybridity seems incompatible with previous notions of legitimacy. Yet, given that ELF as a fundamentally distinct resource for communication is giving rise to a completely new line of argumentation, also the notion of legitimacy needs to be reconsidered. The next section will therefore give insights into some arguments that, at least from a socio-linguistic point of view, provide far-reaching implications for legitimising non-conformity.

3.2 UNDERSTANDING NON-CONFORMITY TO NATIVE SPEAKER NORMS

As J. Milroy (1999: 18) states, “standard languages are fixed and uniform-state idealisations – not empirically verifiable realities”. Underpinned by the perception of native speakers being the only legitimate linguistic and cultural reference points for using any kind of

English, conformity to standard norms is one of the major and most controversial issues in ELF, which, as research has shown, triggers highly emotive and ambivalent attitudes. Often, unfounded and unscrutinised ‘common sense’ views of language, correctness and conformity as the products of socio-political and historical processes hinder the consideration of non-conformity as a legitimate means of communication. No matter what *legitimacy* means exactly, and how vague the concept may be, non-conformity is certainly far from being considered legitimate in practice, although, as this section will show, there are several issues which legitimise it, at least in theory.

Linguistic rights and global ownership

First and foremost, clearly, linguistic rights and global ownership are the most obvious arguments which endow non-conforming language use with legitimacy. Hence, the unprecedented spread of English and the rising majority of non-native English speakers as opposed to the minority of privileged native speakers make it difficult to challenge that NNSs should be granted the right to linguistic peculiarities (Ammon 2000), in other words, to legitimately claim ownership of the virtual language (Widdowson 2003). In fact, this is what has been happening in recent years as a natural consequence of its global spread, global ownership and global serving as a means of both communication and increasingly also identification (Linn 2016: 113).

The unstable nature of ELF

Language variation is a highly natural phenomenon. Therefore, conceiving of language as a stable code generally contradicts the nature of language as continuously undergoing changes and variation (see more in section 6.1). Even more so, if its use is global and includes various L1-backgrounds. In that sense, in order to understand non-conformity, a crucial distinction to draw is that of spread and distribution (Widdowson 1997). Unlike, for instance, diseases, a language “is not transmitted without being transformed. It does not travel well because it is fundamentally unstable” (Widdowson 1997: 136). Notwithstanding, a common perception of ELF is that it is the ‘distribution’ of the ‘actual language’. The point of view that needs to be adopted is that English as an international language is, rather than being distributed as a set of norms, spread as a virtual language which can be exploited (Widdowson 1997: 139). In fact, it can be exploited in ways that deviate from conventional social practice. Successful communication depends on lingual capability in terms of exploiting the coding potential of

virtual language rather than conforming to the encodings of a language (Seidlhofer & Widdowson 2017).

Further, clearly, a single code as an entity cannot account for its wide range of communication types anyway. For, in Seidlhofer and Widdowson's (2017: 28) words, "a code cannot be equated with the collectivity of types of message form that have resulted from its use". Viewing language as a code will not meet the needs of an ELF approach, while regarding it a social practice is more appropriate (e.g. Cogo 2012; Seidlhofer 2011; referred to in Wang 2013: 261). The concept of *translanguaging*, which is borrowed by Seidlhofer (2011) from sociocultural theory, appears to be particularly useful in this context. *Translanguaging* as "a dynamic, never-ending process of using language to make meaning" (Swain 2006: 90) and as "multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds" (García 2009: 45) highlights the actual meaning rather than the formal aspects of language. Hence, effective ELF communication entails a particularly adaptive and dynamic exploitation of the resources available to the speakers (Dewey 2012: 142), which implies that the NNS is granted a certain independence and therefore 'legitimacy'.

ELF is functionally motivated

Another key issue is that, while a formalist perspective would be misleading for a hybrid and multifaceted contact language like ELF, ELF research reconsiders non-conformity in terms of its functional motivation and underlying purposes (Wang 2013). Consequently, the formal properties of ELF, including its non-conformity, are in essence functionally motivated (Seidlhofer 2011). Considering that the functions a lingua franca needs to fulfil differ from those of a native language, non-conformity as a communicative adaption appears to be simply a natural consequence (Seidlhofer 2011: 124). Thus, whenever ELF speakers creatively use English to "project cultural identity, promote solidarity, share humour and the like" (Cogo & Jenkins 2010: 278, quoted in Wang 2013: 260) and more, conformity to a certain set of norms may not only be irrelevant but even a hindrance to the fulfilment of a given function. In fact, as argued by Widdowson (2012: 20-21):

It does not matter [...] whether the language conforms to established code rules or usage conventions so long as it is intelligible and pragmatically effective. Indeed, users, freed from the constraints of conformity, will typically increase feasibility by reducing the irregularities and exploiting the redundancy of the

standard code, and will produce lexical re-alignments of formal features as contextually appropriate to their purposes.

A different kind of proficiency

The shift from a formalist towards a functional approach towards ELF also entails a critical rethinking of some deeply entrenched beliefs about the use of languages – one of them being proficiency, as traditionally linked to certain speech communities (Seidlhofer & Widdowson 2017). Consequently, it calls into question the deep-rooted misconception that non-conformity to NS norms is to be equated with incompetence. For ELF research has provided insights into how “such ‘incompetence’ does not prevent ELF users from performing very competently as communicators” (Widdowson 2012: 8). Chomsky’s (1965) idealist view of competence as the perfect knowledge of language is, arguably, as he himself was well aware, a very abstract and increasingly outdated view, often considered “an arid formalist abstraction that fails to capture the experienced reality of language as a means of communication in social contexts” by anti-formalist linguists (Widdowson 2012: 8). For essentially, “[t]here is no such thing as an ideal speaker-listener or a homogeneous speech community: it is a fiction” (Widdowson 2012: 8). However, clearly, this does not mean that performance works without any competence at all. Needless to say, “[t]he ability to communicate presupposes some knowledge of linguistic means. You cannot just perform: you have to perform **something** (Widdowson 2012: 15, original emphasis). Nonetheless, this performance does not necessarily involve strictly adhering to a certain set of norms. In fact, conformity to norms that may be irrelevant for interlocutors in the present time. As a matter of fact, the notion of linguistic capability has changed in recent years and has, in fact, influenced language teaching (Swan 2012). In this respect, being proficient does not (only) mean to have the best possible knowledge of the linguistic code. Perfect knowledge of the lexical, grammatical and syntactical properties of a language is not enough to be proficient. Instead, as Widdowson (1994: 384) states,

[r]eal proficiency is when you are able to take possession of the language, turn it to your advantage, and make it real for you. This is what mastery means. So in a way, proficiency only comes with nonconformity, when you can take the initiative and strike out on your own.

Nonetheless, native speaker norms and conformity traditionally walk side by side to formalist views that entail traditional perceptions of ‘proficiency’ and deficit views of language (see, for instance, Kachru 1997). Triggered by ELT, non-conformity often evokes deep-rooted associations of failure and incompetence, with “anything that does not quite

meet NS expectations (based on individual intuition) [perceived] as an ‘error’ (Seidlhofer 2011: 35). Clearly, it should be noted at this point that, although, due to the claimed independence from NS norms, the notion of ‘mistake’ may generally be inappropriate, mistakes do occur (Jenkins 2006, 2009). To echo an obvious example by Swan (2012: 380), if a learner, for instance, asks for an ‘apple’ but wants an orange, this can, quite undoubtedly, be considered a mistake. Generally speaking, this of course depends on whether it affects communication or not. The crucial question, however, is, how much room shall be given to the debate about errors anyway, given the fact that “[d]eciding what constitutes an error is not only a complex issue, it is possibly not an ELF-compatible way of thinking about language” (Cogo & Dewey 2012: 78).

ELF is not EFL

Although it is not really a reason for legitimising ELF, the distinction between ELF and EFL is crucial and may contribute significantly to an understanding of non-conformity. For, although “[t]he acronyms are treacherously similar, [...] the concepts are quite different” (Seidlhofer 2011: 17), namely in their relation towards NS linguacultural norms, their objectives and their processes (Seidlhofer 2011: 17-18). In EFL, adhering to NS norms and accepting the NS as a role model may indeed be an appropriate target goal. In contrast to ELF, the focus in EFL is on the origins of the language as such, its native speakers and its cultural associations, which the learner may want to identify with. ELF as a contact language for speakers with different first languages, however, is motivated by other needs such as intelligibility and communication, whose success cannot be guaranteed by adhering to NS norms. From an ELF perspective “ENL discourse rules and pragmatics are practically irrelevant, ENL norms of correctness play a subordinate role” (Ehrenreich 2011: 16). Hence, the linguacultural norms are pre-existing and re-affirmed in EFL, and characterised by imitation and adoption. In contrast, those norms are ad hoc and negotiated in ELF, with communicative success achieved by means of accommodation and adaptation (Seidlhofer 2011: 18).

Another useful overview of the significant differences is provided by Jenkins (2006b: 140). As evident from Figure 1, EFL as a part of Modern Foreign Languages and ELF as a part of World Englishes assume completely different perspectives in dealing with deviations from NS Standard English.

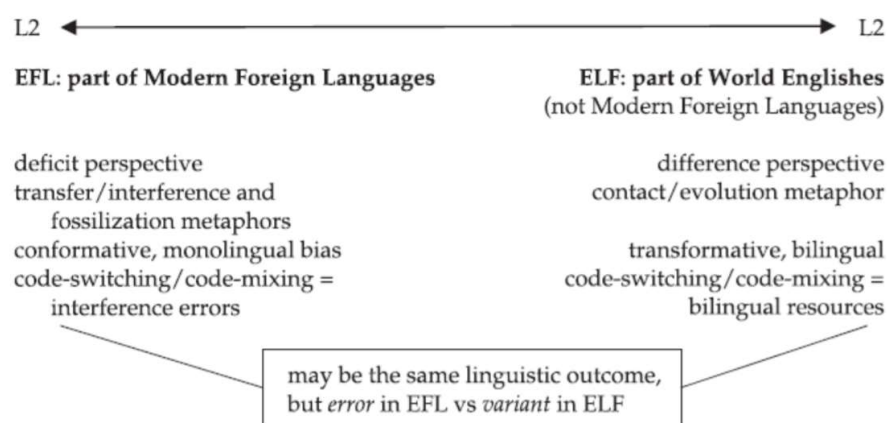


Figure 1: EFL versus ELF by Jenkins (2006b: 140).

In EFL, there is a general dependence on NS norms, with deviations from these norms, such as code-switching, usually considered deficits and described through transfer/interference and fossilization metaphors. By contrast, ELF welcomes a transformative and bilingual and therefore difference perspective, using the metaphors of contact and evolution. While the actual linguistic outcome may be the same in EFL and ELF, it may be “the same forms reached by different routes” (Jenkins 2006b: 141). ELF research has produced solid empirical backing that deviations from NS norms can occur regularly and systematically, without causing any communication problems. These deviations, referred to as *variants* in ELF, would be considered errors in EFL (Jenkins 2006b: 141).

So once a clear line is drawn between ELF and EFL as two different realities, and once ELF is dissociated from traditional, often formalist and deficit-oriented EFL perspectives, the legitimacy of non-conformity in certain uses of ELF can hardly be denied.

Successful ELF communication and intelligibility without conformity

Clearly, legitimacy as viewed from a Bourdieuan perspective is barely based on communicative success. Nonetheless, the frequently expressed concern that non-conformity, often wrongly perceived as an ‘anarchist’ language use full of ‘errors’ and ‘deficits’, causes misunderstanding, deserves some further examination at this point. For, it appears that this claim is based on ideological fiction rather than real evidence. In a way, it evokes the impression of being an excuse to sustain unequal power hierarchies.

Needless to say, NNSs exploit their linguistic repertoires differently from NSs. Also, ELF users have many different linguacultural backgrounds, which essentially makes the use of ELF extremely hybrid. However, research has come up with considerable evidence that ELF

conversation displays hardly any problematic moments (Cogo 2009: 255), and that the sociolinguistic reality of using English, including non-conformity, is a manifestation of how NNSs exploit and adapt their linguistic repertoires to their communicative needs and pragmatic purposes. Because in fact, a variety of studies has illustrated how interlocutors successfully engage in a fluid, hybrid and flexible use of ELF by selectively drawing from their full language repertoire (see García 2009), and by making use of different resources in order to operate effectively across diverse linguistic codes in response to certain ELF contexts (Canagarajah 2013).

Thus, ELF users skilfully employ numerous strategies to facilitate communication. A considerable body of empirical work has been dedicated to uncovering these strategies employed to negotiate meaning and ensure intelligibility, in spite of non-conformity to NS linguistic norms, for instance in terms of phonology (Jenkins 2000) or lexicogrammar (Seidlhofer 2009a). A corpus-driven investigation of non-understanding by Cogo and Dewey (2012) has illustrated that ELF users show pragmatic awareness in ELF conversations and employ strategies which avoid non-understanding at its beginning, through methods such as increased explicitness and checking for understanding. Likewise, Mauranen (2006) found that considerable effort was made by interlocutors to ensure mutual intelligibility, for instance by means of self-repair, repetition, clarification or the co-construction of expressions. Accommodation as “the process by which speakers adjust their communicative behaviour to that of their interlocutors in order to facilitate communication” (Cogo 2009: 254) is generally acknowledged as the key to intelligibility in ELF conversation. In addition to that, it also fosters solidarity between the interlocutors. Hence, accommodating, for instance in terms of phonology (Jenkins 2000), to certain shared variants has been argued to be more effective than conforming to any NS ideals of correctness (Cogo 2009: 255). Further, Seidlhofer (2009) explains how non-conformity in terms of lexicogrammar enables users of ELF to naturally follow the idiom principle and thereby co-construct wordings based on their purposes. Klimpfinger (2009) stresses that code-switching is an effective means of making meaning in ELF conversations., while Baker (2011) proposes that intercultural awareness fosters mutual understanding. To summarise, a large body of research has shown how ELF users skilfully negotiate meaning and exploit their linguistic repertoires to succeed in effective communication, indicating that their non-nativeness is far from being debilitating. In fact, as research has illustrated, being a NNS can

provide them with highly valuable resources and strategies (Cogo & Dewey 2012: 136).

Hence, as Seidlhofer (2005: 71) suggests:

[a] very clear tendency emerging from empirical ELF work is that successful ELF communicators avoid, consciously or unconsciously, precisely those native-speaker ‘shibboleths’ that indicate membership of a very specific, confined native-speaker community, and of which some accomplished ELF learners exhibit impressive mastery.

Of course, given the growing spread of English as an international language of communication and the number of languages, cultures and identities involved in intercultural communication, the adherence to a certain number and a certain kind of guidelines for use is inevitable. As Bourdieu (1991: 40) argues, “[t]he unification of the linguistic market means that there are no doubt more and more meanings for each sign”. Nobody will deny that communication is only possible if the speakers share a similar repertoire. Yet most variants, such as the omission of the third person ‘s’ do not form any obstacles. Clearly, this also has implications for ELT, which, rather than investing endless time in focussing on isolated formal features, needs to focus on competences needed for the negotiation of meaning and intercultural awareness.

4 ELF ATTITUDES: WHAT HAS VERSUS WHAT HAS NOT BEEN DONE

Language is a powerful force that conveys so much more than just referential information (Jenkins 2007: 110). As a quite natural consequence, we develop attitudes towards them or their speakers; and clearly, ELF is no exception. Given its hybrid and fluid nature and its vast number of users, let alone the prejudice and social judgements (Giles & Billings 2004, referred to in Jenkins 2007: 65) they are facing, the study of attitudes is an important issue. Even more so because, although it appears that orientations towards ELF in general are increasingly positive, attitudes towards non-conformity to standard NS norms tend to be oddly ambivalent, which will be exemplified in the following section. However, much has been left to explore; therefore, section 4.2 will shed light on the significant research gap that this thesis aims to close, or at least raise awareness of.

4.1 A DEMONSTRATION OF AMBIVALENT ATTITUDES: INSIGHTS INTO PREVIOUS STUDIES

An attitude towards something, often used interchangeably with terms such as ‘belief’ or ‘perception’, is defined by Sarnoff (1970: 279) as “a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects”. This evaluative orientation can be directed to all social phenomena – languages being one of them (Garrett 2010: 20). Clearly, ELF attitudes are a special case of language attitudes, for ELF turns upside down all our traditional understandings of communication and communities. Hence, it can be assumed that they are much more complex than L1-attitudes, with various factors coming into play and leading to a wide range of different attitudes.

Thus, unsurprisingly, the body of research into attitudes to ELF is large, and the increasing number of studies into a wide range of target groups and sub-topics has provided intriguing insights into the complexity of ELF. Notably, young people, especially in a European or Western context, the generation Y, as commonly referred to, have been born into this ‘flat’ and multicultural world. Clearly, this raises the question of whether their attitudes are more flexible and reflect the fluidity of language, culture and identity. Interestingly enough, in more recent studies, young users of English were indeed overall shown to orientate positively towards non-conformity to native speaker norms (Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey 2011).

It is therefore possible to envisage that today's youth with their "more relaxed and flexible attitudes towards the use of linguistic repertoires" (Seidlhofer 2010: 357) cause substantial changes in the way languages will be dealt with in the future. Nonetheless, a considerable number of studies produced quite the opposite results. Thus, "while the relaxed attitudes towards ELF of younger people are promising, strong resistance is still felt by many others" (Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey 2011: 281). Often, respondents express mixed, contradicting or rather negative feelings about non-conformity to NS StE norms, as extensively found and discussed by Jenkins (2007). Although, as suggested by Jenkins (2009: 202), attitudes vary widely, and it is usually solely negative orientations towards ELF that are verbalised and published while positive responses are not, there is evidence of a considerable proportion of attitudes being adverse, ambivalent and in conflict with each other. This section will provide relevant insights into previous studies in order to illuminate this multifaceted ambivalence.

Needless to say, non-conformity to codified norms can relate to all linguistic levels. Jenkins (2007: 93) suggests that most of the studies into attitudes deal with pronunciation, for as Timmis (2002: 241) argues, "pronunciation [...] seems to go to the heart of the native-speaker issue". Nonetheless, given that it is suggested that grammar serves a subordinate and auxiliary role rather than a communicative function (Widdowson 2012: 21), while the notion of *correctness* is very strong, it seems to be a particularly intriguing aspect to investigate. Therefore, even though largely inspired by the ambivalence revealed in Jenkins' (2007) accent-oriented study, this thesis will place special emphasis on attitudes towards grammatical deviations.

Even though this overview will not be limited to any specific target group, attitudes to ELF are often concerned with the domain of education, that is, with teachers (e.g. Jenkins 2007; Murray 2003) or students (e.g. Timmis 2002; Grau 2005). Considering that the ELT sector is a vast one, some of them are certainly worth looking into. One of these ELF-related studies was conducted by Timmis (2002), who studied both teachers' and learners' attitudes towards conformity to NS norms. The study revealed, first of all, that there is a tendency to prefer the adherence to NS norms, meaning that non-conformity is oriented towards rather negatively. Yet, interestingly, teachers, particularly the NSs, seem to be less attached to NS norms than students. Hence, only 14% of the student respondents opted for a quotation which allowed for grammar mistakes and therefore retainment of identity, while 22% of the teachers chose that option, which is – given that there is considerable research into young

users' views illustrating the opposite – a surprising result. Another interesting point is that of spoken informal grammar. While only 14% of students chose the option which excluded learning (NS) informal grammar, 68% claimed they also wanted to learn informal grammar as used by native speaker. Consequently, it can be argued that the preference for and thereby the symbolic power (see section 7.4) of the native speaker is still extremely prevalent. Hence, informal grammar, which is arguably non-standard grammar, appears to be highly prestigious merely because it is used by native speakers. Another finding, which is greatly ambivalent, is a very traditional idea of 'proficiency'. Notably, Timmis (2002: 248) concludes that "while the main motivation of the majority of students is the ability to communicate, the rather traditional idea of 'mastering a language' survives, at least among a minority". Although this may not come as a surprise, it is virtually ambivalent and irrational, as based on a completely outdated view of proficiency. For mastering a language in terms of grammatical accuracy is not a requirement for the ability to communicate. Hence, as Jenkins (2007: 96) argues "[t]he responses to the questionnaire (both within the teacher group and between the student groups) expose a degree of ambivalence that remains unexplored in the article".

Similarly, Lahnsteiner's (2013) small-scale study involving questionnaires and semi-structured interviews sought to investigate the identity of Austrian non-native English teachers with reference to NS norms. The study revealed that the participating teachers had very mixed feelings yet generally preferred native English models for both themselves and their learners. She concluded that the existence of a NS model in ELF "instills a strong sense of ambiguity and complex interrelations between identity and attitude" (Lahnsteiner 2013: 103). Nonetheless, she claims that in comparison to previous studies, a rather positive development was detected. Hence, although ideological power relations still hinder the fast spread of an acceptance of the competence of a NNS, and although teachers still express very ambiguous views, they were shown to be confident than in previous studies.

Ambivalent attitudes sometimes relate to a theory/practice-divide. For instance, although Murray's (2003) questionnaire study among 253 Swiss teachers produced a rather positive finding, namely with two thirds of all respondents agreeing on the fact that NNS English deserved more respect and that communication was preferred over error-correction, the ambivalence was rooted in a more practice-related issue. Hence, most teachers expressed doubts about introducing ELF variants that do not conform to NS norms in course books. So

although they accepted ELF as a medium of communication, they rejected introducing some of those features to their students. While the teaching of ELF is certainly not what is proposed in the ELF literature, this rejection still points towards a rather rigorous NS prevalence. What is interesting, though, is that NSs were less attached to NS norms than NNSs, which is, in a way, ambivalent too.

Likewise, in a study by Dewey (2012), the teachers participating in the survey generally showed an awareness of the terms *ELF*, *World Englishes* and *Global English*, and of the properties entailed. However, there was far less consensus among them concerning the relevance of ELF for pedagogy, which is in line with Murray's (2003) findings. Thus, a theoretical awareness of ELF does not necessarily imply the willingness to implement it in practice. Generally, the participants in Dewey's study assumed a wide array of positions, ranging from full acceptance and approval to a dismissal of practical implications of ELF. Hence, based on both Murray's (2013) and Dewey's (2012) findings, it can be concluded that the standard language ideology appears to be particularly strong in the realm of education. Teachers are often unwilling to combine ELT with the linguistic reality of English in our globalising world. One of the reasons might be that the standard language ideology is strongly linked to education and the cultural capital it awards (see more in chapters 6 and 7). This is in line with an interesting finding that was produced by Decke-Cornill (2003). She found that non-selective school teachers (*Gesamtschule*) showed a greater readiness to adopt a new, ELF-related approach in teaching than selective school teachers (*Gymnasium*). Hence, it can be argued that in a selective school, the cultural capital is expected to be higher, and the *taste* (see Bourdieu 2010 [1984]) differs from that of non-selective schools, which I will come back to when applying Bourdieu's argument in chapter 7.

Hence, as could be seen, studies from a variety of backgrounds produced findings that were inconsistent, and sometimes, although theoretically positive, rather negative in practice. This is also reflected by the fact that in many discussions, words such as 'slight tendency' or 'rather' prevail and thereby linguistically indicate vagueness and ambiguity. Galloway and Rose (2015: 189), for instance, argue that "[i]t is clear from these studies that a **theory/practice divide** exists. ELF is often accepted in the abstract by teachers but rejected in the classroom" [original emphasis]. This theory/practice divide, it could be argued, also reflects a gap between theoretical legitimacy (see chapter 3) and practical legitimacy. Often recognised in theory, non-conformity tends to lack practical legitimacy, whose real-life

effects are much more far-reaching. This is confirmed by Bamgbose (1998: 5), who explains that a major reason why NNS ‘norms’ appear to be militated is the “ambivalence between recognition and acceptance of such norms”. Hence, quite often people recognise the utility of a non-standard feature yet fail to accept a potential replacement of the native speaker feature by the non-native one. A study by Schmidt and McCreary (1977: 418-419, referred to in Bamgbose 1998: 5) found that native-speaker students claimed a preference for and considered more correct *There are about five minutes left* as opposed to *There’s about five minutes left*, although the use of the second was much more common.

In a study by Wang (2013), Chinese users of ELF were shown to have mixed attitudes and face similar dilemmas. While they generally had slightly positive attitudes towards the functional use of ELF and non-conformity for the sake of communicative efficiency and cultural identity projection, they shared strong beliefs about ENL being the ‘essence of English’, equalling ‘real English’ with ENL and Standard English. Yet, one may ask, what is this ‘real English’? Is communicative efficiency not ‘real’ enough? Likewise, some of the respondents had contradicting ideas concerning non-conformity. Hence, they were considered errors and tolerable ELF variations at the same time, while the respondents themselves often failed to recognise their contradictions.

In general, the rather irrational link drawn between communicative effectivity and conformity to norms is a rather prevalent (mis)conception. For instance, in Karakas’s (2015) study, although, clearly, a small number of students displayed attachment to NS norms and traditional notions of ownership, orientations towards non-conformity for the sake of intelligibility and clarity were overwhelmingly positive. In contrast, however, written communication was found to be largely tied to NS StE norms, underpinned by correctness and accuracy, with one student even noting that “making grammar mistakes would constitute a problem in ethical terms” (Karakas 2015: 17). This is particularly interesting, for ‘ethical’ is a rather strong word that implies that ELF users are *obliged* to conform to norms, displaying a strong subjectification of the standard language ideology and native speaker ideology. These ideologies “guide most students’ orientation to their perceived language use and their resolutions regarding their desired language use” (Karakas 2015: 26). As Karakas (2015) points out, these findings resonate with those of Pilkinton-Pikhko (2010), where engineering students emphasised the significance of communication, but believed that the realisation of such communication equals not making any mistakes. This implies that

linguistic correctness is actually associated with effective use of English (Karakas 2015: 26), even though a considerable body of research points to the opposite (see section 3.2).

