

Roope Reko

**ATTITUDES TOWARDS ENGLISH AS A
LINGUA FRANCA**
**A Comparative Case Study of ESL/EFL Teachers in
Finland and the USA**

Faculty of Information Technology and Communication Sciences
Master's Thesis
May 2019

TIIVISTELMÄ

Roope Reko: **Attitudes towards English as a Lingua Franca – a comparative case study of ESL/EFL teachers in Finland and the USA**

Pro gradu -tutkielma

Tampereen yliopisto

Englannin kielen ja kirjallisuuden tutkinto-ohjelma

Toukokuu 2019

Tutkielman tavoitteena on selvittää, millaisia asenteita englanninopettajilla on englannin kielen lingua franca-asemaa kohtaan ja millaisia vaikutuksia näillä asenteilla voi olla englannin kielen opetukseen toisena ja vieraana kielenä. Lisäksi tutkimuksessa vertaillaan natiivien ja ei-natiivien opettajien asenteita, ja pyritään löytämään syitä mahdollisille eroille ryhmien asenteiden välillä. Tutkimuksen lähtökohtana on tarve kyseenalaistaa opetuksessa pitkään vallinnut käsitys englannin kielestä, mikä lähestyy englantia pääasiassa vain sen historiallisten alkuperämaiden, Ison-Britannian ja Yhdysvaltojen, kielistandardien kautta. Perinteiset englannin opetuksen lähestymistavat eivät siis ole huomioineet englannin nykyistä asemaa globaalina lingua francana tarpeeksi hyvin. Viimeaikainen kehitys opetuksen lähestymistavoissa ja esimerkiksi suomalaisissa opetussuunnitelmissa on kuitenkin osoittanut, että tietoisuutta englannin tärkeydestä kansainvälisen viestinnän kielenä on alettu huomioida myös opetuksessa ainakin jonkin verran.

Tutkimukseen osallistui 44 englanninopettajaa Suomesta ja Yhdysvalloista, joista 16 oli englannin natiivipuhujia ja 28 ei-natiiveja. Tutkimusaineisto kerättiin internet-kyselyllä, joka koostui kolmesta osasta. Ensimmäisessä osassa kerättiin taustatiedot osallistujista. Toisessa osassa oli 25 väittämää, joihin osallistujia pyydettiin ilmaisemaan mielipiteensä neliportaisella asteikolla. Kolmannessa osassa oli neljä avointa kysymystä, joihin osallistujia pyydettiin kertomaan oma vastauksensa vapaamuotoisesti. Kyselyn tulosten analysoinnissa käytettiin sekä määrällisiä että laadullisia menetelmiä. Vastaukset väittämiin analysoitiin deskriptiivisen tilastotieteen keinoin laskemalla ja vertailemalla osallistujien vastausten keski- ja tyyppiarvoja. Avointen kysymysten vastaukset puolestaan analysoitiin soveltaen ankkuroidun teorian menetelmää.

Määrällisen analyysin tulokset osoittavat, että englanninopettajat ovat tietoisia englannin lingua franca-asemasta ja heidän asenteensa sitä kohtaan on pääosin positiivinen. Tämä näkyy kielen opetuksessa niin, että opettajat eivät odota oppilailtaan täydellistä mukautumista englannin standardeihin, vaan pääpaino opetuksessa on kommunikatiivisen kompetenssin kehittämisessä ja viestinnällisen tehokkuuden parantamisessa. Vertailu natiivien ja ei-natiivien opettajien tulosten välillä osoittaa kuitenkin, että ei-natiivit opettajat suhtautuvat standardeista eroavaan englannin käyttöön hieman negatiivisemmin kuin natiiviopettajat. Tämä ero johtuu todennäköisesti ei-natiivien opettajien kieliasenteisiin vaikuttavista taustailmiöistä, kuten natiivipuhujan auktoriteetista ja standardienglanti-ideologiasta.

Laadullisen analyysin tulokset puolestaan näyttävät, että opetuksen tavoitteita suunnitellessa täytyy ottaa huomioon oppijan omat tavoitteet ja paikallinen kielikulttuurillinen konteksti. Tulosten mukaan englannin lingua franca -aseman sisällyttämisellä osaksi englannin opetusta on sekä etunsa että haasteensa. Yhtäältä se voisi toimia rohkaisevana käsitteenä, joka lisää oppijoiden itsevarmuutta ei-natiiveina englannin käyttäjinä. Toisaalta se saattaisi lisätä hämmennystä oppijoilla, joilla on vaikeuksia standardienkin opettelussa. Tämän vuoksi olisi harkittava tarkkaan, missä vaiheessa oppimisprosessia oppijoille on hyödyllistä tiedostaa englannin asema lingua francana. Myös opettajien puutteelliset tiedot englannin lingua franca -asemasta sekä opetussuunnitelmien rajoitukset vaikeuttavat käsitteen sisällyttämistä opetukseen.