Similar findings have been produced by Zeiss (2010), who examined the attitudes of 250 European students concerning self-perception of being learners or users of English, grammar, pronunciation, linguistic imperialism and idiomatic language use. Interestingly, she found that students were much more tolerant of other people's non-conformity to codified grammar rules than of their own. She argues that this attachment to native speaker models of English

suggests that standard language ideology is still present in students' minds, although their openminded and tolerant perceptions of other people's utterances seem to indicate that changes are under way, and thus have optimistic implications for the growing acceptance of the concept of ELF in Europe (Zeiss 2010: 114).

Last but not least, a highly influential study, which has partly given rise to the topic of this thesis, is Jenkins' (2007) extensive empirical research into ELF attitudes and identity, including an examination of textual evidence (published articles and classroom discussions) and a questionnaire-based investigation of ELF accent attitudes. Although the study deals with pronunciation rather than grammar, it exemplifies both the extent of the NS dominance and the ambivalent and conflicting attitudes, which apply just as much to grammar.

First of all, based on the analysis of written texts, Jenkins (2007: 122-123) concludes that all authors view the English language from a broadly traditional NS-normative perspective, talk about NNS English in a pejorative way, which hints at both a subconscious dislike and fear of the spread of NNS English, and self-evidently regard NNS English inferior than NS English. The spoken data in Jenkins' study revealed that, again, both NS and NNS participants equated ELF with incorrect English. Instead, they closely and instinctively identified with a NS model and associated notions of correctness with 'nativeness', while assessing both intelligibility and acceptability from a NS standpoint (Jenkins 2007: 141). Again, Jenkins concludes that supporting ELF may threaten their identities as teachers, based on the amount of time and effort they have invested in reaching this goal. Other reasons for disdaining ELF were pressure from the government as well as from parents, lack of materials and teachers' traditional attachment to native English. Apart from the rather negative approaches towards ELF and the general ENL attachment, the study is characterised by

ambivalent, often conflicting attitudes. Interestingly, this ambivalence is directly recognised and openly addressed by one of the participants:

I've still got a little bit of linguistic schizophrenia ... I know that I don't need to speak like a British person, but because I've been taught for so many years that I should do it, when I hear, let's say, someone speaking British English like a nice RP pronunciation, I like it (Jenkins 2009: 205).

Another interviewee made a very similar comment: "Yes, that's lots of contradiction in the view. So in theory I can understand varieties of English and non-native accent, it's good, it's accepted as far as intelligibility exists. But at a personal level still I'm aiming at native-like speaking" (Jenkins 2009: 205). Another interviewee states that, although a foreign accent may be intelligible, it irritates her: "I don't really know why, but the fact that Spanish speakers have a difficult time distinguishing between /s/ and /z/ in words like 'cosy', for example, really bothers me. What's interesting is that it doesn't hinder communication, usually" (Jenkins 2007:185). Apart from intelligibility, also identity issues were directly addressed and appear to cause conflicts. Thus, a Chinese English speaker claimed:

First of all I am Chinese. I don't have to speak like American or British, it's like identity, because I want to keep my identity, yeah. [...] I feel that it's quite conflicted for me because I feel happy when they say okay you have a native accent, but erm if they cannot recognize from my pronunciation and they think that okay, you are definitely American, I don't feel comfortable because I am indeed a Chinese (Jenkins 2009: 205).

In a nutshell, attitudes found not only by Jenkins (2007) but in general are often conflicting. On the one hand, research into attitudes towards ELF generally revealed that there is rising awareness of the notion of ELF and the legitimacy of not complying to NS norms. Especially younger users of ELF appear to be very open-minded to ELF (see Peckham et al. 2008, referred to in Jenkins 2009: 205-206). Although they still tend to take on a deficit approach based on 'errors', they valued the communicative value of ELF and bilingualism in general. On the other hand, NS English still appears to assume a crucial role in defining attitudes towards the use of ELF, while NNS English is often perceived as inferior and less prestigious, which points to a deep-rooted set of beliefs based on a standard language ideology. As Jenkins suggests, "beneath the surface-level argument to justify ENL and disparage ELF, lie deeply entrenched attitudes and, at times, an emotional and even irrational attachment to British and American English" (2007: 197). The crucial question, however, is why - despite a rising awareness and acceptance of ELF – people continue to be so concerned about 'accuracy' and conformity to NS StE norms. The question of whether this ambivalence towards ELF is the result of "some kind of conflict between their identities" (Jenkins 2007:

197), and of what it is that feeds into these conflicting attitudes will be addressed in the subsequent chapters.

4.2 THE RESEARCH GAP: INSIGHTS INTO THE LACK OF A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Whilst considerable research has been conducted to find out what attitudes people have towards ELF, there is still little understanding of what factors come into play in the formation of ambivalent attitudes. In a way, addressing this research gap starts at the question of where the values of norms come from anyway. Because it is undisputable that the (de)valorisation of language use has far-reaching implications for its speakers. As Widdowson (1994: 381) states,

[y]ou can, of course, persist in your nonstandard ways if you choose, but then do not be surprised to find yourself marginalized, perpetually kept out on the periphery. What you say will be less readily attended to, assigned less importance, if it is not expressed in the grammatically approved manner. And if you express yourself in writing which is both ungrammatical and badly spelled, you are not likely to be taken very seriously.

Both linguists and non-linguists will most likely agree that what Widdowson skilfully articulates holds true. The values of adhering or not adhering to the formal rules of the codified variety also translate to the content of utterances, which reflects a strong, deep-rooted attachment to (standard) norms, whose extent tends to remain misrecognised and, more importantly, unscrutinised.

Yet, certainly, this issue is related to many other questions about society and the way our lives work. Not just language, but most human activity is organised by socially produced and reproduced systems and regulation. Human interaction is guided by social rule systems (see, for instance, Burns & Flam 1987, Burns & Hall 2012). This is, arguably, essential for structuring and organising our complex world. However, it appears that some linguistic norms, especially grammar rules, do not fulfil any communicative function (see, for instance, Widdowson 1994). Thus, it is a crucial question to ask why we are so persistent and often emotional about conforming to such norms – and often so judgemental when it comes to non-conformity, even if it usually does not harm but can even facilitate understanding.

Though clearly gaining momentum under the umbrella of ELF research, the largely formalist stance in using language is daily business. In fact, it affects all of us and stretches over a

wide range of discourses. We all experience negative attitudes and bias towards non-conformity to native-speaker norms or, in traditional terms, inaccuracy or incorrectness. There seems to be something about conforming to grammar norms which is given a high value in society. Just recently, the grammar-check extension *Grammarly* for Google Chrome has been reported to have almost 7 million daily users (producthabits online, 2018). This can be argued to reflect the almost inevitable societal concern about linguistic accuracy and the ‘real-world consequences’ of grammar and spelling errors in written online communication, which has, for instance, been exemplified by Hucks (2015, referred to in Boland & Queen 2016), who found severe impacts of typos on the fulfilment of real-world loan requests.

Remarkably, the superiority and prestige of the standard language even appears to apply to art. In an interview with the magazine *Rolling Stone*, Brandon Flowers, who is the singer and songwriter of the band *The Killers*, addresses the issue of accuracy in song lyrics. The chorus of their famous song ‘Human’ contains the phrase *Are we human, or are we dancer?*, which is obviously a grammatical deviation from the standard norm. In the interview, Flowers states, “I guess it bothers people that it’s not grammatically correct, but I think I’m allowed to do whatever I want” (*Rolling Stone* online 2008). Flowers touches upon two crucial issues. First and foremost, he makes reference to a significant attachment to grammatical ‘correctness’ among the general public, which even holds true for music, an art form where one would expect consumers, under the umbrella of artistic license, to be more liberal and tolerant. Second, Flowers addresses the issue of rights to language, one of the key concerns in the study of ELF. Yet why is it that linguistic rights are suppressed by an abstract set of perceived rules or norms? And why is it that “English is never evaluated only for its practical utility as a tool for communication but also in terms of ‘good’ or ‘bad’ – that is, as part of our system of ‘values’” (Park & Wee 2012: 26)? Cameron (1995: 12) remarks, like many other scholars, that the reason for language evaluation has not yet been covered in sufficient detail: “How is it that people can combine a *strong concern for value in language* with a *near-total lack of scepticism about the criteria normally used to measure it?*” [emphasis added]. She continues that “verbal hygiene is not just about ordering language itself, but also exploits the powerful symbolism in which language stands for other kinds of order – moral, social and political” (Cameron 1995: 25). Park and Wee (2012: 118) recognise the difficulty of answering Cameron’s (1995) question above but claim that part of the answer certainly lies in the structure of the linguistic market – they argue that “[i]n the

unified market where a shared recognition of laws of price formation is established, actors inevitably acquire a strong awareness that language practices can serve as important gatekeepers, especially in education and workplace”. The vital question to ask is what these laws of price formation are, and why they also hold true for ELF, whose sociolinguistic reality transcends traditional communal and communicative assumptions. In fact, this suggests that a certain set of laws of price formation and legitimacy is so deeply entrenched that it spreads over linguistic practices of all kinds, so that it creates a bias towards non-standard ways of using language, even though they are clearly not inferior.

Yet, what if the market is not a unified one, like in the use of ELF? A general tenor revealed by studies on ELF attitudes has been a preference for NS norms, ‘accuracy’, formally ‘correct’ norms of language use, while *translanguaging* (Swain 2006, Seidlhofer 2011) that is not necessarily congruent with standard norms tends to be overlaid by the notion of failure. However, this norm-centred habitus has remained largely unquestioned. Where does this deep-rooted focus on norms stem from, and why does it seemingly also apply to a form of communication that is clearly functionally rather than formally motivated?

This mindset, termed “linguistic schizophrenia” (Jenkins 2009: 205) by one of Jenkins’ (2007) interviewees, is not only held by non-linguists across all fields, but can also be found in scholarly texts about ELF, where it appears that “although [writers] express support for ELF; they evaluate it against the yardstick of NS English norms [...] rather than in its own right” (Jenkins 2007: 112). Thus, those attitudes, underpinned by a deep-rooted affection for standard norms, are widely held, but have, remarkably, long remained unchallenged, although “[i]t is surely strange that in the face of the obvious spread of ELF, the view still widely persists that the only English that should be given recognition for international use is the standard language as defined by its native speakers” (Seidlhofer 2011: x). In fact, it *is* strange. Likewise, it is strange that, while there are plenty of studies investigating ELF attitudes, most research fails to investigate the underlying reasons for those findings. Despite common references to the standard English ideology or linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 1992), research aiming at explaining *why* non-standard features are still stigmatised, *why* NS-like proficiency is the ultimate goal in learning and using language and *why* there is this strong deep-rooted concern about norms remains not only scarce, but largely superficial. What are the reasons for the aspirations for NS English, whereas non-conformity is often

perceived negatively, despite the rising number of NNSs and traditional notions of language and community increasingly reconsidered?

Clearly, some influential factors have been mentioned, for instance by Jenkins (2007, 2009), Galloway and Rose (2015) or Wang (2013, 2015). Among those factors are education (e.g. Jenkins 2007, Wang 2015), gatekeeping (Jenkins 2007), familiarity and stereotypes (Jenkins 2007, Galloway & Rose 2015), but also misconceptions about ELF (Jenkins 2007), and, of course, as stated most frequently, the native speaker ideology and the standard language ideology. However, there is considerably little discussion about underlying factors, about how they are interrelated and rooted within a framework of mutually dependent connections. Little has been said and few studies have actually investigated the very essence of our obsession with linguistic rules, with researchers arguing that “there is much left to explore when considering the complex interrelations between factors influencing people’s attitudes” (Zeiss 2010: 111). So what is still missing, and this is a crucial gap to close, is how such factors relate to each other. What are their intersections, how do psychological and ideological factors combine and intersect, and eventually conflict in the formation of attitudes? Given how much we know about the attitudes ELF users have, it is rather odd how little we know about *why* they have them, which is why, under consideration of the limited scope of this thesis, the following chapters will try to provide some insights into this matter.

5 ATTITUDES AND THE LINGUISTIC HABITUS

Now that the previous section has exemplified some instances of ambivalence found in previous studies, this section will start working towards a conceptual explanation of those attitudes. According to Garrett's influential contributions (2007, 2010), language attitudes are highly complex but also rather innately occurring psychological phenomena that are by nature evaluative. This section will therefore deal with the nature of language attitudes, hence with their psychological and innate predispositions. It will thereby make use of Bourdieu's understanding of the *linguistic habitus*, which relates to the dispositions that guide and shape our language use and language attitudes, also in terms of ELF. In a way, it is where our attitudes, perceptions and beliefs are rooted. As we are getting closer towards a conceptual framework, it needs to be examined what exactly this linguistic habitus is, and how it has been treated not only in linguistics, but also in psychological approaches.

5.1 WHAT IS THE LINGUISTIC HABITUS?

The linguistic habitus is a part of the habitus in general, which is defined as “a set of dispositions which incline agents to act and react in certain ways” (Thompson 1991: 12). These dispositions not only provide individuals with a sense of how to act, a ‘feel for the game’, or - in other words - a ‘practical sense’ (Thompson 1991: 13), but also determine our attitudes towards social practices. The *linguistic habitus* as a sub-set of dispositions is the “linguistic capacity to generate an infinite number of grammatically correct discourses, and the social capacity to use this competence adequately in a determinate situation” (Bourdieu 1991: 37). It is therefore the root of not only linguistic discourses, but also of our attitudes towards them. Although, clearly, the linguistic habitus has been defined from a rather traditional monolingual L1-perspective, these are essentially the criteria we measure ELF against. For, in fact, it can most likely be assumed that language users do not have a separate L1-habitus as opposed to an ELF-habitus. Instead, ELF attitudes are inevitably formed by one single habitus that is, since the habitus is inculcated particularly by early childhood experiences, in most (yet clearly less and less) cases primarily monolingual at first.

Since the dispositions of the *linguistic habitus* are acquired while learning to speak in specific contexts such as the family or the peer group, they not only mirror traces of the speaker's L1 if seen from a global perspective, but also of the social conditions of their inculcation. Hence, the “socially structured character of the habitus” (Thompson 1991: 17)

also suggests that different classes and groups have different accents, which are as a part of the *bodily hexis* inscribed in the body (Thompson 1991: 17). Therefore, this means by implication that the linguistic habitus inevitably reflects and reproduces social stratification. Clearly, this has led to the inculcation of associations between language use and class membership, and thereby to social stereotypes over time, which have been mentioned as one of the factors leading to negative orientations towards non-conformity (Jenkins 2007).

Bourdieu (1991) argues that the dispositions of the linguistic habitus endure and operate unconsciously throughout the life history of an individual. That attitudes are unconscious is a widely accepted fact. As Oppenheim's (1982: 39, quoted in Garrett 2010: 19) definition suggests, they tend to shine through via other mental representations, which increases the complexity of investigating them. He regards an attitude as

[a] construct, an abstraction which cannot be directly apprehended. It is an inner component of mental life which expresses itself, directly or indirectly, through much more obvious processes as stereotypes, beliefs, verbal statements or reactions, ideas and opinions, selective recall, anger or satisfaction or some other emotion and in various other aspects of behaviour.

Clearly, their unconscious nature also implies that attitudes remain rather unquestioned by their agents, which may provide an explanation for the commonly found ambivalence between the *recognition* and *acceptance* of non-conformity.

Not only the fact that they endure throughout the life history of individuals makes it hard for the linguistic habitus to accept ELF variation. Also, the fact that the dispositions generate multiple practices and perceptions in other fields than those in which they were acquired (Thompson 1991) aggravates the differentiation between the standardised L1 and ELF as a hybrid linguistic resource. Therefore, if the value of the standard variety is inculcated in the habitus, for instance through education, which Bourdieu argues to be a crucial factor, this also has a significant impact on how we perceive non-conformity in the use of ELF. However, importantly, these practices and perceptions are also subject to specific social contexts or settings, which Bourdieu calls 'fields' or 'markets'. Hence, certain practices or perceptions are the products of the relation between the habitus and the fields, and consequently, as concerns language issues, a *linguistic* expression is a form of practice that is the product of the relation between a *linguistic* habitus and a *linguistic* market (Thompson 1991: 13-14). What follows by implication is that the anticipation of values of linguistic products, also in the form of attitudes as a research subject, depends on the perceived market

conditions. Clearly, a crucial question to ask now is not only what these conditions are in the use of ELF, but more importantly, what those agents *think* they are. So in a Bourdieuan sense, our linguistic habitus follows economic principles of anticipating the values of linguistic utterances, which will be dealt with more in-depth in chapter 7.

Even more importantly, however, Bourdieu's notion of the linguistic habitus explains why the value of the standard variety is such a significant, deeply entrenched part of our linguistic awareness. Its prestige remains unquestioned for it is rooted in our linguistic habitus, which has been inculcated by early childhood experiences and education and is therefore hard to re-structure. It elucidates why people often recognise that conforming to norms is not necessary, but still feel very attached to those norms. What also needs to be pointed out is that the linguistic habitus reflects group membership and is a significant part of our identity, which implies that the inextricable link between attitudes and identities must be taken account of whenever attitudes are being studied.

5.2 LANGUAGE ATTITUDES: NATURAL? IDEOLOGICAL? USEFUL?

As nobody would doubt, we cannot but evaluate social phenomena, including language use. A crucial question to ask at the very beginning of investigating ELF attitudes is: To what extent are language attitudes 'natural', or even useful? And what role does ideology really play?

First of all, in the formation of language attitudes, judgments are argued to be shaped by categorisation and stereotyping (see Lambert 1967, Ryan 1983, referred to in Dragojevic & Giles 2016). Hence, the linguistic forms, varieties and styles can set off certain beliefs about a speaker and their group membership and can thus lead to assumptions about the attributes of that speaker (Garrett et al. 2003: 3). As argued by Dragojevic and Giles (2016: 398), the attributes which make up attitudes, deriving from stereotyping and categorisation, are likely to be based on the two dimensions status (e.g. intelligent, competent) and solidarity (e.g. friendly, sociable). This categorisation is believed to serve a number of functions (Tafjel 1981, referred to in Garrett et al. 2003: 3): Whether attitudes are favourable or prejudiced, they help to make the complex social world more orderly, predictable and manageable. At an intergroup level, they create and maintain group ideologies that explain and defend group relations. Moreover, they serve to create, preserve and enhance favourable differentiations

between the ingroup and any possible outgroups. In other words, attitudes are strongly linked to identity-related functions.

Yet, if the language evaluation of language variation is a natural phenomenon, the question remains according to what criteria this evaluation takes place, and by what these criteria have been established. Needless to say, a key criterion is the notion of standard. Some varieties or dialects are valued as high in vitality within a culture, others, obviously especially nonstandard varieties are often stigmatised (Galloway & Rose 2015: 175), which has led to a large body of research concerned with attitudes towards standard and nonstandard varieties, particularly in terms of accents (e.g. Moyer 2013, Haidinger 2007). Each variety carries social meaning and brings different attitudinal reactions, prejudice and even social disadvantage or advantage (Garrett 2010: 1). Standard varieties tend to be associated with higher status and prestige, and consequently, they tend to carry higher social value. Cheshire (1998, referred to in Garrett 2010: 8), for instance, observes how the use of the double negative in Standard English ('You don't know nothing') triggers highly negative attitudes and is associated with low status groups in society. Notably, it seems that this may just be the root of negative responses towards ELF. As a global contact language, it is by nature fluid and highly heterogeneous, and thereby likely to be 'nonstandard'.

Clearly, the standard/nonstandard-divide is largely assumed to be ideologically motivated (see chapter 6). Interestingly enough, as a result of *learning* and acquiring such attitudes by means of "human socialization" (Garrett 2010: 22) and experience, children gradually develop a clear status preference for prestigious standard varieties rather than nonstandard varieties, while at a very young age, they prefer their own variety (Dragojevic 2017). Bourdieu explains this by ideological work promoting and imposing one variety as the only legitimate one. However, this has been naturalised, so that its ideological nature is barely visible. Often unaware of the ideological positions involved in the standard language (see, for instance, Milroy 2007), language users take the existence of a (superior) variety for granted. The disapproval of non-conformity to norms has arisen out of the eighteenth-century hope that a fixed set of language norms could be established in order to preserve good usage (Garrett 2010: 9). While such attempts have been referred to as "an illusion based on misunderstandings about the nature of language, values and human nature" (Algeo 1998: 178, quoted in Garrett 2010: 9), they have left a strong mark on present attitudes. Yet, given the global spread of English and the liquefaction and transcendence of traditional

linguacultural boundaries, it seems even more peculiar that the standard language ideology has also remained in non-native speaking countries (see also Seidlhofer 2011).

To conclude, it appears that the evaluation of language is a natural and inevitable part of using it. However, as Bourdieu emphasised already many years ago, before research into attitudes even started thriving, this process is in one way or another inseparably linked with and influenced by the standard language ideolog, meaning that, while the formation of attitudes is natural, the criteria guiding language use are not. Hence, although it has sometimes been argued, for instance by Joseph and Tajfel², that diversity inevitably results in quality judgements and hierarchy-producing standards, this ideology is simply a naturalised phenomenon, and as Coupland and Kristiansen argue, these salient markers of social identity should not be accepted as a matter of fact but are, instead, “liable to change” (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 18). In the face of recent societal developments, notions such as *nativeness* and *standard* are likely to slowly lose ground, at least in academics.

Needless to say, apart from ideological forces, there are many other factors that are believed to feed into the linguistic habitus, such as pedagogical beliefs, experience or stereotypes (Galloway & Rose 2015: 178). Nonetheless, what appears to be the psychological root of all attitudes, which has made our habitus susceptible for ideologies, is identity. For language attitudes can be argued to be the means by which group membership is evaluated and established. Again, this emphasises the relevance of identity for studying language attitudes.

² Henri Tajfel (e.g. 1974) modelled “intergroup processes”, showing how difference naturally leads to the marking of social identity (see Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977, quoted in Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 18).

6 THE STANDARD LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY AND THE LEGITIMACY OF ELF

By now, there is general agreement on the effects of the standard language ideology on language attitudes. By establishing language as an abstract entity, language standardisation is *the* origin of language evaluation and legitimisation. Thereby, all our perceptions of language and community are now, in one way or another, underpinned by this naturalised ideology. It is the common thread of all our linguistic beliefs. Therefore, this chapter will examine not only its consequences, but also approach it from a historical perspective, which is hoped to establish a deep understanding of its roots.

6.1 ELF AND THE STANDARD ENGLISH IDEOLOGY

What is standard English?

Conceptualisations of ELF have been much concerned with discussions on Standard English and the ideological forces involved in its formation, imposition and discussion. Yet, discussions of ‘standard’, as detailed and far-reaching as they are, leave many blind spots and much room for discussion. As Trudgill (1999: 117) asserts, “there seems to be considerable confusion in the English-speaking world, even amongst linguists, about what *Standard English* is”.

First of all, as mentioned before, native speakers are perceived as the only legitimate speakers of ‘proper’ or ‘real’ English. Yet by doing so, “the notions of nativeness and standard are conflated to such an extent that they become mutually dependent, indistinguishable, even identical – whereas of course they are, in principle, independent” (Seidlhofer 2011: 52). Because, clearly, also native speakers tend to speak some sort of dialect rather than the standard variety, while the authority to maintain the standard language is merely “claimed by a minority of people who have the power to impose it” (Widdowson 1994: 379). Nonetheless, the belief that NSs are by nature (the only) competent speakers of the standard variety remains a common misconception.

What essentially characterises the standard variety is, of course, that it has undergone some process of standardisation or codification, in other words that “it has been subjected to a process through which it has been selected, codified and stabilized, in a way that other

varieties have not” (Trudgill and Hannah 2008: 1). As Widdowson (1994: 380) suggests, it is usually defined in reference to its grammar and lexis, and as a “superposed dialect which is socially sanctioned for institutional use and therefore particularly well suited to written communication”. Hence, the codified norms and features of the standard variety are spread, reinforced and awarded prestige by educational system and authority (Garrett 2010: 7), with the result that they tend to be “widely considered to be ‘correct’ and constituting ‘good usage’ (Trudgill & Hannah 2008: 2). Consequently, unlike other dialects, it is generally argued that StE is a “social dialect” (Trudgill 1999: 124) rather than a “geographical dialect”, enjoying associations with social prestige, education and a higher position in society, meaning “that it is accorded a degree of respect within society as a whole” (Watts and Bex 1999: 7). Yet, even more importantly, the standard variety is equated with maintaining certain standards of correctness, such as grammatical form; consequently, this stigma attached results in discrimination based on incorrect forms, and essentially “it is this interrelationship between linguistic form and social discrimination that enables us to refer to the conceptualisation of ‘Standard English’ as ideological in its nature” (Watts & Bex 1999: 13).

Standardisation is an illusion

Standard English, then, is “conceived of as unmarked, stable, and uniform” (Johnston & Lange 2006: 192, quoted in Seidlhofer 2018: 86). Yet the stability of languages is more an illusion than factual reality. For Milroy and Milroy (2012: 19), the standard language is “an idea in the mind rather than a reality – a set of abstract norms to which actual usage may conform to a greater or lesser extent”; in Bex’ (1993: 257) words, it is “a powerful social myth rather than a linguistically delimited variety”. For, in general, the homogenisation of a single language faces various problems in that it contradicts the instinctiveness of languages to undergo changes and variation. As Widdowson (1994: 384) remarks,

[t]he very idea of a standard implies stability, and this can only be fixed in reference to the past. But language is of its nature unstable. It is essentially protean in nature, adapting its shape to suit changing circumstances. It would otherwise lose its vitality and its communicative and communal value. This is generally acknowledged in the case of specialist domains of use but is not acknowledged in the case of everyday social uses of the language.

Consequently, if all users of a language had to conform to the standard language, whose non-conformity may be sanctioned by the authorities in some way, this would essentially deprive them of linguistic freedom to adapt to their communicative and communal needs.

This holds particularly true for ELF. For, obviously, standardisation, promoting notions of correctness, uniformity and invariance, inevitably contradicts and is incompatible with the fluid and hybrid nature of ELF. Given that the core principle of ELF is that its users exploit their linguistic repertoires as it fits their needs and purposes, this automatically challenges the superiority of the standard variety and stresses its ideological nature, for language ideologies always “provide possible frameworks for linguistic practices, devaluing alternate forms, and reaffirming others” (Huang 2018: 26). Owing to the strong focus on correctness, especially in terms of grammatical forms, nonstandard varieties are often considered “an undesirable deviation from a uniquely correct form”, a view which is “widely and tenaciously held by people of all ages, intellectual levels, political persuasions and social statuses” (Milroy 1999: 175). So as a result of standardisation promoting correctness, competence and linguistic integrity (Milroy 2001, referred to in Seidlhofer 2018), our linguistic habitus appears to generally reject and orientate negatively towards ELF variation, which has been subject to a large body of critique in the ELF domain.

The standard *English* ideology

Although the standard language ideology has long been subject to sociolinguistic research (e.g. Cameron 1995, Milroy 2001), it has usually been discussed with reference to a particular speech community. However, due to the role of English as a globally diffuse lingua franca transcending traditional speech communities, the Standard *English* Ideology is a very special case (Seidlhofer 2011: 42). Because it means that “[t]he belief that imposed language uniformity is good for society and the standard variety is the only legitimate one” (Seidlhofer 2011: 42) is extended globally, implying that one standard language should be valid globally rather than just within a particular country. Remarkably, Seidlhofer notes that this standard language ideology “tends to have been so internalized [...] that it tends to operate at the subconscious level” (2011: 43). Hence, the beliefs and attitudes resulting from this deep-rooted ideology are often spread through education, while the parties involved are usually not aware of it, and naturalised. Therefore, as suggested by Milroy (2004), Seidlhofer (2011: 43) argues that the only possible way to reveal the roots of this ideology is a historical procedure:

Any attempt to uncover the Standard English ideology so widely held not only by linguistic laypersons but also by linguists and language professionals will therefore have to proceed historically to some degree. The objective here would be to explain how certain ideas about language arose out of particular socio-

political and socio-economic conditions and to ask whether and to what extent changes in these conditions brought about adaptive change to the ideas.

Following this, Bourdieu's argument, based on socio-political grounds, and his theory of the formation of the legitimate language and the economics of language as an integral part of our perception of language shall provide insights into such 'conditions' which led to the naturalisation of the standard language ideology. A crucial condition was, as Bourdieu explained, the formation of nation-states, for it created the need for official, uniform languages (see following section). As concerns the 'changes in these conditions', chapter 8 will bring forward some suggestions regarding what they are and what implications they have for linguistic practices and perceptions.

To summarise, the notions of correctness and uniformity tied up with the standard language as the most prestigious variety remain largely unquestioned. Instead, this ideology appears to be perceived as natural and self-evident. However, it contradicts the actual linguistic reality. In fact, because of the fluctuating and hybrid nature of language, the standard language becomes an ideology in the first place. Even more so, if this standard variety is perceived to be valid on a global scale. This ideology generally discriminates ELF users: by nature, those users of ELF whose L1 is not English are likely to exploit the virtual language differently from native speakers, who are potentially (yet not necessarily) more likely to master all grammatical forms codified by grammar books and designated as 'standard'. Despite the general awareness of language variation and change, the perception that the standard variety is more prestigious than other varieties remains strong and is likely to largely contribute to negative attitudes towards non-conformity.

However, it needs to be mentioned at this point that, although the standard language ideology is still predominant, current research projects remind us that "standard languages were the product of the age of modernism, the age of structures and systems and norms, and that our current age demands an alternative conceptualization of how English works" (Linn 2016: 115). Speech communities and language use are changing and adapting to a globalising world. Essentially, as Widdowson (1994: 382) argues, standard English is no longer encapsulated by a community living in certain places, but "serves a whole range of different communities and their institutional purposes and these transcend traditional communal and cultural boundaries". These international activities then "create their own cultures, their own standards" (Widdowson 1994: 382). With linguistic practices, borders and linguistic

repertoires increasingly recognised as fluid and hybrid, it is not unlikely that the future holds changes in the perception of nonstandard and standard, which may positively impact orientations towards deviations from NS Standard English.

6.2 THE FORMATION OF STANDARD VARIETIES

Even though the ideological nature of language standards contradicts the natural instability of and fluidity of using language, its associations with correctness and prestige are deeply entrenched in our linguistic habitus. In an investigation of our linguistic dispositions, the historical dimension of such standards cannot be left unattended, “since, typically, they are historically deep-rooted and thoroughly naturalized – hence their resistance to analysis or argument” (Milroy 2004: 166).

The most worthwhile starting point for examining the standard language ideology is the nation-state, for “[t]he official language is bound up with the state, both in its genesis and in its social uses” (Bourdieu 1991: 45). Because, clearly, unified markets, i.e. nation-states, create the need for an official and a standard language which normalises the products of the linguistic habitus through the abstraction of language to an entity. Thereby, a certain set of norms is constructed, legitimised and imposed in order to represent reference point for ‘legitimate’ and ‘correct’ language use within that market (Park & Wee 2012: 75). Consequently, up to the present day, language has commonly and self-evidently been perceived as an entity that is valid within national boundaries:

[t]o speak of *the* language, without further specification, as linguistics do, is tacitly to accept the *official* definition of the *official* language of a political unit. This language is the one which, within the territorial limits of that unit, imposes itself on the whole population as the only legitimate language” (Bourdieu 1991: 45, original emphasis).

Hence, not only is the link between the official language and a nation-state taken for granted in the majority of discourses about language, but also that it *imposes itself* all over the territorial boundaries of such a state, which leads to the devalorisation of other varieties within that unit. In France, for instance, the central provinces gradually adopted the dialect of the Ile de France, which was developed in cultivated circles in Paris, and which was then also used in a written form and developed as an official language. Simultaneously, the local dialects were defined pejoratively and clearly inferior to the official language. In some regions of southern France, however, this official language and dialect did not take hold until the sixteenth century. This resulted in a situation of bilingualism, where the members of the

peasantry and lower classes did not have any access to the official language, while the aristocracy, bourgeoisie and petite bourgeoisie did. This meant that the upper classes benefited from the linguistic unification which accompanied the French Revolution, since they were the ones who already possessed their linguistic competence, already included the official language of the emerging nation-state. What followed was the normalisation, inculcation and legitimation of the official language. This was a gradual process, a combined effect of political policy, the development of the educational system, and the formation of a unified labour market. Hence, under the impact of a variety of processes and institutions, people speaking local dialects were caused “to collaborate in the destruction of their instruments of expression” (Bourdieu 1991: 49) (Thompson 1991: 5-7).

Notably, it appears that in other nation-states, including the UK, the institutional contribution to the formation and imposition of official languages was less strong and less rigorous (see, for instance, Beal 2004) than in France. Yet, although Bourdieu’s argument mainly applies to French, it can be extended to a much broader context, particularly in Europe. Nowadays, it is widely taken for granted that nations have their own official languages – usually with reference to their standard varieties, while disregarding varieties, registers, idiolects and the further, underpinned by a failed recognition of the ideological nature of these constructs. Clearly, this has significant impacts on our perceptions of community and communication. Notably, even now that we have undergone considerable changes, with borders being more and more liquefied, the perception of any form of communication still tends to be based on the perception of language as an entity operating within the boundaries of the corresponding culture. Identities, as tightly connected to language and culture, are shaped by this perception and influence our attitudes towards ELF, although it is a fundamentally different form of communication and identification. Thus, although English as a global language with global ownership (Galloway & Heath 2015: x), transgressing cultural and territorial boundaries, differs considerably from common varieties, its use is still shaped by the deep-rooted ideological belief that a nation and a language are necessarily bound up. ELF, however, is not bound up with and cannot be defined by any particular national or cultural membership, which contradicts lingua-cultural tradition, naturalised in the minds of its users. This lack of connectivity and ‘ownership’ is likely to leave people with insecurity and confusion, which may partly explain some resistance towards ELF. However, and more importantly for the aim of this thesis, the belief that there is a language-nation-convergence remains a persistent expectation that still puts the standard language in the foreground (Park & Wee 2012: 75).

Thereby, it has left a strong mark on our perceptions of the native speaker and native speaker norms.

Whether the perceptions of nation-language-boundaries are changing at current times, and whether and to what extent the nation-state with its constructed borders will change in the future remains to be seen. It needs to be pointed out, however, that not only are ‘languages’ and ‘nation-states’ increasingly recognised as constructs, but also their impact on identity has recently been liquefied. While in the past, local communities, including nation-states, used to be of great importance in defining who we are, particularly in relation to language, not only ELF but languages in general are now not tied to any national or cultural base anymore as they used to be in the past (Jenkins 2003, referred to in Sung 2014: 44-45). Fuelled by border-crossing and increased mobility, the processes involved in globalisation influence the way we think about nationalities, and thereby national identity and culture. Given current changes, it is likely that the perceptions and sources of identification will gradually change, leading to a higher acceptance of ELF.

To sum up, the formation of nation-states, involving all kinds of ideological processes, has forced languages into abstract entities, each with *legitimate*, standard varieties, which, most importantly, lay the foundation for the valorisation of certain language uses. However, it has also inculcated boundaries between nation-states and (standard) languages in our linguistic habitus, which, on an abstract level, legitimises the *ownership* of languages, which makes NS standard norms the sole legitimate reference points. ELF, however, questions this boundary, with no user legitimately claiming ownership. It is conceivable that language users, given their deep-rooted assumptions of the nation-language-correlation, struggle to approve of non-conformity as a result of a lack of ownership.

6.3 LANGUAGE AND THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY

What makes Bourdieu’s work interesting is that, unlike previous work on standardisation, he links it explicitly to the structure of society. Although it is widely acknowledged among scholars that the standard ideology enjoys associations with education and generally the upper sectors of society, Bourdieu places much more emphasis on its role as in mutual engagement with social distinction. In a Bourdieuan sense, issues of *legitimacy* cannot be treated in isolation from the structure of society as divided by a class system. While the formation of nation-states has laid the foundation for official, standardised languages,

Bourdieu links the distinction between ‘legitimate practices’, including the ‘legitimacy’ of certain linguistic utterances, and ‘illegitimate’ practices to the social distinction. Clearly, one may ask: Is the structure of society relevant for, or even, applicable to ELF? In a way, of course, it is not. However, in order to understand how the linguistic habitus as influenced by our linguacultural background also shapes our attitudes towards ELF, it seems inevitable to touch upon the issue of distinction.

Partly influenced by Norbert Elias (2000 [1939]), Bourdieu (1984 [1979]) suggests that in society the upper classes, those with high capital, have the power to endure *distinction* in terms of what *taste* certain members of society have. Social *distinction* is achieved through practice on numerous dimensions, so “there is no area of practice in which the intention of purifying, refining and sublimating facile impulses and primary needs cannot assert itself” (Bourdieu 1984: 175). Language as social practice constitutes an essential factor to ensure and reproduce distinction. The existence of language standards always brings about certain value-structures. The prestige that is associated with a certain language use contributes to a guidance towards distinctive taste choices and the reproduction of class structures, which impacts our attitudes and perceptions of linguistic choices.

Elias (2000 [1939]) has provided a major sociological contribution on *civilisation*, which he identified as a “progressive cultural process, through the middle ages into modernity in Europe, whereby social groups socialised themselves into restrained and supposedly refined behaviour of various sorts” (Coupland & Kristiansen 2011: 15). Thereupon, Elias’s *civilising process* constitutes “a theory of the beginnings of polite or ‘proper’ society [...] in Europe” (Coupland & Kristiansen 2011:15). Along with civilisation, he documented how *shame* as a growing ideology has led to the acceptance of certain codes of manner. According to the *civilising process*, animalistic or non-civilised behaviours warrant shame. Society, especially the lower class, was controlled by the shame principle, and the civilised manner of behaving was inculcated from the top and downwards in social structure, so that society slowly started working in a civilised manner. Elias argued that language use was a symbolic dimension of civilisation. Thus, even though there is no obvious practical or political payoff in domains such as speech, for ‘the good society’ speech was a “salient indexical domain [...] to demonstrate or actively style their level of social refinement” (Coupland & Kristiansen 2011: 15). The use of language, most certainly the standard language, can therefore be argued to mirror one’s position in society, in other words one’s civilisation. This implies that a

nonstandard language use reflects a rather low position and warrants shame. Interestingly enough, despite its lack of transferability on contemporary, global societies, this theory essentially hints at a link between shame and certain kinds of language use. It is conceivable that shame as a self-conscious emotion still plays a role in guiding language use and attitudes towards it. Thus, the use of nonstandard features may, most likely due to its association with incompetence, warrant shame and thereby also extend to the use of ELF.

In his highly influential work *Distinction* (originally published in French in 1979, with an English translation available from 2010), Bourdieu supports some of Elias's ideas. In particular, as Elias, he regarded shame as a driving factor in shaping society and language. He conducted a large empirical study on how three social classes in French society were determined by particular 'taste' choices in various dimensions such as food, fine art, music, etc. as well as language use (Coupland & Kristiansen 2011: 15). According to Bourdieu, the *petite bourgeoisie* and the ones below them in the class hierarchy felt ashamed of their choices in taste and therefore sought to follow elite practices and commodities to endure distinction. Distinction as "any enhancement of one's symbolic position within a field" (Kramsch 2008: 41), meaning an increased status or prestige within a particular social space in society, is also influenced by the use of language. In *Language and Symbolic Power* (1991), Bourdieu deals with distinction based on linguistic aspects. He demonstrates how particular ways of speaking carry symbolic cultural prestige, value, and *capital*. Linguistic capital can be converted into economic capital and, for instance, access to privileged social positions. Distinction, then, can be achieved and endured by adopting a language use that is associated with the educational segments of society and thus displays membership to the upper class. If you already possess that power, distinction may also be achieved by displaying solidarity and adopting the speech of a working class interlocutor (Kramsch 2008: 41), for instance, which strongly reminds of the status/solidarity-categorisation as suggested by Dragojevic (2017, see chapter 5).

To sum up, according to Bourdieu and Elias, much of what structures society can be linked to shame and a striving for distinction, in which the use of the *legitimate* language is of major significance. According to Bourdieu's argument, the members of those classes that were familiar with the 'legitimate' culture enjoyed advantages over the working and popular classes that did not have that same cultural capital. While Elias regarded the civilising process as a process of democratisation for it was thought to narrow the power ratios between

the social classes, Bourdieu strongly believed “that distinction is a matter of insidious and oppressive class politics” (Coupland & Kristiansen 2011: 17). As recognised by Coupland and Kristiansen (2011: 17), a parallel conflict can be found in sociolinguistic research on standardisation: “Is linguistic standardisation democratising and in some fundamental sense pro-social, or is it a crude manifestation of social class hegemony?” Similar dilemmas are faced by ELF scholars, for instance in the debate of the spread of Global English in general, which on the one hand enables increased mobility and interconnectivity but, on the other hand, is often regarded as a hegemonic tool for marginalisation. Likewise, the use of NS standard norms will endow an interlocutor with linguistic capital but can be argued to be the result of and reproduce hegemonic processes involved in education and standardisation processes. In fact, questions like these, particularly in a world of increased opportunities, are always characterised by dilemmas and conflicts. It is not unlikely that these conflicts cause insecurities, revealed by ambivalent attitudes towards ELF.

To conclude, Elias and Bourdieu are said to have “pioneered ideological accounts of normative social processes” (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 17). Although their work is very stimulating in describing the differences in the prestige of social forms and styles and the evolution and reproduction of social norms, Coupland and Kristiansen (2011: 17) also state that

[o]f course, to what extent contemporary European societies continue to operate according to these principles remains to be seen. Very different tendencies are in evidence in contemporary societies, but they may be tendencies that can, to some extent, be explained using the broad frameworks we have just reviewed.

Clearly, our contemporary society is undergoing significant changes, with class structures within communities of practice being increasingly liquified, which challenges the applicability of these theories, especially in a global use of ELF. Further research would be necessary to draw any conclusions on this matter. Nonetheless, I believe that the core principles of shame and distinction still apply. Language use as an expression of one’s position in society is guided by underlying psychological factors of shame, and - as class is nothing more than a certain kind of group membership - identity. Yet, clearly, ideological work has been the main means of guiding the sources for group membership. Naturalised linguistic distinction has led to associations of certain linguistic choices with a particular position in society, which has resulted in both linguistic change and linguistic bias. Therefore, associations with high class and *legitimate* practices are likely to lead

interviewees to express an affinity for the NS Standard variety – for, as mentioned before, the linguistic habitus can be argued to be economically motivated and recognise the high value of legitimate language use. In a nutshell, shame and the *recognition* of distinction by means of language can be regarded underlying psychological factors having impacted language and our attitudes towards them in the first place.

6.4 THE LEGITIMACY OF STANDARD VARIETIES

The standard language is widely recognised as *legitimate* – a very much Bourdieuan term indeed. Yet, as mentioned before, the question of what *legitimacy* really is, and even more, what it means in contemporary societies and global communities of practice using ELF, is a rather complex one. So far, it has been argued that, according to Bourdieu, society is generally characterised by social stratification, based, among others, on *taste*. Tastes can be grouped together through a set of unifying principles which both express and organise the interests of the various social classes, between which there is competitive struggle for economic position and status (Bennett 2010: xx-xxi). The members of these classes differentiate between *legitimate tastes* and less *legitimate tastes*, usually determined by the upper classes and accepted by other classes, which yield different stocks of cultural capital, also in terms of language:

In language, it gives the opposition between popular outspokenness and the highly censored language of the bourgeois; between the expressionist pursuit of the picturesque or the rhetorical effect and the choice of restraint and false simplicity (litotes). The same economy of means is found in body language: here too, agitation and haste, grimaces and gesticulation are opposed to slowness... to the restraint and impassivity which signify elevation (Bourdieu 2010: 172).

Hence, the language commonly used by or rather associated with the dominant class is referred to as the *legitimate* language, which is usually the standard variety, whose existence is commonly perceived as natural. However, this legitimate language as a normative reference point for language use cannot be separated from the social conditions of its production, its imposition and inculcation, which essentially highlights its ideological nature and has led to a growing body of “ideology-sensitive” (Coupland & Kristiansen 2011: 18) literature on the standard language:

[O]ne cannot fully account for the properties and social effects of the legitimate language unless one takes account, not only of the social conditions of the production of literary language and its grammar, but also of the social conditions in which this scholarly code is imposed and inculcated as the principle of the production and evaluation of speech (Bourdieu 1991: 61).

In France, these conditions are tied to the Revolution, after which the status of the *langue lègitime* has been reinforced and universally taught all over the country, with teachers dismissing all regional languages, and all linguistic practices measured against this legitimate language, while the unique position of this legitimate language was unassailable (Jones 1999: 42). Within the unified linguistic market, it ensures and contributes to the reproduction of distinction, leading to a class system and unequal power relations within society. The norms and the perceived superiority of these standard norms are inculcated in the speakers' minds, to be precise, in their linguistic habitus. It makes speakers "instinctively recognise the norm of the official language, which may or may not be her [sic] own, and to evaluate and tailor her [sic] speech accordingly" (Eick 1999: 91). As argued many times before, this norm is often inherently considered more prestigious and valuable:

The recognition of the legitimacy of the official language has nothing in common with an explicitly professed, deliberate and revocable belief, or with an intentional act of accepting a 'norm'. It is inscribed, in a practical state, in dispositions which are impalpably inculcated, through a long and slow process of acquisition, by the sanctions of the linguistic market, and which are therefore adjusted, without any cynical calculation or consciously experienced constraint, to the chances of material and symbolic profit which the laws of price formation characteristic of a given market objectively offer to the holders of a given linguistic capital (Bourdieu 1991: 51).

Thus, the acceptance of one set of norms is the result of a process of being either sanctioned or rewarded for one's use of language, which can alter one's position in society. While the upper classes promote and determine what constitutes the legitimate tastes, the lower classes tend to accept this notion of legitimacy. Consequently, "[a]ll linguistic practices are measured against the legitimate practices, i.e. the practices of those who are dominant", so that the objective value assigned to a linguistic production "is defined within the system of practically competing variants" (Bourdieu 1991: 53). In fact, we have probably internalised the practice of measuring language against the standard variety to such an extent that we do not even realise that, whenever we speak or listen, we value or devalue these practices against these linguistic oppositions.

Yet, although we tend to measure competence against the norms of the standard language, the *legitimate* language use changes according to the social conditions of an utterance, which is evident from the following definition of the *legitimate language*:

Uttered by a legitimate speaker, i.e. by the appropriate person, as opposed to the impostor (religious language/ priest, poetry/poet, etc.); it is uttered in a legitimate situation, i.e. on the appropriate market (as opposed to insane discourse, e.g. a

surrealist poem read in the Stock Exchange) and addressed to legitimate receivers; it is formulated in the legitimate phonological and syntactic forms (what linguists call grammaticalness), except when transgressing these norms is part of the legitimate definition of the legitimate producer” (Bourdieu 1977: 650, quoted in Bonacina-Pugh 2017: 1).

Following this definition, a variety is legitimate when the situation and the social conditions of the utterance match the norms of the language used, reminding of Austin’s felicity conditions (although Bourdieu claimed that Austin’s contribution lacks the *social* aspect of those conditions (Thompson 1991: 9)). In fact, these conditions are the very essence of *translanguaging*. Just like in the use of ELF, there are situations in which conformity to NS Standard norms is appropriate, in other words *legitimate*, while in others it is not. As Bourdieu argues, “[l]egitimate discourses possess, whereas illegitimate discourses lack, normative authority in relation to a field-divided reality [...] Hence, discursive legitimacy is always a matter of field-specific determinacy” (Susen 2013: 207). It is, therefore, never absolute, but always dependent on the situational conditions of its context of use. Clearly, markets are diverse, and as soon as the degree of formality diminishes, the law of price formation, i.e. the linguistic norm, tends to become less unfavourable to the products of the dominated linguistic habitus (Bourdieu 1991: 71). This means that the less formal a situation is, the higher it is in relation to the value of the dominated linguistic habitus. Thus, there are markets, for instance among friends, where the law of price formation is favourable to the dominated, or where the rules of price formation that apply to formal situations are simply suspended. Bourdieu highlights this with an example of a good pub landlord, whose resources for exciting and sustaining the exchanges which his clients appreciate are the expressive conventions suitable for this market, such as jokes or funny stories, and the knowledge of the rules of the game and the peculiarities of the players (e.g. names, nicknames, etc.) (Bourdieu 1991: 99), rather than rigorous conformity to standard norms. In essence, this corresponds to Labov’s (1966) notions of *overt* and *covert* prestige. The standard variety as the widely accepted prestigious variety associated with the dominant social groups has overt prestige, while covert prestige refers to more individual situations and group memberships. Users of ELF may be drawn between StE as the variety with overt prestige, and ELF variation as covert prestige in a given situation.

When it comes to attitudes, this points to the fact that the market in which English is used or prototypically thought to be used determines the attitude an agent has towards its norms. Consequently, it can be assumed that the attitude a user of ELF has towards it derives from

and depends on the linguistic field in which English is applied by that user, hence on previous experience, as also mentioned by Jenkins (2007). If someone associates the use of English, say, to increased career opportunities in a high position in a large tax firm, which is usually a formal situation, this user might value the use of the legitimate situations more than somebody who associates it to a field such as travelling which is less formal and the law of price formation is less unfavourable to the linguistic practice in that field. This issue will be discussed in detail at a later point in this thesis.

To conclude, it appears that the relativity of legitimacy, in other words, the co-existence of overt and covert prestige is deeply rooted in the minds of language users. Although the notion of overt prestige remains tied to StE, mostly British or American English, the notion of covert prestige has become not only increasingly important in relation to overt prestige, but also more complex, individual and diverse. The value we attach to a linguistic utterance depends very much on the market conditions of its usage. Therefore, chapter 7 will deal more in-depth with the economics of language, which explains the valorisation and devalorisation of language mostly in terms of overt prestige, while chapter 8 will illuminate how lingua-cultural shifts liquefy the conditions of price formation and place increasing emphasis on covert prestige.

6.5 THE ROLE OF EDUCATION

The StE ideology cannot be dissociated from education as its mediator. Again, education as influential factor needs to be viewed from two different angles. One is the linguistic habitus which is most likely shaped by primary education and first language acquisition. Because, ever since standard varieties were codified, education has played a major part in spreading and reproducing those norms, and in entrenching beliefs of distinction and legitimate language use. The other one, whose influence has been widely acknowledged and discussed, is the field of ELT/EFL, which, as touched upon in chapter 3, puts the NS in the foreground. So while it is obvious that education, which both uses language as the medium of transferring and acquiring knowledge and is by itself a key topic, has a significant impact on language attitudes, a closer look must be taken on ELF, since “[m]ost ELF users are erstwhile EFL learners and their construct of English typically has its origins in the classroom” (Widdowson 2012: 22).