Tutkimustuloksista voidaan tehdä useita päätelmiä. Vaikka standardienglanti koetaan ongelmallisena osaamisen mittarina, se on englannin opetukselle välttämätön komponentti, koska se tarjoaa opettajille ja oppijoille selkeän oppimisen viitekehyksen. Samalla englanninopetuksessa on kuitenkin alettu keskittyä enemmän viestinnällisen tehokkuuden kehittämiseen, kun taas kielen muodollista oikeellisuutta ei enää painoteta yhtä paljon kuin ennen. Englanti lingua francana on englanninopettajille houkutteleva käsite, mutta sen sisällyttäminen opetukseen käytännössä vaatisi kehitystä ja muutoksia vallitsevaan tilaan. Muutosta edistävät toimenpiteet voisivat myös vähentää natiivipuhujan auktoriteetin ja standardienglanti-ideologian vaikutusta ei-natiivien opettajien asenteisiin. Lisäksi tulosten perusteella englantia lingua francana on käsitteenä oleellisempi niille, jotka oppivat englantia vieraana kielenä kuin niille, jotka oppivat sitä toisena kielenä pystyäkseen elämään englanninkielisessä yhteiskunnassa.

Avainsanat: englantia lingua francana, englannin kielen opettaminen, kieliasenteet, kulttuurienvälinen viestintä

Tämän tutkielman alkuperäisyys on tarkistettu Turnitin-alkuperäisyydentarkistuspalvelussa.

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1. Introduction

English is a unique language in that it has spread around the world like no other linguistic system. It is the most spoken language in the world if non-native users are included, and it is the most popularly used medium of communication between people of different linguistic backgrounds (Seidlhofer, 2011, 2). What is particularly significant is that the number of non-native speakers of the English language has exceeded the number of its native speakers, and a major portion of daily interaction in English occurs in contexts where no native speakers are involved (*ibid.*). Thus, English has become an important contact language in the various contexts of international communication, and it can be arguably established as a global *lingua franca*.

English has not spread globally without consequences to the language itself, but there is notable regional and individual variation in the use of English. Among second language users, it can be argued that variation in English is caused either by imperfect learning or by perceived redundancy of certain linguistic forms (Mackenzie 2015). Variation of English among second language users often causes debate and raises different attitudes concerning the validity of variable usages. It can be assumed that the widespread use of English as a *lingua franca* must influence the English language as a whole (Mauranen 2012, 33), but this assumption is prone to encountering opposing views especially from native English speakers.

English as a *lingua franca* has been characterized as a variable way of using English (Seidlhofer 2011, 77), particularly for the purposes of international communication. However, since it is a ‘variety’ of English used specifically by non-native speakers, it has often been considered a form of deficient learner language (*idem.* 35). Consequently, there is a clash of attitudes towards English as a *lingua franca*, which is based on different perceptions of how far second language users should focus on conforming to formal norms of the language, and to what extent conformity to formal norms serves the purposes of international communication. This debate also causes tension on how English as a second or foreign language is perceived as a school subject. What is of particular interest is how

teachers as educators of developing second language users perceive the English language and the objectives of their educational work.

The purpose of this study was to provide an account of what kinds of attitudes teachers of English as a second or foreign language have towards English as a lingua franca and what kinds of implications these attitudes may have on teaching the language. In particular, the study aimed to find out what are the currently prevailing approaches directing English language teaching and to what extent the function of English as a global lingua franca has come to contest and reformulate the traditional approaches employed in the field. Furthermore, as it will be discussed in more detail in section 2, it is important to acknowledge that English in its lingua franca function is encountered by both native and non-native English speakers in the modern world and English is taught as a second or foreign language by both native and non-native speakers. Because of their different linguistic backgrounds, native and non-native teachers may perceive the role of English as a lingua franca in English language teaching differently, and because of this, the study investigated attitudes towards English as a lingua franca among both native and non-native teachers.

The major issue that this study aimed to investigate was the overall influence of English as a lingua franca on the way English is perceived as a school subject by English teachers. This issue was approached by breaking it down into four research questions which were as follows:

1. What are the attitudes towards English as a lingua franca among teachers of English as a second/foreign language in Finland and the USA?
2. How do the attitudes towards English as a lingua franca differ between native and non-native English teachers?
3. How are the attitudes towards English as a lingua franca reflected on the way teachers perceive English as a school subject?
4. Why do teachers of English as a second/foreign language (not) want to incorporate English as a lingua franca into their teaching?