Not surprisingly, as proposed by Jenkins (2006b), it seems that many negative orientations towards non-conformity stem from the inability to distinguish between Second Language Acquisition (SLA) tied up with the notion of English as a foreign language (EFL), and English as a lingua franca (ELF). And as section 3.2 has shown, the differences between them are significant.

As a matter of fact, although ELT is supposed to prepare students (also) for an ELF reality, and despite considerable research, “the ‘E’ itself in ELT/TEFL/TESOL have remained curiously unaffected by these momentous developments” (Seidlhofer 2011: 14). ELT, including textbooks and materials produced for the sake of teaching English, are usually NS-centric (Kaur 2014: 221). In general, curriculum knowledge is largely based on NS idealisations, and SLA research and practice traditionally follow native English models (Jenkins 2006: 154), which means that most ELF users can be assumed to be exposed to NS, mostly StE only. Hence, although there has been research on whether to and how to implement ELF in EFL teaching (see, for instance, Dewey 2012, Bayyurt & Sifakis 2015), NS standard grammar still assumes a crucial role, and teachers tend to accept forms as correct only if they are commensurate with NS norms. The attitudes of those who persist on native English models are often “the product of the many pressures on them to regard L2 users as failed natives” (Cook 1999: 196). It should not come as a surprise that attitudes are shaped by what EFL students, for instance, are exposed to in the classroom, as well as what they are penalised for, namely non-conformity. That sanctions determine attitudes can be seen in Timmis’s (2002) study, where, rather surprisingly, teachers were shown to be moving away from NS norms faster than students. Clearly, students are, as opposed to their teachers, sanctioned if their use does not conform. If materials represent NS linguacultural norms only and largely focus on form rather than function, not adhering to these norms may remain a deep-seated undesired ‘deficit’ even in using ELF. In that sense, education is often linked to notions of achievement or proficiency measured by NS standard norms and entrenched by “years of grammatical indoctrination fostered by prescriptive rules” (Bamgbose 1998: 5). This detaches language use from its functional value and conveys a formalist understanding of using language.

Likewise, as suggested by Graddol (2006: 20, referred to in Jenkins 2007: 122), the ‘postmodern model of English’ which allows for more flexible NNS variants poses challenges for those who have invested time and energy in acquiring native-like English.

Hence, although they may at a rational level understand that many arguments speak for ELF, they still have a deep-seated attachment to ENL at a deeper level and therefore seek for arguments to support this preference. Following this, teachers as ‘experts’ may be very likely to reproduce this norm-based focus in the students’ and subsequent ELF users’ minds.

However, as mentioned above, a closer look suggests that also the root of ELF is essentially a historical and socio-political one that has emerged from processes of standardisation. The standard language ideology was probably a decisive trigger which fashioned the centre of attention in ELT and education general towards (NS standard) norms. For, to put it in Train’s (2009: 49) words:

In education, the standard language ideology is fundamental to what language educators, students, and the larger public generally believe to be important about teaching and learning, as well as what is deemed irrelevant or tangential to the educational endeavor.

Despite the obvious differences between the notions of ELF and EFL, not everybody agrees that they necessarily distinguish in practice. Swan (2012: 382-383), for instance, partly argues against the argument brought forward by ELF scholars that ELF and EFL are fundamentally different. For the end-product of teaching EFL “is clearly not the English that has been *taught*, but the English that has been *learnt*” (Seidlhofer 2011: 186), which, according to Swan, implies that learners conform to some norms but not to others. In turn, Widdowson expressed disagreement on Swan’s position in a 2013 reply to Swan’s article, in which he remarks that Swan’s (2012) critical argumentation concerning the relevance of ELF for EFL is “essentially a conservative re-affirmation of conventional ideas that represent learning as a function of teaching” (Widdowson 2013b: 192). Swan is claimed to disregard capability as the ability to make communicative use of the linguistic resources available to a learner while relying on a standard language ideology. As convincingly argued by Widdowson (2013: 193), EFL and ELF simply represent two different realities. A crucial question to ask, however, is how these two realities can be effectively related. This is exactly what may be an effective goal for ELF to pursue: to generate a general awareness of the difference between ELF and EFL while aiming at mutual engagement in creating a pedagogical space for ELF in the EFL domain.

7 THE ECONOMICS OF LANGUAGE

A central idea in Bourdieu's approach is the emergence and imposition of a dominant, legitimate language, which contributes to social stratification. Yet, even more importantly, his theory of the economics of language explains how linguistic utterances receive values in different markets. In our social world, *agents*, as he refers to the users of language, possess and convert different forms of *capital* on different *markets* or *fields*. This means that, according to Bourdieu, all practices, including linguistic practices, are oriented towards the augmentation of capital or the maximisation of some kind of 'profit', such as honour or prestige (Thompson 1991: 15). Thereby, language is viewed as linguistic capital, which can be converted and lead to some form of profit, which essentially endows linguistic utterances with certain values. As mentioned before, it is the properties of the market or field in which a linguistic utterance has been produced that determine its value, meaning that on some markets, certain expressions receive higher values than on others. So clearly, the higher a speaker's linguistic capital, the better its convertibility, the more likely that agent is to secure a profit of distinction (Bourdieu 1991: 18).

What follows is that language, just like any other form of capital, is used to pursue interests. Therefore, its value stems from its success in achieving this goal. An attitude, then, as an evaluative reaction towards something is most likely determined by the potential value it is assigned to in the mind of a respondent at a given moment. In that sense, it is obvious that our linguistic habitus is, strictly speaking, economically motivated. In order to get an understanding of how our language attitudes are guided by an economic mindset, the following section will provide insights into Bourdieu's economics of language and try to apply his theory to ELF, despite its significant differences from Bourdieu's original target group, namely 1960s France. However, it is hoped that this synthesis will shed light on the overlaps, by which valuable insights into general economic principles will be gained, but also demonstrate its incompatibilities, which may illustrate why attitudes are sometimes conflicting.

7.1 LANGUAGE USERS AS ECONOMIC THINKERS: THE ECONOMICS OF LANGUAGE

Generally speaking, the use of language cannot but receive certain values. The automatic evaluation of social phenomena, including language, has been argued to be rather natural and to serve numerous functions (see, for instance, Tajfel 1981). However, ideological work

has not only largely contributed to the extent and the consequences of language evaluation, but has, by promoting and imposing one legitimate variety, very much tailored the processes of price formation. Only the ideological construction of English as an entity entailing fixed boundaries allows for its commodification into an object that can be exchanged on the linguistic market (Park & Wee 2012: 165). Hence, processes of standardisation have allowed for the convertibility of languages as abstract units into other forms of capital, usually measured against just one legitimate variety, which is essentially what vests them a specific real-life value and determines our attitudes. The most central idea of Bourdieu's economics of language is that the agents of our society are located in different social positions, which are tailored by the rules of the field, the agent's habitus and the agent's capital, and which they usually seek to alter. Linguistic utterances, then, are forms of practice that can be conceived of as the product of the relation between a linguistic habitus and a linguistic market (Thompson 1991: 17). In the following, these terms will be explained in more detail.

The field and the market

According to Bourdieu (1991: 79), both the form and the content of a given discourse depend on the interrelationship between the linguistic habitus and the market/field. The field or market refers to social spaces that the social world has been gradually divided into, and that are hierarchically structured, such as the educational field, the political field, the academic field, or the field of entertainment, each of them with their own specific way of using language appropriately. Fields can also be more specific, such as the field of a family, "where independence with regard to the norms of legitimate speech is marked above all by a more or less complete freedom to ignore the conventions and properties of the dominant speech form" (Bourdieu 1991: 98). Society is structured by the positions taken up by individuals in the field and the distribution of 'capital', hence different kinds of resources (see Bourdieu 1980: 113-120, referred to in Thompson 1991: 14). In the field, individuals aim to either alter or remain the forms of capital specific to it. When linguistic expressions are produced in specific contexts or markets, the linguistic products receive a certain 'value', depending on the properties of these markets. Hence, on a given linguistic market, which is a "system of specific sanctions and censorships" (Bourdieu 1991: 37), a product may be valued lower or more highly than on others. The ability to produce expressions with a high value on the market is part of the practical competence, the *linguistic capital*, which, clearly, is not uniformly distributed throughout society (Thompson 1991: 18).

Needless to say, there are countless and highly diverse linguistic fields and markets – be it international, national, regional or interpersonal fields. Given the aim of this thesis, a crucial question to ask is: What are the linguistic markets of ELF? To what extent do these markets differ from monolingual linguistic markets? Chapter 8 will examine the markets of ELF and address the question of how beliefs and awareness of the different markets have an impact on attitudes.

Capital

As mentioned before, exchanges on the market are generally oriented towards some kind of profit. The distribution of its different forms of capital as “accumulated labor” represents the structure of the social world (Bourdieu 1986: 46). Bourdieu (1986: 47) describes the three forms of capital as follows:

Depending on its field in which it functions, and at the cost of the more less expensive transformations which are the precondition for its efficacy in the field in question, capital can guise itself in three fundamental guises: as *economic capital*, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as *cultural capital* which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of education qualifications; and as *social capital*, made up of social obligations (‘connections’), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility.

Needless to say, this thesis is above all interested in linguistic capital as “the capacity to produce expressions *à propos*, for a particular market” (Thompson 1991: 18, original emphasis). Linguistic capital itself appears much less in Bourdieu’s works than it has been taken up by other researchers, although with varying approaches and definitions, particularly in the field of language policy (e.g. Park & Wee 2012, Loos 2000). In their article about English as the medium of instruction in Hong Kong, Morrisson and Lui (2000: 473), for instance, define it as “fluency in, and comfort with, a high-status, world-wide language which is used by groups who posses [sic] economic, social, cultural and political power and status in local and global society”, while Bourdieu’s understanding as the competence to produce linguistic expressions *à propos* a specific market allows for a much broader interpretation. Notably, apart from the capacity to produce grammatically correct speech, adapting these linguistic expressions to the market conditions is a crucial part of linguistic capital. This implies that it requires many other competences to communicate successfully

and appropriately than conformity to NS norms. Instead, it suggests that the convertibility of a linguistic expression heavily depends on the conditions of the specific market and field. So given that the markets of English are highly diverse and, arguably, infinite, which is essentially why ELF is considered fluid and hybrid, it becomes obvious that, as stressed in section 3.2, non-conformity may sometimes not only be appropriate but even necessary. Because ELF, motivated by its functional uses in a wide range of communication contexts, in other words, markets, cannot be separated from its market conditions, which may require deviating from the 'legitimate' variety.

Linguistic capital has good convertibility. In fact, its true value lies in the capacity for conversion into different types of other capital (Park & Wee 2012: 142). Consequently, the more linguistic capital a speaker possesses, the more this speaker can exploit the system of differences; in other words, the more profits can be drawn, and the more advantages are awarded to an agent. As a part of cultural capital, linguistic competence depends on the level of education as well as on the social trajectory (Bourdieu 1991). It can therefore be argued that "differences in terms of accent, grammar and vocabulary [...] are indices of the social positions of speakers and reflections of the quantities of linguistic capital (and other capital) which they possess" (Thompson 1991: 18). Now, assuming that they recognise the convertibility of language, it comes as no surprise that users of language are usually most attached to the norms that have the highest convertibility, which is mostly NS StE norms. Needless to say, the fear of reduced profit by not conforming to codified norms is likely to impact ELF users, who usually fail to distinguish between the very distinct conditions of ELF and those of uniform languages as entrenched in their habitus. Basically, it appears that they recognise that non-conformity can, in some markets, keep them from making the same profit they would possibly make by conforming to NS StE norms. So in fact, attitudes are not only about language, but they are also about other dimensions of capital. Clearly, this may also explain why many critics of Global Englishes fear that non-native speakers will be deprived not only in terms of linguistic capital, but essentially in terms of economic or other capital, for their linguistic habitus will yield less convertibility than that of native speakers. It thus endows native speakers with symbolic power, a misrecognised symbolic power that scholars debating linguistic oppression (e.g. Phillipson 1992) refer to.

Profit and symbolic power

When Bourdieu (1991: 66-67) speaks of price formation, he stresses that linguistic exchanges are also economic exchanges established within a particular symbolic relation of power between a producer and a consumer or market. Linguistic practices as the result of a linguistic habitus receive their values according to the market/field in and for which they have been produced. Consequently, linguistic utterances are also subject to a certain kind of *censorship* based on the structure of this market, which turns into *self-censorship* through the process of *anticipation*. Hence, whenever a linguistic utterance is produced, the speaker tends to consider the conditions of the market for which it is produced, which is why Bourdieu (1991: 31) refers to language on the linguistic market not as ‘language’ as such, but as “discourses that are stylistically marked both in their production [...] and in their reception”. Style, for instance, as the “individual deviation from the linguistic norm” is individual only in relation to perceiving subjects who make distinctions between different ways of saying. Hence, although the dominant markets tend to be the more formal ones, it must be considered that being deprived in terms of cultural and economic capital does not keep a language user from speaking fluently and confidently in markets that have their own properties and forms of censorships, like gatherings among co-workers or friends. Hence, also slang is highly euphemised speech, and the result of the pursuit of distinction in a specific, dominated market (Bourdieu 1991). Needless to say, also ELF is euphemised in that its users have been shown to tailor their linguistic practices. Arguably, this process of anticipation is essentially what ELF users do when they adapt their speech to the context, as revealed by a large body of research (see, for instance, Jenkins 2000, Seidlhofer 2009). In intercultural communication, this self-censorship by anticipation is, arguably, both more complex and more significant than in L1-conversation, which has major implications for ELT in an increasingly globalised world.

The producer is endowed with a certain linguistic capital, while the consumer or market is capable of procuring a certain material or symbolic profit. The higher the linguistic capital of the speaker, the more linguistic expressions can be produced *à propos* a particular market, which increases its convertibility, profitability and power. Thus, speakers with a certain linguistic habitus and higher linguistic capital are more likely to have what Bourdieu calls *symbolic power*, which he describes as an invisible power that presupposes active complicity, in other words, compliance and ‘misrecognition’ by those subjected to it (Thompson 1991: 22-23). This power is generally a “gentle, invisible violence” that may come in the form of “trust, obligation, personal loyalty, hospitality of honour” (Bourdieu

1991: 127). Thus, utterances not only serve as instruments of communication, but they are also “*signs of wealth*” and “*signs of authority*” (Bourdieu 1991: 66) and inevitably communicate social values attached to the individual “*expressive style*” (Bourdieu 1991: 67), which the speaker can draw symbolic profit from. Consequently, whenever an agent speaks, it will never just be the content that is evaluated by the interlocutor, it will always be the form that receives a value as well.

Now, what are the implications for attitudes towards ELF variation? First of all, undoubtedly, language users usually, if only subconsciously, recognise linguistic capital (see also section 7.3). Many would agree that we usually admire people who speak several foreign languages and therefore have increased linguistic capital, or we honour people that are particularly eloquent and can adapt their speech, in both formal and informal markets, which endows them with symbolic power. If we form an attitude, we basically anticipate the value it would receive in a market. So the crucial question to ask, which will allow us to draw conclusions on attitude formation, is what ELF users think the laws of price formation are.

Needless to say, the social conditions of intercultural communication are fundamentally different from those of L1 conversation, with a huge variety of different markets, interlocutors and functions involved. If it is assumed that ELF communicators usually aim for communicative success, it becomes clear that adapting their speech in order to facilitate understanding may endow them with more symbolic or other kind of profit than adopting a highbrow linguistic style, such as a sophisticated register of the standard language, which the interlocutor may not be able to understand. In fact, although this view of language is often considered to loosen up the relationship between language and identity (Park & Wee 2012: 125), it can be argued that the dynamics of its use show very much that conversion includes and works by identity. Hence, an extended understanding of the economics of language explains why adaption of speech ties in with identification with a certain group, and why ELF users often adjust their speech to that of others: they seek to construct a mutual identity by means of ELF communication. They anticipate the potential profit, yet also the potential sanctions of the market in order to fulfil their needs. In order to draw profit or, reversely, to avoid sanctions for not adapting one’s speech, an agent needs to be familiar with the market conditions. But the price formation does not only depend on the market – it also depends on the interlocutors, who, in the case of ELF, are, as we know, highly diverse,

each having a different and individual linguistic habitus. For instance, as Galloway (2011, referred to in Galloway & Rose 2015: 176) suggests, attitudes towards English are likely to be influenced by the speakers' attitudes towards their first language. Thus, for an interlocutor who has grown up in a monocentric country such as Japan, it may be difficult to accept variation in English. Thus, intercultural awareness may be the key for agents to draw the highest profit from communicative practice.

To sum up, the economics of language as explained by Bourdieu contribute to an understanding of the processes involved in the valorisation or devalorisation of linguistic utterances in different communication contexts, and thereby of notions of covert and overt prestige (Labov 1966). For Bourdieu, communication is basically the anticipation of profit of several kinds. This core principle both explains and – even more importantly - legitimises non-conformity to standard norms, for it corresponds with the functional approach commonly adopted by ELF scholars (see section 3.2). Hence, in some fields, non-conformity may be more likely to fulfil the functional motivation of an interaction and may therefore vast higher profit. In contrast, in others, where the conditions are more favourable to the legitimacy of the standard variety, not adhering to these norms may have severe influences on the convertibility of that utterance. Language users can be assumed to be economic thinkers – they recognise the profitability of language. Whether on a conscious or subconscious level, their linguistic habitus guides their language use and their (abstract) evaluation of language, which is essentially what attitude studies are all about. However, and this is a crucial point, there seems to be a gap between what the conditions really are, and what they are thought to be. The linguistic habitus entails rather traditional assumptions of language and community, whose validity is challenged by ELF (see, for instance, Seidlhofer 2011). However, such misconceptions have good convertibility, and thereby, they distort the perceived conditions of ELF use, which will be examined in the following section.

7.2 THE CONVERTIBILITY OF MISCONCEPTIONS

It has been mentioned in the literature that many negative orientations towards ELF can be traced back to misconceptions (Jenkins 2007). It is not surprising that the completely innovating views of ELF provide targets for misconceptions, which is why much of the ELF literature is concerned with the clearing up of such outdated views. Although the theoretical conceptualisation of ELF is rather rich by now, with a number of valuable and detailed contributions in the last decades, the awareness of the specifics of ELF among laypersons is

still only beginning to develop. For, certainly, such deeply entrenched misconceptions of communication and community are very resistant to change; and, importantly, as suggested by Widdowson (2012), they are “convenient fictions” in that they structure, in relative validity, linguistic research. This implies, in Bourdieuan terms, that they have good convertibility: they are convenient for certain uses. For its users, anticipation of profits relative to these fictions requires minimal effort. Users know how the conversion of such misconceptions works, with their linguistic habitus trained on such established assumptions. In a way, misrecognised assumptions, such as the nation-language-correlation, languages as entities or speech communities as unified markets have more directly relatable values; for language users whose linguistic habitus is largely influenced by the standard language ideology, their values tend to be easier to anticipate than new, postmodern concepts and notions (see next chapter). In other words, they have higher convertibility in the minds of their users. Hence, although the laws of price formation are fundamentally different in ELF, with the notion of legitimacy in need of transformation, this thesis is concerned less with what the conditions of ELF really are, and more with what they are thought to be by its users. The first and most crucial misconception is that of perceiving of ELF as a bounded entity.

The convertibility of language as unity

A major misconception is that English as a lingua franca is conceived of as *a* uniform, heterogeneous unity, which is neither in accordance with general postmodern views of language, nor with ELF, of course. However, what language users often do when they anticipate the value of English is that they take Global English or World Englishes as bounded entities as starting points. This misconception distorts the true convertibility of ELF as a linguistic repertoire. Because the value of ELF is so much more relative and grants legitimacy to varying degrees of conformity. However, as suggested by Park and Wee (2012: 142-143), commodifying Global Englishes, it can be converted across different markets, which has become relevant due to increased movement of people, goods and ideas, transcending borders via processes of globalisation (Park & Wee 2012: 142). They go on that universal convertibility of English in this globalised world, thus its value on the global market, is the product of ideological work: “[T]hrough an ideological logic of conversion, English is constructed as a language that has true commensurability”; and following this, “through this process [...] English comes to be seen as [...] having convertibility that can apply to different markets in different contexts” (Park & Wee 2012: 143). In other words,

although its roots are constructed, English perceived as a linguistic entity now actually increases its speakers' capital dramatically. The fact that English is perceived as a language with global reach and convertibility can be argued to have a direct influence on attitudes. Further, this conception has a knock-on effect in that it gives rise to a number of other misconceptions and misconceived kinds of convertibility, such as:

The convertibility of ownership

So, clearly, if ELF is misrecognised as a bounded variety, this has an effect on how its speech community is perceived. Influenced by the deeply entrenched nation-language-correlation, it runs the danger of creating one abstract global market as a unified speech community in the minds of its users. In this unified market, people may think that, just like there is a legitimate variety in unified nations such as France, there is a legitimate variety of the global language. Thereby, NS StE, even though it is uncertain what it really is, receives the status as legitimate variety, with native speakers perceived as the only legitimate speakers. Hence, the abstract ownership of languages has excellent convertibility in that it endows especially NSs with great symbolic power. As a consequence, we are faced here with a wrong perception of:

The convertibility of proficiency

The ownership of languages that has arisen out of the abstract link between nation-states and languages also impacts how we conceive of proficiency, or let's put it (with reservation) in Bourdieu's words, linguistic capital. Although Bourdieu's conceptualisation of linguistic capital *does* allow for deviations from norms, it may often be linked with an understanding of proficiency as the extent to which an agent conforms to codified norms in the public mind. A large part of this can most likely be traced back to the formalist and deficit views entailed in the educational sector.

As a result of misconceptions like these, the *real* economics of language, including field-specific profitability and the flexibility of covert prestige is likely to be suppressed by the power of misconceptions. Given how deeply entrenched and naturalised such misconceptions are, the linguistic habitus makes it hard to give way to ELF markets that are characterised by very different notions of ownership, proficiency, or linguistic entities. Clearly, however, ELF, globalisation and postmodernity started counteracting many years ago, with the effect that ELF variation has gained increasing acceptance. Nonetheless, the

linguistic habitus is still both shaping and shaped by marketing strategies that push languages into prefabricated conceptualisations (see next section).

When it comes to the formation of attitudes, which is basically nothing more than the anticipation of profit, (a term used by Bourdieu to explain the influence of the sanctions on the linguistic habitus (1991: 76-77), further misconceptions come into play. Clearly, these are just assumptions that do not claim general validity. Yet, based on previous research, some ELF users, especially those who have rather negative attitudes towards non-conformity, may have very *specific* and uniform market conditions in mind rather than distinguishing between the multiple markets. They may, therefore, think that the only conversion that and thereby the highest profit can always be gained by:

The convertibility of the standard variety

Hence, as suggested in the previous chapter, owing to the illusional standard language ideology, some users may think of the standard variety as the *only* legitimate variety that *always* brings the highest profit. Yet, this also implies that some respondents may fail to recognise the huge number and diversity of markets conditions and interlocutors (although chapter 8 will suggest that there mostly *is* an awareness, regardless of how subconscious it may be), or that they fail to distinguish between overt and covert prestige.

Generally, though, given that anticipation of profit determines the value, this points to the fact that the market in which English is used or prototypically thought to be used determines the attitude an agent has towards its norms. Consequently, it can be assumed that the attitude a user of ELF has towards it derives from and depends on the linguistic field in which English is applied by that user, hence on previous experience, as also mentioned by Jenkins (2007). If someone associates the use of English, say, to increased career opportunities in a high position in a large tax firm, which are usually formal situations, this user might grant higher value to the use of the legitimate language than somebody who associates it to a field such as travelling where, owing to its level of informality, the laws of price formation are less unfavourable to the linguistic practice in that field.

However, the fact that the notion of overt prestige of the standard variety seems to prevail can most likely be traced back not only to its imposition and naturalisation in the course of history. Yet, in fact, though a product of ideological work, it *does* have the highest value in certain, especially formal markets. Hence, the dominant competence as having good

convertibility secures a profit of distinction in its relation to other competences if certain conditions enable those who possess that competence to impose it as the only legitimate on formal markets, such as the fashionable, the educational, the political or administrative markets. Although markets are multi-layered and highly diverse, the degree of formality of the situation is a crucial factor in determining discourse (Bourdieu 1991: 79). The more formal a market is, the more this language use complies with the norms, and the more this market is determined by the dominant and authoritative holders of legitimate competence (Bourdieu 1991). Thereupon, it can be argued that non-conformity tends to be associated with less formal situations, but also with a lower status in society and decreased capital and symbolic power. A deep-rooted recognition of shame, distinction and symbolic power may lead agents on the markets to aim for 'high class' speech patterns. They are likely to recognise the profit that can be gained from conforming to codified norms, which again reproduces the superiority of the standard variety. Importantly, this only works because agents on a market tend to recognise and actively comply to this legitimacy and to this symbolic violence. So by means of the acquisition of norms due to market sanctions, the profit one can gain from using it is continuing to sustain its value, also within a special frame such as ELF. Following this, it seems somewhat clear that, as long as English is still seen as a distributed set of norms rather than a virtual language that is spread (Widdowson 1997), thus, as a hypothetical unified market, which does not exist in reality, the hierarchical relations between users of English will not be able to be broken down, and users of ELF will continue to strive for native speaker norms on a perceived global market that is dominated by a standard language ideology.

The convertibility of conversion

Clearly, the standard variety is thought to have the highest convertibility. Hence, much of why people have been found to be very attached to NS StE norms can be traced back to a general recognition of the real-life value the standard variety has, and especially the values and benefits that can be gained from converting it, particularly in formal and therefore prestigious markets. Hence, as economic thinkers, agents are aware of the fact that particular language uses can bring profit of several kinds, which is why verbal hygiene is, as suggested by Cameron (1996), associated with many other values, such as moral, social and political. Arguably, particularly intellectual values, as mirrored by the presumed 'educatedness' of its speakers, which Honey (1997: 39, quoted in Park & Wee 2012: 171) views "as a defining

quality of those forms of spoken and written English which are regarded as standard” seem to be of great importance. Thus, as Widdowson, for instance, argues, spelling is not essential for communication, yet “[w]hat seems to be more crucial is that good spelling represents conformity to convention and so serves to maintain institutional stability” (Widdowson 1994: 380). This is interesting, for the value of ‘correct’ spelling appears to merely stem from its prestige rather than from its distinctive significance for intelligibility, which suggests that, as mentioned before, legitimacy is based on socio-political rather than linguistic grounds. Hence, standard language as the variety that receives institutional support is usually the one that is accorded greatest economic value in the linguistic market (Park & Wee 2012: 130). In a business email, for instance, it can be argued that correct spelling is crucial for defining the status of the sender. If there was a typo, in other words a violation of the rules of the standard language, the status of an interlocutor would change, quite certainly for the worse; although, as all of us would agree, there is a high certainty that it would not change the meaning. What is more, as Widdowson (1994: 380-381) suggests, grammatical accuracy is not decisive for many kinds of communicative transaction either, which is underlined by research suggesting that “[i]ronically, even if they recognised that the sheer focus on these norms would not facilitate communication, they still seemed to become obsessed with the norms mainly in grammar” (Ishikawa 2017: 255-256). Hence, instead, it often serves to express social identity, and, conversely, may lead to the exclusion of those who do not master it. Hence, both spelling and grammar are “communal” rather than “communicative features of standard English” (Widdowson 1994: 381). Thus, through ideologically established market conditions, the standard variety tends to be the one whose convertibility is the highest, and which can bring the most and the greatest values. Therefore, it cannot be dissociated from other values, which significantly contributes to attitudes.

To conclude, all of the aspects mentioned above are, in a way, abstract misconceptions that now, through ideological work, obtain real-life, factual value. So in a way, these misconceptions that have good convertibility in the agent’s mind, and to put it in Seidlhofer’s (2011: 70) words, are “convenient fictions”. Deeply entrenched in the linguistic habitus, their conversion is a conversion with minimal effort, because it has been naturalised in the agents’ minds. Therefore, such misconceptions reproduce the convertibility of language use that follows just these principles.

7.3 THE ‘MARKETING’ AND ‘MANAGEMENT’ OF LINGUISTIC CAPITAL

First of all, according to Bourdieu, the unification of linguistic markets has established one codified variety as the legitimate variety that tends to be the most prestigious one, expect when, as Bourdieu says, “transgressing these norms is part of the legitimate definition of the legitimate producer” (Bourdieu 1977: 650). But who determines the criteria for legitimacy, and therefore reproduces distinction by means of legitimate language use? Bourdieu’s market-approach, like many other researchers concerned with hegemonic aspects of Global English, suggests that institutional support helps to endure unequal power hierarchies by means of language. Hence, these misconceptions as mentioned above are supported by various authorities and institutions who guide market conditions and thereby promote certain language uses, which, given that Bourdieu assumes an economic approach towards language, may be referred to as the ‘marketing’ and ‘management’ of languages. Hence, in the following, a brief demonstration of how languages and linguistic capital are dealt with in policies or education shall raise awareness on how ubiquitous linguistic capital as tied up with symbolic power is and why it cannot be dissociated from the use of language and the study of attitudes. Because, the way languages are marketed and managed plays a crucial role in reproducing languages as entities and guides price formation, market conditions and market sanctions.

First of all, it should be clear by now that language issues can barely be isolated from issues of ideology and power. As Park and Wee (2012: 25) argue, the global spread of English goes hand in hand with its economic value, thereby “the belief that competence in English can be converted into material gain in some form”, as mentioned in the previous section. This begins right at a personal level in the form of motivation, which leads linguistic agents to strive for increased linguistic capital by taking language classes, buying apps or going abroad to improve what is commonly thought of as language skills. They recognise the high convertibility language has. Thus, As Park and Wee suggest, language is now seen as a “commodity”, which is “a thing that is produced with the purpose of being sold in the market, of being offered for exchange for a profit” (Park & Wee 2012: 125). This is of particular relevance for English; for, considering that the spread of English is rising, it is evident that the linguistic capital English awards is increasing too.

Due to the high convertibility of language, the power relationships involved in the economics of language are crucial, which is why it is no surprise that languages are emotive (and

lucrative) issues. So the economics of language does not only work on a small-scale level, with people being somewhat economic thinkers, but is, most of all, based on and fashioned on a global level now. Hence, although ELF research is much less concerned with hegemonic issues than Global Englishes, it cannot leave unattended the ‘critical school’ of Global English, which deals with the “alternative, and darker, accounts of the causes and consequences of the emergence of English as a dominant lingua franca” (Ferguson 2015: 6).

By conceiving of the ELF speech community as a global, unified one, ‘those who are dominant’, hence the perceived *legitimate speakers* (even though there is no such thing in ELF) are, despite the academic efforts to raise awareness of the inadequacies of the unequal power relations, still its native speakers. Following Phillipson’s Linguistic Imperialism (1992), the Inner Circle members (Kachru 1985) are the ones who have long been considered the *dominant*, those who defined the dominant linguistic practices against which all uses of this language are measured, and who have the most power, particularly in the field of language teaching. He argues that “English, under the innocuous guise of a helpful language for business and travel, has become a potent weapon for cultural and economic domination” (Boyle 1997: 169). Further, his suggestion that “the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages” (Phillipson 1992: 47) has triggered considerable debate about the ideological, unequal power relations stemming from the transfer of English.

In fact, looking at study results, it is obvious that the image of the linguistic realities of ELF, which suggest that it is a fluid social practice rather than an entity is rather distorted. One of the factors this has been linked back to is gatekeeping (e.g. Jenkins 2007). According to Kachru (1997: 229), there are three groups of English language gatekeepers: “the protectors of the canon; the ELT enterprise [...]; and professional networks of various types”, all of them having a range of motives, national interests and agendas, particularly in the ELT enterprise. What they usually have in common is that they demote endonormative Englishes in the expanding circles and thereby subscribe to a deficit view. Certainly, they play a crucial part in promoting and capitalising English as an entity and thereby produce the value of legitimate language use over and over again. Drawing on a market-approach towards language, let us briefly look into and exemplify the marketing and managing of languages from three different angles: language policy, education and business.

Although Gerhard's (2012) notion of *transnational linguistic capital* is also heavily based on a view of languages as entities, it illustrates the vast spread of English in our world. It is a more specific form of capital which is defined by how many foreign languages a person can speak, and how many people can be reached by speaking those languages. Needless to say, being able to speak English in a globalised world in which English as *the lingua franca* is spreading fast contributes largely to a high level of transnational linguistic capital. It is the language that generally endows us with the highest linguistic capital. In Europe, 45.9% are claimed to be able to communicate in English (Gerhards 2014: 57-58). It enables its speakers to do business and diplomacy in international contexts, work and cooperate academically abroad, or, communicate transnationally, for example with lovers (see for instance the diploma thesis by Gundacker (2010) on ELF use between couples). The high profitability of English, if seen as an entity and, in Park & Wee's words (2012), a commodity, is therefore undeniable. Since this is the perception widely shared and recognised among the general public, nobody would doubt that the domain of 'English' is an incredibly powerful one. Hence, not surprisingly, business has responded (while also contributed in the first place) to the great value English receives among society. Business makes use of the profitability of linguistic capital by promoting its convertibility into other forms of capital. As a result, users of language can convert economic capital (money) into linguistic capital, by taking language classes, buying books and apps or going on exchange for improving their language skills. This linguistic capital they acquire may again be turned into economic capital, for it increases their job opportunities, especially if they gain certain certificates like the TOEFL or IELTS certificates. Thus, language schools, publishers and the like draw high profits from the general misconception of language as an entity with NSs as the only legitimate speakers; and clearly, they thereby also reproduce this misconception.

Clearly, capital and language policy are tightly interconnected too, for capital is essentially the motivation behind language policy. Morrison and Lui (2000: 473), for instance, argue that in Hong Kong EMI (English medium of instruction) schools are very successful because parents recognise the exchange value linguistic capital has, and pursue enhanced life chances in the light of a market-driven society and as part of world economy. Likewise, the wish to preserve the market of one's own L1 is influenced by capital, too. Thus, while ELF is often regarded a suitable alternative to a pluralistic language policy, it is often feared that English might be a danger to the existence of minority languages. For, linguistic capital is essentially power. The European Union, for instance, has designated language learning a significant

priority³ in its policies. Apart from mastering their mother tongue, the EU advocates the idea that every EU citizen should be able to speak two foreign languages. Yet while it is promoting its multilingual nature, the EU also claims to support the preservation of minority languages. Therefore, all parliamentary documents are translated into all official languages, and members can speak in the language of their choice (Franke 2017), which has considerable organisational and financial implications (Loos 2000: 37). Although a single lingua franca would be the most efficient solution (see also Ammon 2006), the EU member states, however, are not willing to accept any single Lingua Franca for the EU (De Swaan 1999: 15; referred to in Loos 2000: 37), which can be traced back to the desire to preserve their threatened linguistic capital and symbolic power (Loos 2000). Thus, discussions concerned with the risk of English replacing other languages, a common issue in Global Englishes research (see, for instance, Linn et al. 2015), is, in essence, the fear of losing one's linguistic market and therefore one's capital and power.

Needless to say, education is one of the most important, not to say *the* most important institution affected by AND affecting languages and linguistic capital. The dominant competence serves as linguistic capital, which consequently ensures distinction (Bourdieu 1991: 56); however, this distinction can only be guaranteed if the market conditions are fulfilled, hence if the market is preserved. The educational system as the “monopoly in the large-space production of producers/consumers” (Bourdieu 1991: 57) has the power to produce producers and consumers of a certain language, and thereby to guide the social value of the linguistic competence and the capacity to function as linguistic capital. Moving away from varieties of one language and extending this globally, it can be argued that the educational system will only promote the learning of languages which already serve as a relatively high linguistic capital. In Austria, for instance, French, Spanish and Italian are among the most commonly taught languages (*Statistik Austria* 2016). Less schools, however, offer Russian lessons in Austria, while in countries such as Estonia, due to historical reasons, the teaching of Russian might still be very common. Needless to say, this has a strong impact on how a given language is perceived in a given culture. There are different degrees of *foreignness* (e.g. Seidlhofer 2011) in languages, which largely depend on the linguistic capital involved. While the teaching and learning of languages is influenced by linguistic capital, it also influences future linguistic capital. The more the – say – Spanish language

³ For further information see fact sheet of the European Union:
http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/displayFtu.html?ftuId=FTU_3.6.6.html

will be spoken, the more it serves as linguistic capital, which the dominant group, namely Spanish-speaking agents profit from. It will boost their economic power and will increase the convertibility of Spanish on a linguistic market. The same holds true for NS StE norms in ELT. If ELT continues to rely on standard English only, this will reproduce the StE prevalence over and over again. On the other hand, clearly, not teaching StE may keep learners from making the best possible profit in markets where StE is the most prestigious variety.

The point is, though, that linguistic capital is a crucial part and arguably the root of pretty much anything that has to do with languages, and given its potential profitability, it is no surprise that attitudes are both emotive and ambivalent. Even though ELF is essentially viewed as *translanguaging* and the exploitation of virtual language rather than a fixed code, its perceptions among the general public are often heavily based on formalist views of language as entities, each with their own standard varieties used as yardsticks for measuring correctness. As a consequence, English, perceived as a uniform code, attains true convertibility and value on a market that is perceived as global, with gatekeeping procedures falling on fertile ground and reproducing such misconceptions. Thus, the reference points in learning and using language are guided by powerful gatekeepers, such as examination boards, language policy makers and publishers. Hence, they “serve as the mechanism maintaining the power of ENL in the status quo” (Wang 2013: 278). Language policies motivate users of English to adhere to NS norms, which, arguably, also transfers to what is aspired in society in general, which led respondents in Wang’s (2013) study, for instance, to express that conformity was simply the socially more acceptable language use. Negative orientations towards non-conformity may therefore reflect the social advantage of conformity in (and caused by) gatekeeping procedures and mechanisms, and consequently also in society.

7.4 THE CAPITAL, PROFIT AND POWER OF NATIVE SPEAKERS

While the prestige of the standard variety has been discussed in-depth by now, what still needs to be addressed is the role of the native speaker. For, as Jenkins (2007: 18) argues, negative attitudes towards ELF often derive from a “distaste for the notion of English varieties being developed ‘legitimately’ by NNSs of English from the expanding circle”. Thus, the native speaker ideology is, apart from the standard language ideology, probably the most widely discussed factor feeding into attitudes. While Paikeday claimed already in

1985 that the ‘Native Speaker is Dead’ (title), critical discussions challenging terms such as ‘nativeness’ have increasingly gained momentum. Nonetheless, the term ‘native speaker’ is still widely used and can be discriminatory towards NNSs in domains such as ELT. Native speakers, notwithstanding the fact that the notion is merely a construct, enjoy utmost prestige, linked to the deeply entrenched misbelief that they are the only legitimate owners of a language and ideal speakers of the legitimate language. However, in ELF, as mentioned before, NSs, long outnumbered by NNSs, cannot claim ownership of English (Widdowson 1994), and can usually not communicate more effectively than NNSs. So, from a Bourdieuan perspective, what is it that grants legitimacy and power to the NS?

First of all, although Bourdieu argues that most capital stems from economic capital that has been converted (Bourdieu 1986), it seems that the only obvious differences in terms of capital between NSs and NNSs are of linguistic nature. Thus, a rational starting point would be linguistic capital. The further the spread of English proceeds, the higher the linguistic capital that its speakers receive from being able to speak it gets, and the higher the possibilities are that they can somehow draw profit from it. On a (hypothetical) global linguistic field, NSs of English are likely to have higher linguistic capital than NNSs, for their English linguistic resources probably exceed those of most NNSs of English. Yet, it must be considered that only the ideological construction and valorisation of official languages and standard varieties has allowed for and guided a thing like ‘proficiency’, as measured against this legitimate language. It has contributed to an understanding of linguistic proficiency and *linguistic excellence* that, by nature, discriminates against NNSs. A thing like *linguistic excellence*, Bourdieu (1991: 60) suggests, is characterised by two properties: distinction and correctness. ‘Correct usage’ is what Bourdieu calls “the product of a competence which is an incorporated grammar”, with ‘grammar’ being “a system of scholarly rules, derived ex post facto from expressed discourse and set up as imperative norms for discourse yet to be expressed” (Bourdieu 1991: 61). It can be argued that both, distinction and correctness, tend to be measured against the traditional standard and native speaker ideology in ELF, which means both can in fact only be achieved by native speakers, or by speakers who have enjoyed excellent education – a problem frequently addressed in critiques of Global English (see, for instance, Park & Wee 2012). This means that, especially in formal situations, where such ‘linguistic excellence’ may be appropriate, native speakers, who are generally more likely to produce what ideological work has established and promoted as ‘grammatically correct’ discourses as a part of linguistic capacity (Bourdieu

1991: 37) are more likely to draw profits than non-native speakers. And as Bourdieu (1991: 73) suggests:

One may note, in passing, that the source of the profit of distinction, procured by *any use of the legitimate language*, derives from the totality of the social universe and the relations of domination that give structure to it, although one of the most important constituents of this profit lies in the fact that it appears to be based on the qualities of the person alone [emphasis added].

This means that those who are capable or thought to be capable of speaking the legitimate variety are more likely to receive a profit of distinction on a (hypothetical) global market. As mentioned by Bourdieu, people usually recognise the legitimacy of the dominant standard language and the symbolic power involved in its proficiency. However, as he emphasises, this is a result of the social structures rather than any ‘qualities’ of the speaker alone. Consequently, it can be argued that it was the social structures of contemporary, Western societies that have promoted accuracy and norm-based perceptions of proficiency to an extent that NSs are, in some markets, in advantage over NNSs.

Notably, however, and this is a crucial aspect, linguistic capital does, as opposed to linguistic excellence, not only depend on conformity to norms. It depends very much on the conditions of the market and the interlocutor. As a result of language ideologies, these conditions tend to, or are at least thought to endow more value to the legitimate variety, at least within unified markets. This implies that NSs, who are sometimes misconceived of as speaking the standard variety, may be thought of as having more linguistic capital, and thereby symbolic profit. However, intercultural communication is an entirely different case, and as chapter 8 will demonstrate, the laws of price formation are highly diverse, so that NNSs may be more likely to gain profit than NSs. The fact that NSs have more linguistic capital is an illusion probably resulting from the linguistic habitus carrying traditional notions of communication and community.

So in a way, linguistic capital and profitability only partially answer the question of why NSs are perceived as more prestigious. Instead, the notions of symbolic power and symbolic capital may turn out more illuminating at this point. Because if it is not linguistic capital, this suggests that the prestige of the NS in a way results from the prestige and honour their status of ‘nativeness’ endows them with, which is rather independent of purely linguistic aspects. So, apart from the linguistic competence, the linguistic power relation is defined by the *symbolic capital* of the different agents, i.e. on the recognition they receive from a group

(Bourdieu 1991: 72). Native speakers, simply due to this status, have higher chances of what Bourdieu (1984: 291) refers to as “the acquisition of a reputation for competence and an image of respectability and honourability”. Needless to say, due to the rising significance of Global Englishes and the prevalence of misconceptions as examined in the previous section, native speakers of English possess a high level of symbolic capital, which gives them advantage over non-native speakers in fields such as international ELT. In the form of accumulated prestige, it can be converted into symbolic power towards non-native speakers in such domains where, through ideological work, native speakers have been constructed and subsequently accepted by society as the more prestigious speakers, also in the use of ELF, despite its mismatch with linguistic capital.

As Park and Wee (2012) suggest in their critique of a global linguistic market, in a global linguistic order, non-native speakers run the danger of continuously remaining inferior, somewhat ‘lower-class’ citizens. They argue that the global spread of English is linked to oppression, and that different accents reproduce class systems (Carpenter 2016: 407). Thus, native speakers are not granted symbolic power for linguistic reasons, but largely due to ideological work, which is in line with language legitimacy being based on other than linguistic issues. Symbolic imposition, however, only works if there is a convergence of the social conditions under which the discourse takes place, which is in essence what Austin calls ‘conditions of felicity’ (Bourdieu 1991: 72-73). The question arises what these social conditions are in the use of ELF; and if under these conditions native speakers are really the ones with the most symbolic power. Clearly, the partly negative orientations towards ELF suggest they are. Yet, whether this really is the case in interaction or just in the perceptions of the users is uncertain. ELF conversations, just like communication of any other form, are extremely hybrid. Since linguistic expressions are always produced *à propos* any of the infinite markets, it is hard to identify these conditions, and there is no formula concerning what grants symbolic profit or power.

Yet, since symbolic power “can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it” (Bourdieu 1991: 164), those who comply to it, hence non-native speakers who justify the superiority of NS speakers, can be argued to play an active part in that ideological work. By setting conformity to NS norms as the one and only target, and by ignoring their linguistic rights, NNSs actively comply to this symbolic power. If applied to perspectives on ELF, and if it is

assumed that the dominance of the standard language as a source of reference exercises symbolic power, it could be implied that the ones who have an affinity for the standard language are not aware of them being subject to symbolic power, while users who openly criticise the standard language ideology may recognise the oppression by this invisible power.

Interestingly enough, symbolic power does not only shape our attitudes. As Bourdieu suggests, this symbolic power also has an impact on language variation. An essential feature of the dynamics of the linguistic field and therefore language change is “the structural disparity between the very unequal *knowledge* of the legitimate language and the much more uniform *recognition* of this language” (Bourdieu 1991: 62, original emphasis). In other words, discrepancies may arise between, on the one hand, a particular linguistic market and the forms of censorship associated with that market, and on the other hand, the capacities of speakers from different backgrounds to produce the demanded and appropriate utterances. Individuals from upper-class backgrounds are likely to be endowed with a linguistic habitus and therefore the capacity to respond with ease to the demands of the majority of official and formal occasions. Hence, they are able “to reap symbolic benefits by speaking in a way that comes naturally to them” (Thompson 1991: 21). Individuals from *petits-bourgeois* backgrounds, however, must make an effort to adapt their linguistic expressions. Thus, their speech is often characterised by tension, anxiety, and by a tendency for hyper-correction, a marker of a habitus other than their own (Thompson 1991: 21), which can eventually lead to language change.

Applying symbolic capital and power to ELF, and drawing from previous study results, it becomes clear that there is a mismatch between the symbolic capital NSs are thought to have, and the symbolic profits that are made in intercultural communication. So although NSs may be considered the legitimate speakers, it must be pointed out that in ELF conversations, whose conditions are highly diverse, NSs are not the ones that can automatically produce speech “adequately in a determinate situation” (Bourdieu 1991: 37). In each of these ‘situations’, hence in each community of practice (Wenger 1998), in other words markets, different conditions apply, and they do not necessarily favour NSs. Thus, for instance, if an NNS shows intercultural awareness of any form in an ELF conversation, which a NS fails to do, this NNS is more likely to gain symbolic profit than the NS. This can be illustrated by a case demonstrating the relative value of English in Hong Kong. The value of English in

Hong Kong is said to be relatively high, since it enables access to English-medium professional training programs, hence to cultural capital. However, it has been argued that in Hong Kong using English was often regarded as ‘showing off’ if used among friends (Goldstein 2007: 150). Therefore, although it appears to have overt prestige, it may not bring profit in all communication contexts, particularly not in private fields. Therefore, in certain, probably less formal markets, non-conformity yields a higher profit than conformity.

Furthermore, Bourdieu argues that discourse not only depends on the formality of a situation, but also on the social distance (in terms of the distribution of linguistic and other capital) between the groups to which the sender and receiver belong. In addition, also the sensitivity of the speaker concerning this tension and the censorship it implies plays a major role (Bourdieu 1991: 79). The fact that variation and, therefore, linguistic capital also depend on the sensitivity in terms of the tension and censorship based on social differences is a clear indication that linguistic competence is so much more than just knowledge of the code, as early linguistic theories suggest (see also Widdowson & Seidlhofer 2017). In intercultural communication, this also relates to intercultural awareness, to the capacity to appropriate one’s speech to fulfil its functions, and to construct a mutual identity with the interlocutors via language. Arguably, this has rather clear implications for ELT, where more importance should be attached to the ability to negotiate meaning in a globalised world. Hence, while the status of ‘nativeness’ is still a strong ingredient in the public mind and therefore in the formation of abstract attitudes, it does not necessarily yield the *factually* highest profit or power in actual communication.

Needless to say, as long as conformity to NS norms, also among NNSs, remains the main goal, also promoted by language policies, this means that NNSs basically disregard the symbolic power they are subject to – for they will always be regarded the ‘petit-bourgeois’ among the users of Global English. If people state that their main goal is to always adhere to NS norms, this can, in some way, be compared to hyper-correction: They try to adapt their speech to what is arguably the higher class in a (hypothetical) global linguistic market: the native speaker. While symbolic power can come in many forms, it is probably responsible for all the inequalities that the critical school of Global English, including Canagarajah (2009), Phillipson (1992) and Pennycook (2007) has brought forward. This certainly also has an influence on attitudes: the symbolic power of NSs is seen as legitimate – therefore, so is conformity to NS norms.

The ideological distinction between NSs and NNSs and the symbolic power this endows the speakers with is probably based on many, in Bourdieu's words, 'misrecognised', naturalised ideological constructs, be it an outdated view of language proficiency based on the unquestioned standard ideology or the misrecognition of the language-nation-boundary as a construct. It is conceivable that this perceived nation-language-boundary transfers on the perception of a globalised world as one linguistic market, where the laws of price formation usually applying to a national linguistic market are extended globally. This would mean that, from a linguistic viewpoint, native speakers, or speakers capable of speaking the standard language, are considered the 'upper class' and, therefore, represent distinction. Recently, however, poststructuralist approaches have increasingly uncovered the inadequacies of taking notions of 'prestige', 'correctness' or class memberships for granted – hence, changes are likely to move forward and eventually reach the public mind soon.

8 LINGUA-CULTURAL SHIFTS AND THE INSTABILITY OF NEW REALITIES

While the previous two chapters were mainly concerned with misconceptions of language and community deeply entrenched in the linguistic habitus, this chapter deals with how ELF, globalisation and postmodernity are liquefying and reappraising such established assumptions, and how the economics of language can (and cannot) be extended to ELF. The chapter is hoped to illuminate how the traditional linguistic habitus may collide with the revolutionised dynamics of ELF variation.