Although English as a lingua franca has not been studied extensively until the last few decades, there is a notable amount of previous research on its many aspects, such as attitudes towards it among teachers, student teachers and students in non-English-speaking countries (see section 2.5). However, the attitudes among non-native teachers have not been previously contrasted accurately with attitudes of native teachers. One goal of this study was to contribute to the research of English as a lingua franca by providing a comparison of native and non-native teacher's attitudes and finding out what possible differences there are in how the function of English as a lingua franca influences the way English language teaching is approached by native and non-native teachers.

The terminological difference used between teaching English to non-native speakers in English-speaking and non-English-speaking countries is that in the former it is called teaching English as a second language while in the latter it is termed teaching English as a foreign language. This terminological difference implies the fact that English is taught for essentially different purposes, since in English-speaking communities, non-native speakers are taught English in order to assist them in adapting to the local society, whereas non-native speakers living in other, non-English-speaking countries may have different motivations for studying English, such as pursuing a career where capability for intercultural communication is needed. However, in this study it was assumed that the nature of English as a school subject in these different contexts is essentially the same. The reason for this was that in both interactional contexts we are talking about intercultural communication occurring between native and non-native speakers, and non-native speakers go through the same stages of learning irrespective of the context. What exactly is argued here is that English as a lingua franca reaches all domains where non-native speakers use English, and this potentially needs to be taken into account in teaching the language as well. Earlier research has focused on examining English as a lingua franca in contexts where both speakers are non-native. This study assumed that English as a lingua franca is also encountered in interaction between native and non-native speakers,

and thus, besides examining attitudes among non-natives, the study tackled the question of how English as a lingua franca is perceived by native English teachers.

The relevance of this study lies in the clash between the way English functions as a global lingua franca and the dominance of native speaker authority in formulating the learning goals for second language learners of English. The study aimed to reveal whether conformity to native speaker norms still prevails in English language teaching or whether the focus in teaching has shifted towards communicative effectiveness which is closely connected to ELF interaction occurring between people of different linguistic backgrounds.

This study is located in the fields of language teaching, sociolinguistics, multilingualism and intercultural communication. Language teaching is involved in that data was collected specifically from ESL/EFL teachers and particular interest in the analysis of the data was directed at possible implications that English as a lingua franca has to language teaching. This is also a sociolinguistic study because language variation is a primarily sociolinguistic phenomenon, and although English as a lingua franca is not a variety of English, it is certainly a variable way of using English that raises different opinions and attitudes and that can be observed through a sociolinguistic lens. The study is also related to the fields of intercultural communication and multilingualism, since English as a lingua franca is a language, and in many cases, *the* language specifically used in intercultural communication among multilingual speakers.

This thesis is divided into six sections. After this introduction we move on to section 2 which provides a thorough review of the theoretical framework in which this study is located. Section 3 presents the data collection and analysis methods adopted for the study. Section 4 consists of a presentation and an analysis of the results. Section 5 provides a discussion of the findings made in the analysis, and section 6 reviews the main implications of the study and provides suggestions for further research.

2. Theoretical framework

This section discusses the existing theories and presents earlier debate related to English as a lingua franca (henceforth ELF) and their implications on teaching English as a second or foreign language (henceforth ESL/EFL). The section is divided into six subsections. First, a thorough definition of ELF is provided along with a discussion of its fluid nature in multicultural communicative encounters. This study does not focus on the form of ELF, but it is considered necessary to provide a brief discussion of what factors are at work in a communicative encounter in which ELF is used as the means of communication. The second subsection discusses the position of ELF in the world in relation to established native English varieties and World Englishes. Third, awareness of ELF as a linguistic phenomenon is examined and prevailing approaches and ideologies influencing English language teaching are presented. The fourth subsection is concerned with recent developments in language teaching and implications that ELF potentially brings with it into ESL/EFL teaching. The fifth subsection provides a brief review of earlier studies on teacher attitudes towards ELF and variation in English. Finally, the local contexts of English language teaching in the target countries of this study are presented briefly.