8.1 POSTMODERNITY AND THE QUESTIONING OF TRADITIONAL CONCEPTS

More general investigations of ELF attitudes have revealed that its disapproval is sometimes rooted in several misconceptions. Jenkins (2007: 31), for instance, suggests that the negative orientations towards ELF among teachers, linguists and the general public are often built around serious misinterpretations of ELF stemming from strongly held ideological positions and/or sociolinguistic naivety. In detail, she suggests that negative orientations are often based on the perspective that ELF lacks any standards, that it is erroneous interlanguage, which also implies that those people often fail to distinguish between ELF as a medium for intercultural communication and EFL as learnt specifically for communicating with English NSs (Jenkins 2009: 202-203). Although this argumentation was referred to the LFC debate rather than attitudes towards non-conformity, the notion of ‘misconception’ is highly relevant in several ways, because ELF is underpinned by many misconceptions – with the perceived ‘common sense’ existence and superiority of the standard variety being just one of them (see section 7.2). Accordingly, the deeply entrenched taken for granted belief that language use must conform to certain rules is an ideological misconception that leaves strong marks on attitudes. Another misconception is the language-nation-correlation, with the native speaker as the sole owner of a language. Hence, basically both the native speaker ideology and standard language ideology are misconceptions established by ideological work. Yet, misconceptions of ELF are much more far-reaching: basically, ELF is misconceived if any of the aspects legitimising it (see section 3.2) fails to be recognised. Thus, many people may (wrongly) believe that non-conformity is predestined to cause communication breakdowns, or they fail to recognise the difference between ELF and EFL.

Clearly, some of these misconceptions may have represented the reality of certain historical and local contexts, such as France in the 1960s, as described by Bourdieu. Because, while the socio-historical conditions and unified speech communities may have allowed for defining certain economic principles of a uniform language, it is obvious that social conditions and reference points of languages have changed (see, for instance, Seidlhofer 2011). Our world is now becoming increasingly fluid, characterised by rising border-crossing, be it physical borders in terms of migration and tourism, or abstract borders such as digital borders or personal space, leading to an interchange of worldviews, products, ideas, and many other aspects of culture (Albrow 1999). This has led to speech communities being replaced by communities of practice, in which its users construct identities in relation to the community (Kalocsai 2009: 26).

As the world is changing and adapting, linguistic codes as the mediators of globalisation do not remain unaffected. By nature, languages have a high potential of variation and change – even more so if increased mobility and technology revolutionise the conditions for language use. Although national countries have always been forced into linguistic homogenisation (Rindler-Schjerve & Vetter 2012: 2), increasing multilingualism is a characteristic of our time and can be traced back to increased mobility, rising technology and the rise of virtual communities that are independent of physical proximity (Seidlhofer 2011: 87). Hence, as Park and Wee (2012: 12) state, “[t]he movement of people and languages across national borders [...] leads to increased contact among language varieties, which gives rise to the mixture and hybridity of languages”. Apart from the fact that communication works outside the physical space now, technology also enables the use of corpora describing the actual linguistic realities (Widdowson 2012: 14), such as the VOICE corpus, which has provided valuable insights into the linguistic realities of ELF. Technology also facilitates the spread of certain language phenomena, for instance via social media, as demonstrated by the virality of the nonstandard German word ‘vong’ (rather than Ger. *von* ‘from’, ‘by’, *Zeit* online 2017)⁴.

Partly motivated by the hybridity of language, postmodernist developments and poststructuralist views on language have given rise to a considerable number of new terms and concepts (Lin 2013: 196), such as *code-meshing* (Canagarajah 2011a, 2011b) or

⁴ ‘vong’ was invented by an online community which posted pictures with captions that deliberately contained lots of orthographical and grammatical mistakes and Anglicisms. Especially the frequently used construction Ger. *vong...her* ‘in terms of’ as an adverbial phrase has gone viral (*Zeit* online, 2017).

translanguaging (García 2009, Creese & Blackledge 2010). Especially the concept of *translanguaging*, which “takes as its starting point the language practices of bilingual people as the norm, and not the language of monolinguals, as described by traditional usage books and grammars” has recently attracted increasing attention (García 2012: 1). Such concepts are essentially the products of postmodernity creating new conditions for thinking about language. In the light of current developments and English becoming common property and thereby a means of expressing other cultures and identities, “there is the obvious need to adapt our representations of reality” (Widdowson 2012: 19). As Seidlhofer (2018: 85) argues:

The unprecedented spread of ‘English’ in the wake of globalization has brought up for reconsideration many basic and well-established assumptions about language and languages: assumptions about the stability and distinctiveness of linguistic systems, about monolingual norms and communal identity and the nature of native speaker competence, all of which are intricately bound up with the notions of the standard language.

Hence, even if notions of monolingualism or languages as separate entities, or the rigorous differentiation between first language and second language may have been conveniently and well described by traditional notions in the past, before the age of globalisation, there is now a demand of new, more appropriate notions. For, as commonly known, the way we *talk* about languages shapes the way we *think* about them. If traditional concepts continue to dominate metalinguistic discourse, attitudes will remain tied to these concepts and, as a consequence, barely give way to the legitimacy of non-conformity. For, as Seidlhofer (2018: 97) remarks:

The challenge of understanding ELF in relation to centuries-old ideas about standardization is embedded in the general challenge of understanding the changed circumstances of the contemporary globalized world in relation to definite ideas about borders and boundaries between communities, cultures and languages, which had seemed so secure for so long.

Thus, it appears that the rethinking of such established assumptions poses challenges for the common linguistic habitus. This suggests that only if these new circumstances are finally acknowledged by linguistic agents, attitudes will adapt correspondingly, by which ELF variation can and will be legitimised.

8.2 LEAVING THE LINGUISTIC COMFORT ZONE

A comfort zone is “a situation in which you feel comfortable and in which your ability and determination are not being tested” (*Cambridge dictionary* online). Applying this to a very abstract comfort zone, namely the linguistic one, most people would agree that the most

comfortable interaction would be in a communicative context represented by very favourable and relaxed laws of price formation, such as among family or friends, and the use of the language and variety the agent is most familiar with, usually a dialect of their L1. In the most general sense, an agent's linguistic comfort zone is the linguistic habitus. It represents familiarity, be it familiar markets, familiar interlocutors, or simply familiar and robust assumptions about language; in other words, it is, shaped and deeply entrenched since childhood, familiar territory. It is the place where abstractions turn into reality, and it is where stability is formed and secured. Clear-cut notions such as monolingualism, the ownership of languages or the superiority of one particular set of norms provide language users with a set of ideas of how using language has always worked and, in the mind of its users, will always work, since they are perceived as linguistic common sense, and rather than as abstraction, they are seen as factual. Yet this is not the case. Globalisation, postmodernity and ELF may, on the one hand, provide valuable and enriching opportunities to access the world by stepping out of that restricted area. On the other hand, clearly, the point of a comfort zone is that provides safety because it is restricted. However, ELF as a way of breaking out of the comfort zone by enabling an infinite number of communication contexts loosens up such restrictions, for the extent of its effect is immense:

Whatever the setting that ELF is used in, we find ourselves in an unprecedented linguistic situation. For the first time in history, a language has reached truly global dimensions, across continents, domains, and social strata [...] (Seidlhofer 2011: 7).

Therefore, ELF not only breaks with notions of community and identity but also requires speech that is considerably different. Rather than a stable variety, it is a continually renewed, co-operatively modified, somewhat HYBRIDIZED linguistic resource (Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey 2011: 303). In fact, the hybrid nature of ELF is a key feature (Jenkins 2007: 1), impacted by the large number of first language (L1) backgrounds (Seidlhofer 2011: 8). This fluid and hybridised nature of ELF in intercultural communication may in the perception of linguistic agents, take away the 'comfortable' from the comfort zone and cause conflicts that may surface in the formation of ambivalent attitudes.

8.2.1 THE MARKETS OF ELF

In a global context, it is not surprising that ELF as a "multilingual activity involving speakers who have come together from a range of different geographical regions" (Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey 2011: 285) has attracted much attention in a wide range of domains, including

business, education and tourism, all of them based in increasingly global markets now, but also forming new markets. Although native speakers tend to have, remarkably as a product of ideological work, the highest symbolic capital on a misconceived global market, they may not draw the highest symbolic profit, especially not in interaction, where symbolic domination and the conversion of capital depend on a wide range of factors. Thus, a crucial question to ask is: What kinds of capital do ELF-users want to exchange their linguistic capital for anyway? Is it economic capital for agents that use ELF for work reasons? Is it cultural and social capital for travellers? Basically, intercultural communication is too diverse to draw a general conclusion on that matter. Yet, whatever capital is exchanged, and whatever the kind of profit it is that agents aspire to, they must always consider the market conditions. For the market conditions determine the price and the profit of a linguistic utterance, in other words, its value. Hence, although what kind of capital is converted and what kind of profit is drawn would be interesting questions to pursue, what really shapes attitudes are the markets. Because the market with its perceived market conditions is essentially where the prices of linguistic utterances are formed, which is why the following section will mainly deal with how a market-perspective, as proposed by Bourdieu, allows for an explanation of the linguistic dilemmas revealed in the literature.

The economy of language takes place in different markets and fields, both of which are terms used to describe settings where agents are positioned, where practices take place and where the values of a given linguistic utterance are determined. As Bourdieu remarks, a discourse can only exist if it is not only grammatically correct but also socially acceptable in the sense that it is, for example, heard or believed. Any analysis of discourse must consider the laws defining the social conditions of acceptability, in other words the market conditions. This leads us back to the question what these markets are in the use of English as a *Lingua Franca*. ELF as “any use of English among speakers of different first language” (Seidlhofer 2011: 7) is, unlike Bourdieu’s theory of French, not a bounded variety. So what are the markets of ELF anyway, how does the economy of ELF in these markets differ from other markets, and, most importantly, how does the existence of different markets affect our attitudes?

Given the fact that Bourdieu’s central ideas do not explicitly deal with intercultural communication, these are not simple questions to answer. Generally, as mentioned above, markets are not isolated from the broader social structure. They are immersed in the larger field of power where institutions reproduce the values of those with the highest capital in a

society (Taylor & Francis 2008: 39). As a consequence, they are all in some way tied up with the legitimate standard language. Because, as argued before, users of ELF often conceive of the linguistic market on which they act as a global market in which NS Standard English is the legitimate variety, the legitimate code they *need to* conform to. Teachers and other institutions as the “agents of regulation and imposition” (Bourdieu 1991: 45) control market sanctions. Consequently, it can be argued that the ELT sector somewhat impacts and imposes symbolic power and symbolic domination on ELF markets.

Assumedly, if the market conditions of ELF changed, and if there was general awareness and acceptance of ELF, discourse would be measured against the laws as defined by it. Arguably, what these laws are has not yet been defined, and since ELF is a hybrid use of a speaker’s linguistic repertoire, it is uncertain whether these will and should ever be defined. In any case, the ambiguity of language attitudes is likely to be rooted in the discrepancy between the recognition and the acceptance of the social conditions of ELF discourses. A majority of the negative orientations towards non-conformity in the use of ELF may be traced back to the fact that the relations of production and circulation of ELF fail to be distinguished from the use of English as a native or foreign language. Nonetheless, clearly, linguistic exchanges are too hybrid and take place in various communities of practice, in Bourdieuan terms, markets or fields, too multi-layered to grasp. If the field is, say, an international Erasmus group of friends in Spain, the laws of price formation are different from those of a final EFL examination. These “discourses that are stylistically marked both in their production (...) and in their reception” (1991: 39) vary widely, which is exactly why ELF cannot be defined by any rules or norms.

Generally, some fields, particularly “specialized discourses” such as the political or the philosophical field are efficacious due to the “hidden correspondence between the structure of the social space within which they are produced [...] and the structure of the field of social classes within which the recipients are situated [...]” (Bourdieu 1991: 41). This implies that some social groups are excluded from certain fields. The philosophical field, for instance, may be hard to be accessed by, say, a farmer, who has never familiarised him/herself with philosophical theories during education or elsewhere. Likewise, a professor of literature might not be able to comprehend the discourse of farming either, so that the conditions for legitimacy will not be fulfilled. Thus, in Susen’s (2013: 207) words:

Economic discourses may be deemed irrelevant in the artistic field, and judicial discourses may be considered worthless in the cultural field, just as political

discourses may be seen as out-of-place in the field of sports, and religious discourses may be regarded inappropriate in the scientific field. [...] *[T]he relative autonomy of fields is rooted in their capacity to function in accordance with their own laws and to create their own discourses of legitimacy in relation to their idiosyncratic functionality* [emphasis added].

It can be argued that this captures the very essence of *translanguaging*, and of conceiving of language as social practice rather than a code. Using ELF as a medium of communication, and using language in general, requires a functional approach. It demands an adaptation of speech according to the situation in which and the purpose for which it is used. Needless to say, this becomes even more relevant in a globalising world, where, on the one hand, markets can be unified, but on the other hand, must be broken down into smaller markets, all of them developing their own standards, a process that has already started (Widdowson 1994: 383). This, of course, applies particularly to ELF. For it essentially means exploiting one's linguistic repertoire to fit one's needs. ELF cannot be explained and analysed linguistically, but it is a social phenomenon, a social practice dependent on the field or market in which it operates, as proposed by Bourdieu. It can even be suggested that any ELF-market *depends on* and is constructed by its users. What follows is that, obviously, its markets are infinite. For intercultural communication, some typical markets or fields one may think of are the fields of travelling, economics, academics, media, but also fields established simply by human relationships such as family or friends, but in fact, they are highly diverse and constructed by mutual engagement of its users. Thus, they all differ significantly in their conditions, and hence in their sanctions, their price formation, et cetera. Consequently, the 'value' that is given to the form of a specific utterance is never absolute or stable. In order to make the best profit, the anticipation of the conditions of that exact situation as a part of linguistic capital is (Bourdieu 1991: 76.77) crucial, which is perfectly illustrated by the large body of research exemplifying how ELF users adapt their speech to that most appropriate for the field, drawing from their linguistic repertoires. Thus, by anticipating potential sanctions or profits, speakers may censor themselves in so far as they choose to use a nonstandard form in order to facilitate understanding or show solidarity, particularly in intercultural communication.

Now, when studies reveal that people's attitudes towards non-conformity to NS norms are ambivalent, this may imply that people have different markets in mind, which all have different laws of price formation. Hence, on a given market A the standard language endows the speaker with the highest symbolic power or profit, while on market B, the local dialect

or the use of any nonstandard features may be valued more highly. It can be presumed, then, that the prototypical market an interviewee has in mind strongly impacts their attitude during an interview. Identity, viewed as constructed during discourse (see next section), plays a crucial role as well. Clearly, in each market, meaning in each context of use, a different identity is created by the interlocutors. According to Omoniyi's (2006) *hierarchy of identities*, the identities of an individual are always co-present, yet differently salient at a given moment. The same might apply to the co-presence of different markets, which may then result in conflicting, contradicting attitudes. Yet, as mentioned before, the prevailing, prototypical market people may think of is a non-existent global linguistic market, where NS English is the legitimate language, and where NS speakers are the legitimate, 'upper class' speakers of English. Interviewees recognise and anticipate that conforming to Standard NS norms in such a situation may endow them with the highest profit and power. This is deeply entrenched in their linguistic habitus, which makes it a crucial part of their identity, even if identities in a poststructuralist sense are constructed in the course of a conversation. In the case of Kang's (2012, referred to in Park & Wee 2012: 155) study, for instance, Korean speakers studying in Singapore recognised the value of Singlish as an identity marker and even adopted some linguistic features of Singlish, but devalued Singlish in an interview with the researcher, dismissing it as merely a local variety without any wider currency. This ambivalence can most likely be traced back to the fact that it endows them with different capital on different markets, but the 'legitimate' market, the most prevalent one is where the standard variety is valued the most highly. Consequently, the linguistic habitus, where the superiority of the standard variety is deeply entrenched, is most likely conflicting with the new and infinite options in terms of markets and capital ELF is introducing in the wake of globalisation.

8.2.2 FOREIGNNESS, IDENTITY AND THE SOCIAL DISTANCE BETWEEN THE SPEAKERS

In an interaction, the value an utterance receives and therefore one's attitude towards that language use depends on the laws of the market, but, importantly, also on the relation between the various speakers. In Bourdieu's (1991: 67) words:

[u]tterances receive their value (and their sense) only in their relation to a market, characterized by a particular law of price formation. The value of the utterance depends on the relation of power that is concretely established between the speakers' linguistic competences, understood both as their capacity for production and as their capacity for appropriation and appreciation; it depends,

in other words, on the capacity of the various agents involved in the exchange to impose the criteria of appreciation most favourable to their own products.

Simply put, this would mean that those ELF-users who have more linguistic competence, leaving aside the question of what linguistic competence *really* means in the light of ELF and the reconsideration of proficiency, are more powerful than speakers with limited competence. As Bourdieu (1991) argues, discourse depends on the social distance (in terms of the distribution of linguistic and other capital) between the groups to which the sender and receiver belong. In other words, he draws a link between the agents' identities and the power relations between them, and the values that are given to linguistic utterances. These power relations, he argues, also derive from the "relation between the corresponding languages or usages, that is, between the groups who speak those languages" (Bourdieu 1991: 67). While this is certainly relevant for intercultural communication, here we are again confronted with the question of how to extend Bourdieu's theory of class in France globally. In that sense, a crucial question to ask is whether class is really a decisive factor for identification in intercultural communication. Given the fact that intercultural linguistic practices always take place across multiple, hybrid cultures and social networks, there are even more choices of identities that can be constructed, which undermines the significance of class in structuring global society. Consequently, it liquefies power relations and thereby destabilises not only linguistic discourses, but also the values assigned to them in intercultural communication.

What follows is that, especially in using ELF as a particularly hybrid form of communication, no general conclusion can be drawn concerning the value of utterances, although conformity to native-speaker norms tends to be the most prestigious form. Likewise, on a global scale, proficiency in English is likely to increase one's transnational linguistic capital, although the true value of linguistic utterances always depends on the market and on the agents. Thus, in Morrison and Lui's (2010: 472) words: "English is not a necessary passport to success, but like other non-ideological passports, it helps". This metaphor is interesting, since it essentially suggests that different passports provide different degrees of value. Applying this to languages by assuming that a passport stands for a particular language, there are languages with higher values, and languages with lower values, or, to put it into Bourdieu's words – capital. Thus, on the one hand, passports have somewhat objective value. The *Henley & Partners Passport Index*, for example, ranks countries according to their visa requirements and visa restrictions. However, what is crucial is that

the value of a passport, or of a certain nationality, is always relative to, say, where the holder of the passport wants to travel, hence to the social structure present in the exchange. Thereupon, while, for instance, an Israeli stamp may be highly restrictive if somebody holding it wants to travel to Iraq, it may carry higher value for the USA. This shows that visa restrictions in a passport are, just like languages, subject to historical and political developments, and its values are just constructs resulting from certain socio-political conditions. Some of the first Israeli passports from 1952, for instance, held the stamp “Valid to any country except Germany” (passport-collector online). Ideologies of language are always bound up with ideologies of communities (Park & Wee 2012: 52). For all kinds of historical and political reasons, Russian is perceived differently in Poland than, for instance, in Italy, which is largely influenced by the relations between the speech communities involved. It endows its speakers with different capitals in different markets.

Consequently, in any intercultural ELF-conversation, the power relations are not only defined by the capital of the speakers involved, but also by the relations established between the languages and groups the speakers identify with. If a speaker is already familiar with the language or culture of a future interlocutor beforehand, it can be argued that potential stereotypes will influence that conversation. Power relations constituting the social structure in which that conversation is embedded will determine the price and profit of a given utterance. For instance, as Park and Wee (2012: 154-155) suggest, an asylum seeker’s linguistic capital might be seen as lacking communicability and convertibility simply due to its perceived connection with a distant culture. Similarly, Korean educational migrants struggle to position themselves as legitimate speakers in a different country (Park 2009), owing to the Korean ideology of self-deprecation and the prevalent native speaker ideology.

The fact that the degree of foreignness between agents influences the discourse and its value may also provide an explanation of why accents have been found to be evaluated hierarchically (Jenkins 2007). Thus, it is conceivable that the power relations between the first languages of speakers influence the attitudes agents have towards their interlocutors’ accents. Yet, arguably, not only the degree of foreignness of the national identity impacts conversations. What counts is the social distance between two or more agents, also in terms of other social networks they identify with. If, for instance, the boss of a large international firm converses with a possible future employee, there is, quite obviously, an asymmetrical power relationship between them, simply because the employer has the power to provide the

applicant with that job. This influences the linguistic practice of that interaction. The employee will use their linguistic capital to evaluate the conditions of that situation and adapt their speech accordingly, in order to possibly draw some kind of profit, most likely economic profit, from it. Likewise, it has an impact on that applicant's attitude towards non-conformity, for he or she probably recognises the potential profit drawn from conforming to the norms of the standard variety.

If the roles of the agents are clear from the beginning and the relations are defined in advance, it can be assumed that the conditions of price formation tend to be clearer so that language can be adapted. Yet, what if these roles are unfamiliar at the beginning of a linguistic exchange? By what means are the power relations established then? Let us assume that some travellers meet in their shared dormitory of a hostel, introduce themselves and engage in conversation. In that case, the power relations are most likely defined differently. The more linguistic capital the agents have, the more likely they are to adapt their speech in order to draw profit. Therefore, power relations may be defined by linguistic capital, yet not by 'proficiency' in the traditional sense, but in the sense that they succeed in functionally exploiting their linguistic repertoires (although this may not be recognised by respondents in studies). Further, if two interlocutors are familiar with the culture or social network the other person identifies with, and thereby the totality of the capital the agent has, the power relation may be influenced by that. Yet again, all of this depends on the kind of capital and profit agents aim for and the market conditions in which that exchange takes place. Due to an infinite number of possible communication contexts, interlocutors, identities, markets, et cetera, there cannot be one uniform code to meet the communicative requirements of all these contexts. Consequently, attitudes cannot be straightforward, either.

Linking attitudes to a postmodern view of identity as constructed in discourse, this implies that also such power relations are constructed in discourse. Therefore, identity cannot but be in a constant state of flux. ELF agents may recognise their almost unlimited identity options in intercultural communication. They may recognise that, depending on the market, and on the social distance, which is constructed between the identities of interacting agents, different degrees of conformity to norms are appropriate. In other words, whether and to what degree their language use adheres to the codified norms of a standard variety of English (for instance RP) depends on the perceived relation and distance between the identities of the interacting agents and the markets in which they operate. The crucial aspect is that our

increasingly globalised world with ELF as a global medium of communication that is extremely hybrid and defined by completely new parameters opens many doors. At the same time, it is full of conflicts of interest. The matrix of countless markets and interlocutors and thereby identity options as constructed in discourse constitutes a real challenge for the linguistic habitus as our comfort zone. In fact, the conflict between globalisation, postmodernity and ELF as revolutions in language use and traditional communal and communicative assumptions rooted in the linguistic habitus makes the conditions of price formation more fluid and relative, and thereby harder to anticipate. Thereby, it represents a step out of the comfort zone. So generally, the world we live in, including the structure of society in the wake of globalisation, is made up of conflicting forces. ELF as the median of globalisation is inseparably tied up with all the conflicts globalisation is causing. It is, therefore, in itself a conflict of interests. Thus, it is no surprise that attitudes towards the very essence of ELF, namely the conformity to native speaker norms, are characterised by conflicts and ambivalence.

8.3 CONFLICTING IDENTITIES

The study of language and communication, including the legitimacy of ELF, cannot but lead into topics of identity and culture. In fact, Joseph (2004: 12) even states that “the entire phenomenon of identity can be understood as a linguistic one”. Likewise, as Pavlenko and Blackledge point out, “language choice and attitudes are inseparable from political arrangements, relations of power, language ideologies, and that interlocutors’ views of their own and other identities” (2004: 1, quoted in Jenkins 2007: 198). While power relations and language ideologies have now been touched upon, what is still missing is a conceptualisation of identity and how it ties in with attitudes, which, arguably, it is the most important aspect to address. Because, if attitudes are conflicting, as exemplified in section 4.1, this basically means that identities must somehow be conflicting, too. The aim of this section is therefore to illustrate how conflictive identities as highlighted by a poststructuralist approach may collide in the process of attitude formation.

First of all, it must be noted that identity is obviously an incredibly diverse and broad field of research. While the longing for group membership in general is a very natural characteristic of human race, identities are frequently seen as constructed out of a wide range of choices (Bauman 2000, Baker 2015). This puts identity increasingly at the centre of attention in sociolinguistic research. Though clearly an intriguing aspect to explore, the

limited scope of this thesis does not allow for a close examination of identity. The understanding of identity in this thesis is, therefore, a very wide-ranging one. It is socio-cultural identity in its broadest sense, including gender, ethnicity, profession and everything we want to be, regardless of neat categories. It will largely follow Baker's view of identity as "the network of social groups and social relations that we take part in and orientate towards" (Baker 2015, section 4.1.1). In a Bourdieuan sense, it is all the capital that we have had in the past and in the present, and the capital we will strive for in the future, which should be a suitable and sufficient approach for an investigation of its interrelationship with attitudes.

Socio-cultural identity as a very broad area has, for obvious reasons, long been a key subject in ELF research, not only because linguistics cannot be separated from the study of identity, but also because ELF as an international tool for communication rather than a bounded entity does not allow for a single supposed language, culture and identity correlation (Baker 2015). Therefore, many discussions have evolved around the question of whether and in how far it expresses or constructs its speakers' identities and cultures, and where it finds itself within the dichotomy communication/identification of languages as social phenomena (Hüllen 1992, referred to in Pölzl 2003: 5). Needless to say, these aspects have significant impacts on perceptions of ELF variation – for, clearly, if an ELF user identifies with ELF, this bestows a certain, at least individual legitimacy upon non-conformity. Accordingly, assuming a global identity, along with identification with ELF by the recognition of global ownership, it is likely to lead its user towards a more positive orientation towards ELF as a perfectly legitimate adaptation to one's needs. In contrast, if there was no link between ELF and identity, and ELF was seen as rather identity-neutral, "serving very practical purposes of information transfer rather than featuring strongly in identity construction" (Virkkula & Nikula 2010: 256), which was long a pre-dominant assumption, the ownership and the rights of usage as adapted to one's needs would remain tied to the NSs. Thus, for instance, the preference for NS norms by learners in the expanding circle was backed up by Preisler (1999) by claiming that standard English did not affect NNS learners' social or individual identities (Jenkins 2007: 37) – a view by now widely disputed and reconsidered. Because, in fact, a large body of research points towards quite the opposite (e.g. Baker 2015, Cogo 2010) in that it provides insights into how identities and culture are expressed and constructed through intercultural communication (Baker 2015). Hence, it is now increasingly assumed that, given the fact that language, ELF included, *always* functions as

an essential marker of identity (Ng & Deng 2017) and, in a postmodernist sense, performs identity (Pennycook 2007), cannot be dissociated from its users' socio-cultural identities. Communication involves participants' purposes, contexts and histories, with none of them being 'neutral'. Hence, it would be "naïve to assume that ELF is a culturally and identity neutral form of communication" (Baker 2015, introduction).

Arguably, identity issues as being in a mutually constitutive relationship with language have become even more relevant in the 21st century, with globalisation and poststructuralism allowing for multiple, shifting identities, and the use of ELF growing, which deeply affects our sense of self in connection to ELF (Baker 2015). In what was referred to as 'liquid modernity' (Bauman 2000), where previous social structures are liquefied by becoming less stable and changeable, issues of identity have gained rising attention (Baker 2015, section 4.1.2). As a result, as suggested by Sung (2014: 45) the global flows of people and information have enabled users of ELF to construct new, potentially culturally- or nationally-independent identities and to express "a non-parochial, cosmopolitan, globalised citizen identity" (Dörnyei & Ryan 2015: 97). So as the transcendence of borders increases, social reference points for identification are now not necessarily bound to traditional networks and local communities anymore, but are now to be constructed by individuals themselves, based on the multitude of choices offered (Bauman 2000, referred to in Baker 2015, section 4.1.2). Thus, a key question in the scholarly debate is in how far globalisation impacts our sense of identity and culture, whether we are developing something like a *global identity* (Arnett 2002: 777) or *global culture*, and how we can solve the "tension between local, national, and global identifications" (Baker 2015, section 1.2). For, essentially, identity is not only linked to how people make sense of their relationship to the world (Norton 2000, referred to in Sung 2014: 44), but it also significantly affects linguistic realities and their perceptions.

In general, there seems to be agreement on the fact that poststructuralist identities are complex negotiated constructs, and consequently that "[i]ndividuals are constantly reconciling their current sense of self and their accumulated past, with a view to dealing with what awaits them in the future" (Huang 2018: 20). Rather than being given phenomena, identities are seen as constructed, negotiated and transformed in discourse. This construction of identity is always in process or in production, which means that identity is generally multiple, dynamic and fluid (Sung 2014: 44). Constructed in discourse and thereby dependent on, in Bourdieu's words, the social system, the market conditions and the agents

involved in a linguistic practice, identity cannot be treated in isolation from power issues. According to Heller's (1992, 1995) framework, language is a means of influencing others in social interaction, and language is seen as a symbolic resource linked to power, which largely corresponds to Bourdieu's perception of language. As argued by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004: 12-13), analyses of language practices should uncover how language ideologies legitimise and validate certain practices. Power relationships are likely to shift, with 'game rules' renegotiated and new identity options coming into play that had previously been devalued. This shift in power relations, including the rise of criticism, also in the realm of Global Englishes, most certainly objects to traditional notions and hierarchies, be it in terms of classes, but also as concerns the NS/NNS distinction. If identity is constructed in discourse, and, as Bourdieu argues, discourse is the relation between the habitus and the market, then discourses cannot but be highly diverse, meaning that those constructed identities are highly diverse as well.

Clearly, given the discursive construction of identity and their multiplicity, a crucial question to ask is by what criteria they combine. Omoniyi (2006: 30), for instance, proposes a model consisting of 'hierarchies of identities', according to which identity options are hierarchically distributed, reaching from least to most salient. Those identity options are co-present, and in a given situation, some alternative identity options can be held in the background. Thus, this model opens up the possibility of approaching deviations from NS norms as identity-driven, for instance when a speaker wants to signal a shared identity (Jenkins 2007: 202). The mutually constructed identities may be based on all sorts of factors. While constructing these identities in discourse, different degrees of conformity may be appropriate. This is clearly demonstrated by the range of literature providing insights into how non-conformity and exploiting one's full linguistic repertoire rather than insisting on NS models appears to be increasingly recognised as a perfectly legitimate means of expressing and performing one's culture and identity and not only signalling membership to a particular group or network, but also constructing it while discourse.

Canagarajah (2005), for instance, proposes that ELF is often appropriated to meet the speakers' localised interests and needs, a suggestion confirmed by Jenkins (2007), who found evidence that speakers actually wish to project their local identities into their use of ELF. Pölzl (2003) argues that English is a culture-free code and not only allows for a means to express a speaker's primary culture, but also to co-create a new inter-culture together with

the speaker's co-participants. Needless to say, in order to express socio-cultural identities but also to create an 'interculture' as proposed by Pözl, an adjustment of the language used is perfectly legitimate. The claim that ELF speakers use language solely for communication and thereby use the NS as the linguistic and cultural reference point would deny them the possibility to replace the 'shibboleth' (Seidlhofer 2005: 71) NS English identity markers with features which represent their own community and identity (Jenkins 2007: 37). An increasing acceptance of ELF as a means of expressing identity and culture may positively influence perceptions towards ELF and legitimise deviations from NS norms, as suggested by Seidlhofer (2011: 50):

For NNSs to be able to use language like NS without traces of their L1 is increasingly perceived as unnecessary, unrealistic, and, at least by some, positively undesirable. Indeed, countless ELF speakers have begun to assert their identities and to operate according to their own 'commonsense' criteria.

So, clearly, there is an inextricable link between identity, communication including ELF variation and attitudes. Yet if identity is the main source of forming attitudes, a crucial question is just what their connection is exactly, and what implications the discursive construction and multiplicity of identity have for attitudes.

Not surprisingly, these shifts, the newly arising identity options and this multitude and fluidity of identity have overwhelming effects on how individuals make sense of themselves, their interlocutors and the world they live in. Bauman, for instance, argues that in our new world, "identities are mixed blessings", and "perhaps the most common, most acute, most deeply felt and troublesome incarnations of ambivalence" (Baker 2015, section 4.1.2). Similarly, Block (2006: 35) states that identity is a process which is, by nature, necessarily conflictive, with an outcome that is "not generally neat and tidy, and [...] often leads to feelings of ambivalence". With reference to Block (2006), Huang (2018: 21) further states that

[a]mbivalence is thus the natural state of human beings who are forced by their individual life trajectories to make choices where choices are not always a simple half-and-half proposition whereby the individuals becomes half of what they were and half of what they have been exposed to.

Following this, from a poststructuralist view, identities cannot but be ambivalent, and as a relatively natural consequence, attitudes are ambivalent too. Contradicting and conflicting attitudes are then representations of inner conflicts of identities being in a constant state of flux. When Majaren's study (2008), for instance, revealed that English teachers' identities

“turned out to be multiple, shifting, and occasionally in conflict”, she concluded that this is “typical of poststructuralist identities” (Majaren 2008: 68). Remarkably, this corresponds to Hall’s diaspora identities. The diaspora experience he refers to is defined “by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of ‘identity’ which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by hybridity”. In accordance with poststructuralist approaches, diaspora identities are “constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference” (Hall 1994: 235). With identities being constructed in discourse, making an unambiguous choice in terms of an attitude towards a certain phenomenon is not only virtually impossible in itself. Due to the many identity options, an individual may have many nonexclusive identities in mind. Thus, respondents may feel like global citizens and recognise the legitimacy of non-conformity in one discourse, while they still strongly perceive themselves as L2 learners, influenced by years of SLA indoctrination, in another situation, without either of these identities excluding the other one. This is also echoed by Erling’s (2007) study, in which he draws the conclusion that

just as students do not seem to be losing their national language, they do not appear to be losing their sense of national identity. Rather, they are adding other layers of identity related to their affinities with other places and communities. This suggests that students are redefining their sense of national identity in reference to the local, national, European and/or global communities they identify with (2007: 128).

Whether and to what extent they identify with their L1 community (leaving aside the debate on the tenability of that notion), ELF as a global tool for communication not bound to any community of practice in particular certainly opens up a large number of identity options that do not exclude one another. Thus, a person can be aware that not adhering to NS norms is perfectly legitimate for one or several of the reasons mentioned in section 2.4 – and not conform to those norms in a given situation. At the same time, that same person may also be a TESOL teacher at a conference surrounded by native speakers only, where a different identity and different power relations are constructed, and the context of that interaction requires conformity to NS norms in order to draw the greatest profit from it. In the context of an empirical study, the latter identity of the interviewee may be less present than the first one, influenced by the current situation. Notably, particularly in the realm of ELF, which is more than any other topic bound up to societal changes and globalisation and thereby provides many alternative sources for identification, attitudes are likely to be highly receptive to these conflicts. The multitude of identity options, linked to the multitude of

markets and interlocutors, hence, communication contexts, does not allow for clear-cut attitudes towards the legitimacy of language variation.

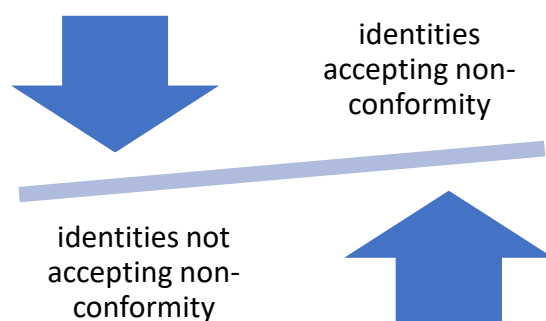


Figure 2: Conflicting identities in ELF

As Figure 2 shows, some of these identity options may speak in favour of non-conformity, while others do not. This may give rise to ambivalent attitudes, for, following for instance Omoniyi's (2006: 30) model of 'hierarchies of identities', they are likely to be co-present yet differently salient at a given moment. Basically, if the infinite number of markets and capital means an infinite number of identity options, identity conflicts are representations of the multitude and hybridity of markets and capital as discussed in the previous section. Depending on experience and world knowledge, the markets, the capital and the identity options are all co-present in an agent's mind. Identity is also about capital: group membership is, in the end, about one's position, or one's desired position, in society – divided by a variety of classifications, but also depending on social relations (social capital), education (cultural capital), one's possessions (economic capital) or simply the honour one receives (symbolic capital).

Although it now seems quite obvious and rational that ambivalent attitudes result from ambivalent identities, it must be considered that, arguably, the markets and capital, in other words, the identities of choice that tend to be most salient are usually linked to a tendency to cling to conformity. It almost appears as if many sources of identification inevitably involve the ideological force of prestigious (NS Standard) norms which need to be followed. Standard language ideology superimposes on our identities and our linguistic habitus. We cannot escape the standard language ideology from affecting our identities in some way, which collides with the opposite pole and forms an antithesis to the liquidation of both linguacultural and territorial boundaries.

9 THE FORMATION OF AMBIVALENT ATTITUDES: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

After having provided some insights into issues of language legitimacy and language evaluation, and how globalisation, postmodernity and ELF reconsider and liquify these conditions of legitimacy and evaluation, the question remains, and this is basically the gap that is addressed, just how all these factors relate to each other. In other words, how do previously discussed aspects and influential factors combine and collide in the formation of attitudes? How do postmodernist issues of socio-cultural identity tie in with conflicts of legitimacy, underpinned by notions of language standards, distinction and the economics of language; and how do factors such as education and gatekeeping come in?

For obvious reasons, the standard language ideology is, as widely discussed, *the* key factor. Standardisation, by promoting uniformity and invariance, not only contradicts the natural instability of language (e.g. Widdowson 1994) but generates the belief that “the standard variety is the only legitimate one” (Seidlhofer 2011: 42) – with the attribute of ‘legitimate’ being a substantial part of language evaluation.

Notably, although Bourdieu’s argument is neither explicitly linguistic, nor concerned with intercultural communication, it reveals valuable and highly relevant insights into the basic principles of *legitimate* language use and the economics of linguistic practice in different markets. It highlights how ideological factors combine and result in language evaluation which helps to reproduce distinction of class. As Salö (2015: 515) suggests:

Bourdieu’s work on language is often read as overemphasizing market principles, and the space that endows people’s linguistic performances with authority (e.g. Bourdieu 1977). However, it also encompasses a more sensitizing, practicedriven quality [...] – one that emphasizes individuals’ reflexive incorporation of such authority, imbued in their linguistic habitus through historical inculcation of language ideology (e.g. Hanks 2005: 69–72).

Thus, our linguistic habitus as the dispositions that guide and evaluate language use is inevitably governed by the perceived legitimacy and therefore superiority of the standard language, which serves as general yardstick for measuring and evaluating language use. This is the product of complex ideological work, based on socio-political interest in unifying both linguistic markets and languages as entities, and promoting, imposing and inculcating one variety as the most prestigious one. Thereby, the standard language ideology has guided not only notions of correctness and proficiency, but also of prestige and ‘legitimacy’, and

thereby degraded any nonstandard varieties. The *legitimate* use of language has commonly been associated with the dominant, upper classes of society and has served as a marker of social distinction and symbolic power.

Owing to its naturalisation and inculcation in our linguistic habitus, the existence and overt prestige (Labov 1966) of the standard variety as opposed to other varieties is barely challenged and commonly perceived as ‘common sense’ and undisputable. Needless to say, the deep entrenchment of such traditional assumptions has major implications for the way ELF is perceived, with its momentous differences being somewhat incompatible with traditional beliefs. Hence, ELF tends to be viewed as a bounded variety with a prestigious and globally valid set of norms, namely NS StE norms (although it is unclear what these really are), which is an illusion that has enabled its valorisation and convertibility in linguistic markets. Consequently, despite its theoretical legitimacy (see section 3.2), ELF use deviating from codified rules tends to be regarded rather illegitimate in practice. Although the evaluation of social phenomena, including language, is considered a natural and inherent human property, it has guided the evaluation of linguistic utterances towards notions of ‘goodness’ and ‘correctness’ as measured by NS StE norms, which may by nature exclude non-native speakers, especially in formal markets.

According to Bourdieu, language can, just like other forms of capital, be converted and bring profit, with language economy taking place in different markets or fields. It can, for instance, be rewarded by economic profit if it leads an employer to accept an applicant in a job interview. It may also endow a speaker with social capital if the language use is adapted to that of the interlocutor in order to boost one’s group membership. However, importantly, the conversion of linguistic capital as the capacity to produce linguistic utterances *à propos* specific markets is highly dependent on the social conditions of the linguistic exchange. Although the standard variety is usually the variety regarded most highly, reminding of Labov’s (1966) overt prestige, the context of a conversation may also require the agents to adopt a speech style that deviates from standard norms in order to draw some kind of profit (covert prestige). What follows is that whether conformity to NS norms is appropriate in a given situation or not, hence if it is legitimate or not, depends on the function and goal of the conversation, and on the kind of capital and the market involved in the linguistic exchange. Therefore, it can be assumed that native speakers are not necessarily predestined to always benefit from better convertibility than non-native speakers in intercultural communication.

In fact, as studies have reported, NNSs may be more likely to exploit their linguistic repertoire in accordance to a given context and thereby draw some kind of profit. Although, as long as the conditions of a large proportion of markets/fields are tied to NS standard norms, native speakers *do* have real-life advantages over non-native speakers, the belief that they generally and by nature have the highest linguistic capital is a common misconception. It is an ideology. This misconception, which endows native speakers with unfounded symbolic power, can most likely be traced back to the irrational extension of deeply entrenched beliefs of unified markets and the ownership of languages. Rather than being regarded an independent hybrid tool for communication, ELF is therefore often measured against NS Standard English as the legitimate variety in the entire linguistic market of English, which stigmatises non-conformity and prioritises native speakers. In a nutshell, the linguistic habitus with its deeply entrenched prioritisation of standard norms, shaped by social, political and historical processes, fails to distinguish between L1 communities and ELF. It thereby causes many misconceptions that have severe consequences for ELF use.

Now looking at the factors the ELF literature argues to feed into ELF attitudes, such as education, gatekeeping, familiarity, stereotypes, misconceptions or the native speaker ideology (e.g. Jenkins 2007, Wang 2013, Galloway & Rose 2015), it can be assumed that they are all in some way bound up with the standard language ideology. Hence, while there is general agreement among scholars that it has left strong marks on the use and perception of ELF variation, it appears that this ideology has often been mentioned side by side to other influential factors, and not been given enough attention in terms of how it in further consequence impacts other factors. Given its historical inculcation and naturalisation, it seems much more obvious to suggest that the standard language ideology is the root, which has enabled to treat language as an economic ‘product’, and has its ‘mediators’, which, as consequences of standardisation, impart and reproduce the values of the standard language. Hence, for instance, the belief that the standard variety is by nature the legitimate variety has impacted education in the sense that it has always promoted and reproduced taste and distinction, also in terms of legitimate language. It has led to gatekeeping procedures and the emergence of stereotypes, especially regarding one’s status in society, simply because of agents associating ‘proficiency’ in the standard variety with power, educatedness, prestige and distinction. Ideological work has tailored our perceptions towards an understanding of the standard variety not only as naturally superior but as tied to its native speakers, leading to misconceptions of language, communication and ELF. These variables, as the ‘carriers’

of the standard language ideology, are likely to influence attitudes towards non-conformity rather negatively.

Usually, though, attitudes towards non-conformity are not entirely negative, but somewhat conflicting and ambivalent. As we remember, the value of utterances depends on the conditions of its linguistic market. Yet, given the fact that intercultural communication is extremely hybrid and the capital and markets of ELF are enormously diverse and, due to increased mobility and interconnectivity, almost infinite, this may not come as a surprise. For in fact, ELF liquefies the predictability and anticipation of convertibility and profitability, not only of languages in relation to each other, but also of the 'legitimate' degree of conformity to norms. Just as there are almost immeasurable communication contexts, there are immeasurable ways of exploiting one's linguistic repertoire and therefore immeasurable degrees of conformity to NS Standard norms. Consequently, the ambivalence frequently reported by attitude studies may well result from the recognition that in some situations, hence in some markets, non-conformity is perfectly legitimate, while in others, it is less legitimate. Seen from this angle, the ambivalence is actually a positive sign – it is linguistic capital, in that users recognise and anticipate the number of options and the kind of language use legitimate in each of these options. Hence, the fact that ELF enables a huge variety of possible and imaginable markets/fields and interlocutors for communication may lead to conflicting images and perceptions. However, these conflicts are also a sign of progress – a sign that the use of ELF is slowly but surely gaining ground and is objecting to and loosening up the strands of the standard language ideology. The same applies to identities. For identity, as constructed in communication, basically depends on the market and the interlocutor. According to Omoniyi's (2006) *hierarchy of identities* and poststructuralist perceptions of identity, there are several co-present identities that can be constructed out of a wide range of choices. In fact, following Hall's (1990) *diaspora identities*, diaspora experience lives by hybridity and diversity. As he suggests, "though we speak, so to say 'in our own name', of ourselves and from our own experience, nevertheless who speaks, and the subject who is spoken of, are never identical, never exactly in the same place" (Hall 1994: 222). It is therefore conceivable that ambivalent attitudes are the result of conflicting ideas concerning the possible identities constructed on any of the imaginable markets and by means of any kind of conversion of capital, characterised by completely new laws of price formation. Hence, even if users of ELF may recognise the legitimacy of non-conformity in some situations, they recognise that in others, NS norms may be the only

legitimate reference points that increase the convertibility of a given utterance. It is therefore not surprising that agents are often drawn between different degrees of legitimacy, which causes ambivalent and conflicting attitudes, by which on the one hand, they claim to approve of non-conformity, but on the other hand, they express affection for NS StE norms.

Still, this does not account for the complex intersections of the factors and issues discussed before. What is still missing is a contextual framework which establishes connections between the standard language, issues of identities, the economics of language, education, intelligibility, et cetera. Worthwhile starting points are, on the one hand, the linguistic habitus where our attitudes towards languages and thereby also towards conformity to norms in ELF are rooted, and on the other hand, the context in which linguistic practice takes place, namely globalisation. First of all, I argue that our linguistic habitus is tailored by mutually dependent and mutually enforcing factors, divided by three different levels. The first level consists of internal, inherent factors, which set the grounds for developing attitudes in general. They are the embodied cognitive **preconditions** that, rather than shaping our attitudes, allow for attitudes to be shaped. Although, clearly, they are much more complex, identity in its broadest sense is a crucial part of these conditions. A sense of and longing for group membership is a native property of humankind. It is established and reflected by language and includes the naturally occurring evaluation of social phenomena, linguistic phenomena included. In that sense, we are ‘economic thinkers’ by nature. We cannot establish and maintain social relations without anticipating profitability of and assessing the conditions of language use. Arguably, this native disposition makes us responsive to ideological work and influence in the first place. It has enabled that certain language uses are now endowed with certain values; both on the global level, with English clearly being the most important language worldwide, and in terms of language variation in general, with the standard variety as the most prestigious form – shaped and guided by ideological work.

Hence, our identity and the evaluation of language are imbued in and framed by ideological factors, or in other words, by social, historical and political processes, which have led to deep-rooted, naturalised (mis)understandings of communication and community. The standard language ideology, in the broadest sense, as the most crucial ideological factor is in a bilateral relation with internal factors. Internal factors provide a firm base: through humans’ constant striving for group membership, established and reflected by language, standard language ideologies fall on fertile ground. Conversely, the standard language

ideology also has an impact on internal factors: it guides the evaluation of language, its profitability and convertibility on different markets, and thereby social stratification and identity. It can be said to direct identity towards the position in society as a constructed class system as suggested by Bourdieu, and to constantly reproduce this system, although, clearly, poststructuralist approaches towards language have come up with new, rather different sources of identification.

Notions of distinction and correctness, caused by the standard language ideology and the ideological construction of society as a class system within constructed territorial boundaries, are deep-rooted, naturalised abstractions. In further consequence, they lead to many misconceptions about languages and communities. These dispositions, as argued by Bourdieu (1991) but also by scholars such as Garrett (2010) or Dragojevic (2017), are acquired in early childhood, often in combination with education, and are therefore deeply entrenched. Consequently, owing to their naturalisation, these factors tend to remain rather unquestioned among the general public. These beliefs can be argued to provide us with an abstract sense of stability and security. Thereby, clearly, they may be considered both convenient and favourable by its users, so that they can only be changed and unconstructed with difficulty. In the wake of poststructuralism, however, ideologies like these are increasingly dealt with and uncovered in the academic literature.

Rather than being directly recognised, ideologies surface and are mediated in the form of external, perceptible factors, reminding of the tip of the iceberg. These variables that in further consequence influence attitudes, such as education or gatekeeping, are more directly measurable and perceptible and thereby often quoted as reasons for orientations to norms and ELF. As mediators, they constantly reproduce the standard language ideology, including notions of distinction and correctness. For in fact, as discussed before, the standard language ideology has shaped these constructs in the first place.

Finally, the totality of these factors shapes the linguistic habitus, as indicated in figure 3:

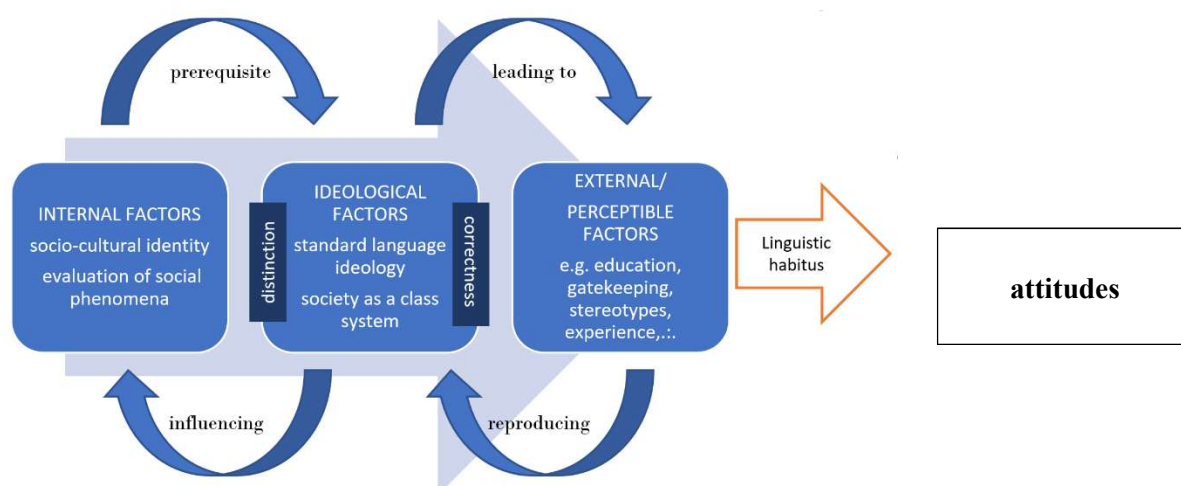


Figure 3: Influential factors on the linguistic habitus

Although, as indicated by the direction of the arrow pointing towards the linguistic habitus, there is a somewhat sequential order in this framework, they are all interconnected and mutually dependent. Thus, the framework is sequential since internal factors have provided the basis for ideological factor, and ideological factors have shaped the perceptible factors; yet as indicated by the small arrows, they all influence each other. In general, the sum of these interacting inherent, ideological and external factors results in the dispositions that shape both our language use and our attitudes towards language. This linguistic habitus, mostly influenced by childhood experience, usually represents rather traditional notions of communication and community, such as the superiority of the standard variety, the prevalence of the native speaker, nationality and uniform languages as crucial sources of identification, legitimate language use as a marker of distinction, proficiency, the notion of correctness as tied to associations of educatedness, et cetera.

In contrast, and this is what most likely causes the ambivalence, both the entire linguistic habitus and all of the influential factors are, directly or indirectly, influenced by globalisation. Our fast-changing world has a far-reaching impact on the conditions in which social practices including *translanguaging* (Swain 2006, Seidlhofer 2011) take place; in other words, it alters socio-cultural and linguistic parameters of linguistic practices. Clearly, changes in these conditions cause changes in all levels of influential factors. Social structures and networks are changing dramatically, with identities now being perceived as constructed out of a wide range of options. Perceptions of language legitimacy are increasingly altered, challenged and unconstructed. Education, gatekeeping, stereotypes and other factors are constantly adapting to the world around us. All of these changes may cause transformations

in the linguistic dispositions guiding our language attitudes. However, clearly, given the inculcation and naturalisation of traditional conceptualisations of language, it is hardly surprising that the linguistic habitus is very resistant to these changes. It collides with new and unconventional lingua-cultural realities and notions, giving rise to incompatible intersections by which the two forces are conflicting in the formation of attitudes. Simply put, these conflicts arise from the mismatch between deeply entrenched lingua-cultural tradition, and lingua-cultural reality in an increasingly globalised world with its infinite possible communication contexts, reflected and highlighted by ELF and postmodern and poststructuralist movements.

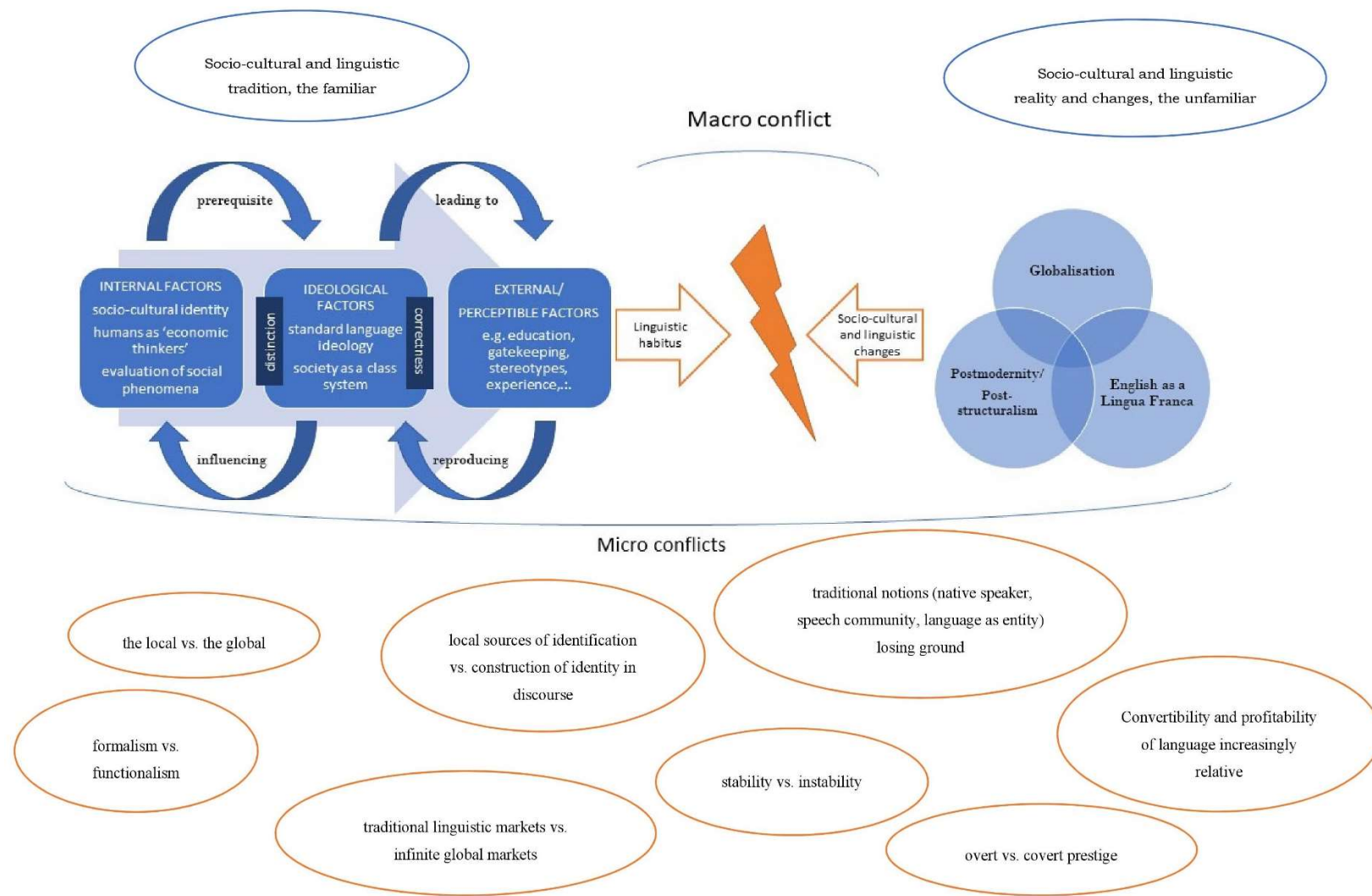


Figure 4: Conflicts leading to ambivalent attitudes

As figure 4 shows, the conflicts, caused by the collision of the linguistic habitus with the scope of globalisation, can be looked upon from two different levels. The macro conflict encompasses all internal conflicts: It is essentially the conflict between lingua-cultural tradition and globalisation, including rapid changes in terms of the notions we have so deeply internalised in our linguistic habitus. It is postmodernity, poststructuralism, and intercultural communication enabled by ELF; in other words, infinite options and ways, be it markets, interlocutors or tools, of communicating, against traditional lingua-cultural understandings. Our perceptions of language are turned upside down by the newly arising and constantly changing conditions of language use, with traditional ideas of nativeness, speech communities or languages as entities being shaken up.

All micro conflicts basically just reflect and result from this macro conflict. The conflicts between the co-present identities as mirroring the choices of opportunities opened up by globalisation, for instance, are merely a consequence of the collision between our linguistic habitus and globalisation. At the same time, postmodernity and poststructuralism uncover and thereby conflict with the ideological and constructed nature of not only language standards but many other social phenomena. Notions of correctness in language are not only recognised as ideological constructs in the academic literature, but there is considerable evidence of language hybridity, language variation and language change due to increased interconnectivity. Likewise, notions of nativeness, monolingualism or verbal hygiene are losing ground, and lingua-cultural misconceptions are slowly breaking down. Formalism is conflicting with functionalism, not only in sociolinguistics, but increasingly also in language teaching and, arguably, also in the way language is perceived among its users. The significance of the standard variety which contradicts the natural instability of languages is deemphasised. The local is collapsing with the global; socio-cultural and linguistic convention with socio-cultural and linguistic changes and new opportunities. Traditional speech communities, in other words markets, often situated within territorial boundaries, are conflicting with increasingly global linguistic markets transcending those boundaries, characterised by fluidity, but also instability.

Needless to say, external factors, in other words the ‘marketing’ instances of language, such as education or gatekeeping, simply cannot remain unaffected from global mobility and interconnectivity either. They are all situated in international contexts now. Globalisation

encircles yet at the same time conflicts with our linguistic habitus, in that it breaks with our traditional understanding of community and communication. In fact, non-conformity is not only about the deviation from standard NS norm. It is about ELF as a fundamentally new form of communication that symbolises lingua-cultural implementations of globalisation. The core of this conflict is essentially a conflict between tradition and modernity, between the familiar and the unfamiliar. Communication is not limited by any traditional lingua-cultural and territorial boundaries anymore. While providing us with a wide range of opportunities, it also means taking a step out of the comfort zone. It is also about fear of the unknown. ELF may be equated with the instability of our time. It may be thought of as a representation of traditional pillars breaking down. With traditional sources of identification collapsing, what do we hold on to, if not linguistic norms? If language as that one key to the world is not regulated by norms, how can the world be regulated? In a way, linguistic norms provide us with security and stability, which is a contradiction to what languages really are, namely instable by nature. It is the artificial construction of stability that is a conflict by itself. Even more so in the wake of globalisation, which opens up an almost infinite number of possible markets and interlocutors. Further, according to Bourdieu, linguistic discourse is the result of the relation between a linguistic habitus and a linguistic market. Yet, first of all, ELF users are incredibly diverse. Depending on their lingua-cultural backgrounds, for instance whether that user has grown up in a monolithic or pluralistic culture, or the social class in which one has been brought up, they all have a different habitus. Second, as previously discussed, markets are highly diverse, too. What follows is that, as commonly known, ELF discourses simply cannot be stable or strictly comply with one code in particular. ELF, in a way, depends on non-conformity. While this is often *recognised* by users, possibly owing to the progress of globalisation and its consequences, it fails to be *accepted*. This conflict between recognition and acceptance is, just like the theory/practice divide commonly found in studies, a conflict between the linguistic habitus and globalisation.

However, just as ELF research highlights that traditional notions used both in linguistics and in more general terms no longer apply, there is general consensus that we need to go beyond traditional dichotomies such as “English or mother tongue[,] [i]ndividual rights or group rights[,] [m]obility or rootedness[,] [m]odernization or preservation” (Canagarajah 2006: 203). In fact, they are not seen as mutually exclusive anymore and its strict

dichotomies are not tenable anymore, for they cannot account for our hybrid, complex world. As stated by Dewey (2007: 349-350),

The linguistic changes that corpora of international Englishes shed light on are examples of the kind of cultural manifestations that arise from our increasingly interconnected experiences that so characterize the current era. They make our penchant for dichotomic terms such as global/local, native/non-native look too simplistic and rigid, as they suggest too much demarcation and stasis to reliably reflect the complexities involved in contemporary human interaction.

In fact, just like poststructuralism is loosening strict entities and clear-cut dichotomies, it appears that attitudes cannot but be ambivalent, because language users simply cannot have clear and straightforward attitudes to a phenomenon that is a manifestation of rising entanglements and complexities caused by the age of globalisation. Ambivalent attitudes towards conformity to norms reflect the far-reaching transformations of socio-cultural and linguistic structures of our time. For, in a way, linguistic norms are not just about linguistic norms. Language legitimacy is not about communication, it is, first and foremost, about identity, about group membership, about who we are and who we want to be – all of which is inevitably influenced by the breadth of globalisation. Notwithstanding, it can be argued that ELF, once it has found its place within the complex interrelations of legitimacy by differentiating itself from deep-rooted communal and communicative assumptions, it can substantially help to order and structure our global age, while at the same time allowing for ways of encompassing both, linguistic comfort zone and new lingua-cultural realities, which is, for instance, implied by Ehrenreich's metaphor of the 'global village', which emphasises, as she says, "unity in the face of diversity" (Ehrenreich 2011: 12):

The global village speaks English. However, not every villager speaks the same English; different Englishes are spoken in the various corners of the village, among highly diverse constellations of speakers, and with varying degrees of frequency (Ehrenreich 2011: 11).

In that sense, unity and diversity do not exclude each other. In fact, it can be argued that combined forces can substantially help to order and structure our global age.

10 CONCLUDING REMARKS & OUTLOOK

The main objective of the present thesis was to explore reasons for and factors leading to ambivalent attitudes towards non-conformity to standard NS norms in the use of ELF. For, despite its continuous spread, ELF remains, rather irrationally, underpinned by negative attributions of ‘nonstandard’. What Bourdieu refers to as the “stylization of life”, which as the primacy of form over function “leads to the denial of function” (Bourdieu 1991: 172) is of particular relevance, and hindrance, to ELF as a functionally motivated hybrid linguistic resource. Clearly, this striving for linguistic ‘purification’ in terms of form while disregarding its function has major implications for the perceptions of the sociolinguistic realities of ELF. Even though research has shown that non-native speakers can successfully and effectively make use of ELF and “strike it out on [their] own” (Widdowson 1994: 384), it has long remained a ‘common sense’ perception that native speakers serve as the only *legitimate* reference points in using ELF. While previous attempts of investigating underlying reasons thereof have mainly referred to the standard language ideology, this thesis has aimed to develop a deeper understanding of negative and ambivalent attitudes.

The present work has shown that the study of ELF stretches over a variety of different fields, topics and issues. Rather than being solely a linguistic phenomenon, ELF incorporates political, cultural, economic, historical and ideological issues, all entangled in a complex, unfathomable framework of interrelations. By implication, we can draw the conclusion that *legitimacy* and symbolic capital as that of NSs are, remarkably, not granted by communicative success. Instead, they lead back to a complex set of mutually influencing factors, most of which are of ideological nature, as well as identity as the group memberships by which we define our sense of self.

Although globalisation as “the process of becoming global” (Keohane & Nye 2000) is also a process of “homogenizing the world” (Mufwene 2010), it provides us with an ever-growing choice of opportunities – opportunities and ways of transcending and overcoming national, cultural and linguistic boundaries. By allowing for communication in a wide range of linguistic markets and with infinite possible interlocutors, each of them highly individual in terms of their lingua-cultural backgrounds, this global era opens up a rich choice of sources for identification. Thereby, sociocultural identity as constructed in discourse is barely fixed or constrained. In contrast, however, our deeply entrenched linguistic habitus

tends to represent rather traditional and increasingly outdated assumptions about language and community. In other words, it is the comfort zone by which we make sense of the world and maintain group relationships with relative ease by relying on stable and familiar laws of price formation. The interplay of internal preconditions, ideological work and external factors functioning as mediators of ideologies have ingrained the perception of a naturally existing, prestigious variety in our linguistic habitus. Thereby, unsurprisingly, the affection for norms is hard to overcome. Established misconceptions represent a significant barrier for modern, more appropriate conditions for using and describing language use to break with.

This macro conflict results in various micro conflicts, which altogether surface via ambivalent attitudes. Hence, unity versus diversity; the local versus the global; overt versus covert prestige, and more - they are altogether leading to a hybridisation and liquefaction of linguistic price formation. Arguably, these conflicts can be extended to a wide range of other contexts, such as significant swings to the right in contemporary European politics, falling trust in professional authority (Coupland 2010: 24) or the rising importance of dialect indexicalities as attempts of producing a sense of 'the local' during global growth (Johnstone 2010). Having a closer look at micro conflicts like these, it appears that many of them can be broken down to the conflict between the familiar and the unfamiliar, between unity and diversity, which results in a kind of fear of losing stability.

Generally, given the dynamics of rapidly growing ELF variation, the sociolinguistic issue of linguistic legitimacy is an intriguing one which should be further examined in future research. Thus, although it is hoped that this thesis has raised awareness of the issue of ambivalent attitudes and shed light on its significance but also on its complexity, it has left many gaps to further explore. First, it is unfortunate that the limited scope of this thesis has not allowed to exemplify the framework by empirical data. Thus, a crucial limitation of this thesis lies in the fact that it lacks empirical illustration, which is why correlating the conceptual framework with actual data would be a worthwhile endeavour for future research.

Further, despite its fruitful overlaps and revealing contrasts to ELF alike, Bourdieu's theory also has significant limitations. This approach has thrown up many questions in need of further investigation, one of them being whether and to what extent Bourdieu's theory of

social distinction is applicable to a present-day, global and international context, with societal structures constantly transforming; and in what sense it could be reinterpreted to get new valuable insights. In addition, as mentioned before, the laws of price formation and convertibility of ELF as a very distinctive means of communicating with global ownership differ significantly from Bourdieu's target group, namely a linguistic entity in a unified linguistic market before globalisation liquefied such borders. Clearly, exploring how the economics of language has changed and in what sense it can and needs to be reappraised would be a fruitful area for future research.

Moreover, looking into how attitudes are also influenced by the interlocutors' lingua-cultural backgrounds would be a worthwhile endeavour. The norm-based linguistic habitus is likely to hold true for some societies more than for others, rather than being a uniformly and universally valid phenomenon, which is essentially what characterises the hybridity of ELF communication. Likewise, it would be interesting to look into the role of intercultural awareness in enhancing profitability by anticipating the interlocutor's habitus, and therefore potential sanctions and profits.

Clearly, as repeatedly mentioned in this thesis, education plays a crucial role in defining attitudes. It is vital not only in the sense that EFL students will most likely be future ELF users in need of weapons and skills required in intercultural communication, but also in that education in general is thought to reproduce, in Bourdieu's terms, distinction, for instance by drawing on a formalist view. Consequently, the fields of ELF and EFL need to collaborate in order to come up with fruitful intersections that prepare students for our both globalised and globalising world. Needless to say, also in terms of attitudes, ELT is a powerful factor, since the standard language ideology can only be destructed via external factors. Further work is needed to fully understand both the implications of ELT for attitudes and the ways it could be adapted to cause fertile changes not only in terms of how ELF is perceived, but also in how it can facilitate intercultural communication and be of maximum benefit to its users.

While these are just a limited number of suggestions for future research, there certainly is much left to explore. Undoubtedly, the issue of language legitimacy in our global(ising) world is still only in its beginnings and calls for further research. For, as nobody would dispute, ELF is our future. Globalisation is still progressing, and English is gaining

significance and is almost inevitably becoming a central part of our lives. A long-term aspiration would be that ELF variation as the exploitation of linguistic repertoires is both recognised and accepted as a legitimate means of communicating, rather than being faced with prejudice and stigma. Despite the already impressively large body of research, it appears that the challenge now is to conduct sufficient research for institutions and the authorities to respond and stop hindering the full legitimisation of linguistic realities deviating from standard NS norms.

Let me finish with one last note on attitudes. As Jenkins (2007, referred to in Baird & Baird 2017: 531) noted, we cannot develop a picture of future English use and make recommendations of its treatment unless we get an understanding of how people think about its use. This stresses the importance of research into attitudes. However, as suggested by Baird and Baird (2017), and as also supported by the outcomes of this thesis, the reconsiderations of language call for a reconsideration of attitudes as well:

We therefore agree with the need to consider contextual reactions, judgments and feelings that might influence perceptions and behaviour, but we consider that the notion of ‘attitudes’, and the established approaches to researching them, ought to be considered carefully in a landscape characterised by complexity, hybridity and plurality (Baird & Baird 2017: 533).

Finally, even more importantly, they argue that

[t]he way that ‘an attitude to something’ is framed as a reportable, singular entity suggests a level of stability and identifiability inherent in an attitude, which allows researchers to attempt to disassociate language from other aspects of communicative settings, or to isolate this evaluative perception from wider thought processes (Baird & Baird 2018: 536).

Hence, as in line with the many conflicts expressed by attitudes, the frequent attempts to capture ‘an’ attitude at a given moment does not seem to be a suitable approach towards it but rather a conflict with its hybrid and unconscious nature. Not only attitudes are changing – we need to change our approach towards attitudes. So ambivalent attitudes, in fact, not only call for a reconsideration of linguistic terms and notions, but also of how attitudes are studied and interpreted.

Hence, even though previous studies may evoke the impression that lingua-cultural stability is incommensurate with the rapidly changing global era, it could be argued that this state of flux is a natural consequence and, in a way, a sign of progress. It may reflect that the contention “that we must overcome the [...] assumption that ELF could possibly be a

globally distributed, franchised copy of ENL, and take on board the notion that it is being spread, developed independently, with a great deal of variation [...]” (Seidlhofer 2011: 19) is slowly finding its way into the linguistic habitus. So while ELF, with its global growth and linguistic variation may sometimes be deemed the scapegoat of present-day transformations and instability, it is, in fact, not causing any instabilities – instead, by calling into question traditional concepts whose validity is losing ground against more appropriate concepts, it is a valuable contribution to an understanding of the world’s complexities:

In this age of blurred genres and mixed paradigms, the postmodern era helps one to realize that things are not as they were. It is now more difficult to compartmentalize anything into neat, mutually exclusive domains. Perhaps it was always thus and we are only now beginning to recognize that the messy, descriptive nature of the lives that we lead is the norm. In that sense, an understanding of these postmodern or “liquid” times can assist us in seeing the world around us in some, if not all, of its complexities (White & Cooper 2016: 5).

What White and Cooper suggest is interesting, for it suggests that, in fact, the ‘abnormal’ is the norm. Deviations from norms are natural and, in a way, standard – also in language use. Consequently, it is unsurprising that attitudes cannot but be ambivalent. While attitudes will probably continue to reveal conflicts and contradictions, rising legitimacy of linguistic freedom and deviations rather than stigma and negative orientations would be a worthwhile future goal to aim at.

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ENGLISH ABSTRACT

Our global(ising) world is undergoing significant changes through ever-growing mobility and technological advances. English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), whose non-native users have long outnumbered its native-speakers, is at the forefront of such changes. As a hybrid global means of communication, it is not bound to any specific lingua-cultural reference points, with its linguistic reality including forms that diverge from a set of linguistic rules. Nonetheless, most likely owing to the largely ideologically motivated imposition, inculcation and naturalisation of the prestigious standard variety, the use of ELF tends to be evaluated exclusively on the basis of standard norms, despite the conditions of its usage contrasting strongly from those of bounded varieties. This is also reflected by empirical research suggesting that attitudes towards ELF variation tend to be rather negative and often oddly ambivalent and self-contradictory. Thus, while users often recognise the legitimacy of different degrees of conformity in ELF variation, there remains to be a deeply entrenched attachment to native speaker or standard English norms. Notwithstanding, research into this ambivalence is scarce and largely superficial. Therefore, the present thesis aimed to provide deeper insights into the formation of such conflicting attitudes. To this end, theoretical groundwork, based not only on ELF, but also largely on issues of postmodernity and socio-cultural identity, has been combined with a close reading of Bourdieu's *Language and Symbolic Power* in order to eventually come up with a conceptual framework serving as an explanatory model of such 'linguistic schizophrenia'. This aimed to get a deeper understanding of how combined effects of psychological predispositions, ideological backdrops and external factors, such as education or gatekeeping, both are shaped by and shape and thereby reproduce the *legitimacy* of standard norms in the users' minds, which is, however, conflicting with the widely acknowledged success of fluid ELF variation that does not always adhere to certain norms. Hence, the 'economics' and therefore the covert prestige of ELF as a global tool for highly diverse contexts of intercultural communication are liquefied and thereby harder to anticipate. Thus, ELF, along with globalisation and postmodernity, is challenging and colliding with our linguistic habitus, which entails deeply entrenched, rather traditional assumptions of communication and community, which may eventually surface via ambivalent attitudes towards non-conformity.

GERMAN ABSTRACT

Unsere global(isierend)e Welt befindet sich durch ein rasantes Wachstum von globaler Mobilität und technologischem Fortschritt im Umbruch. Ein wesentliches Merkmal dieser Veränderungen ist der Gebrauch von Englisch als Lingua Franca (ELF), deren Anzahl an ‚non-native speakers‘ die der ‚native speakers‘ längst überstiegen hat. Als hybride kommunikative Ressource ist ELF an keine lingua-kulturellen Bezugspunkte gebunden, sodass der dynamische Gebrauch von ELF Formen enthält, die nicht mit sprachlichen Regeln übereinstimmen. Dennoch wird ELF-Variation, wahrscheinlich aufgrund der weitgehend ideologisch motivierten Verhängung, Einimpfung und Naturalisierung der prestigeträchtigen Standardvarietät, tendenziell ausschließlich auf der Grundlage von Standardnormen bewertet, obwohl sich die Bedingungen der ELF-Kommunikation stark von denen einer gebundenen Varietät unterscheiden. Dies spiegelt sich auch in empirischen Untersuchungen wider, die zeigen, dass Einstellungen zu nicht standardmäßigem Sprachgebrauch eher negativ und oft außergewöhnlich ambivalent und widersprüchlich sind. Während ELF-NutzerInnen oft die effektive und erfolgreiche von solchen Normen unabhängige Dynamik der ELF-Variation erkennen, ist die Bindung an Normen dennoch stark. Trotzdem ist die Erforschung dieser Ambivalenz rar und weitgehend oberflächlich, weshalb die vorliegende Arbeit darauf abzielte, tiefere Einblicke in die Bildung solcher widersprüchlicher Einstellungen zu geben. Zu diesem Zweck wurden theoretische Grundlagen, basierend auf ELF sowie Fragen der Postmoderne und sozio-kultureller Identität, mit einer eingehenden Lektüre von Bourdieus *Language and Symbolic Power* kombiniert, um schließlich einen konzeptionellen Rahmen zu entwickeln, der als Modell zur Erklärung dieses Phänomens dienen soll. So konnte ein sich gegenseitig prägendes und reproduzierendes Verhältnis zwischen psychologischen, ideologischen und externen Faktoren, wie Bildung oder ‚Torwächter‘, und der *Legitimität* bestimmter sprachlicher Normen gezeigt werden, obwohl die flexible sprachlichen Realität der ELF-Nutzung durchaus in Studien auch anerkannt wird. Daher werden die ‚Ökonomie‘ und damit das ‚covert prestige‘ der ELF-Nutzung verflüssigt und sind somit schwerer zu antizipieren. So stellt ELF, gemeinsam mit Globalisierung und der Postmoderne, eine Herausforderung für unseren linguistischen Habitus dar, der tief verwurzelte, eher traditionelle Annahmen von Kommunikation und Gemeinschaft beinhaltet. Diese Konflikte lassen sich schließlich in Form von ambivalenten Einstellungen gegenüber ELF-Variation beobachten.