2.1. Conceptualization of ELF

Before observing ELF and its relation to the varieties of English in more depth, it is necessary to establish the notional difference between the concept of *lingua franca* in the more general sense and that of *English as a lingua franca* in a more specific sense. Crystal defines *lingua franca* as a term used to “refer to an auxiliary language used to enable routine communication to take place between groups of people who speak different native languages” (Crystal 2008, 282). By defining *lingua francas* as ‘auxiliary’ languages that can be used for ‘routine communication’, Crystal highlights the common nature of *lingua francas* that have been used over the course of history around the world. Conventional *lingua francas*, such as Lingala in the Congo or Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea

(Mufwene 2010), were originally formed as pidgins, makeshift languages that developed when people, who did not share a common language, had to establish a means of communication e.g. for trading purposes. However, in the same paragraph Crystal (ibid.) claims that the most common lingua franca in the world these days is English. Though it is, without doubt, used daily as a means of communication between millions of people who speak different native languages, English certainly cannot be defined as an ‘auxiliary’ language as it has a broad representation of native speakers. As Jenkins (2007, 1) points out, there is a conceptual mismatch between the traditional definition of *lingua franca* and that of *English as a lingua franca*. In modern-day communicative encounters, where English is used by non-native speakers as a lingua franca, native speakers of English may also be present (ibid.). In other words, if ELF is used by non-native speakers in a conversation with native speakers, it does not cease being ELF (Seidlhofer 2004, 211).

Consequently, the question that arises is whether speakers of English as a native language (henceforth ENL) need to be included or excluded from the definition of ELF. According to Jenkins (2006, 160), it is a common practice in ELF research to not include language produced by native speakers in their data. Jenkins (ibid.) adds that ELF in its purest form indeed only refers to the contact language used by non-native speakers. However, native speakers certainly encounter ELF and are able to communicate with speakers of ELF. Mauranen (2018a, 8), writing twelve years later, notes that the division of users of English into native and non-native speakers is widely questioned in ELF research, since English is used as the language of communication in a broad variety of situations with participants of different backgrounds, including both native speakers of different native varieties of English and non-native speakers. Thus, this study adopts the same view that Mauranen (ibid.) establishes, namely that the use of ELF takes place in communicative encounters where at least one of the interactants uses English as a second language.

As a further remark, it must be acknowledged that ELF does not refer to a single monolithic variety of English that is used identically by all non-native speakers. Jenkins (idem. 161) indicates

that ELF is used by non-native speakers in non-identical forms, and ELF researchers do not believe that ELF would ever constitute a fixed, monolithic variety. Consequently, there is a great deal of variation in ELF between its users coming from different linguistic backgrounds, meaning that people with different first languages use ELF in different ways. Mauranen (2018b, 109) suggests an approach where variation in ELF is observed through the lens of the users' linguistic backgrounds. Mauranen (ibid.) points out that ELF users are multilingual, and it is commonly acknowledged that the first language of an ELF user affects the way she uses additional languages e.g. in terms of pronunciation or grammar. Mauranen (ibid.) thus argues that speakers with the same first language use ELF in fairly similar ways, which constitutes a 'similect' of ELF. For example, native Finnish speakers use the Finnish similect of English in ELF communication (ibid.). Mauranen (ibid.) claims that whenever a group of people communicate through using ELF, it is two or more similects of English that encounter each other. People in such an interactional situation may notice that the other speakers use ELF differently, but they are still mutually intelligible (ibid.). Although this may be a simplified model of the factors at work in ELF interaction, it clearly indicates that ELF is not a monolithic variety of English, but rather a very fluid or dynamic phenomenon.

2.2. ELF in the framework of World Englishes

In order to understand the significance of ELF in multilingual communication, we need to turn to research on World Englishes and other languages in a global scale. A number of theories have been proposed to illustrate the complex relationships between languages and language varieties in the world. Although it must be kept in mind that theories in general are only models that present the real situation in a more simplified form, some of these theories provide a good understanding of the globally significant position that English has obtained. Two of these theories are discussed below, accompanied by brief critical remarks.

In terms of language spread, English is a language like no other. De Swaan (2001) has proposed a model of a hierarchy of languages (Figure 1 below), dividing them into peripheral, central, supercentral and hypercentral languages depending on how widely they are used in the world by native and non-native speakers (de Swaan, in Cook 2008, 190). For example, Finnish is a peripheral language as it is used mainly in a defined territory by native speakers and it is not really learned as a second language or used in international communication. What distinguishes English from all other languages is that, according to de Swaan's model, it is currently the only hypercentral language in the world, meaning that it is "used chiefly by non-native speakers across the globe for a variety of purposes" (ibid.). It is indeed true that in today's world the majority of users of English are non-native speakers, but in order to avoid misunderstandings, it has to be noted that the number of speakers of different native varieties of English is also very substantial in a global scale. In any case, the position of English as the sole hypercentral language is undisputed. Finally, it needs to be noted that use of the term "hierarchy" in the name of the model is somewhat controversial as it carries in itself a sense of an order of importance. Though this was probably not de Swaan's intention, from a linguist's neutral viewpoint all languages should be considered equally significant and valuable.

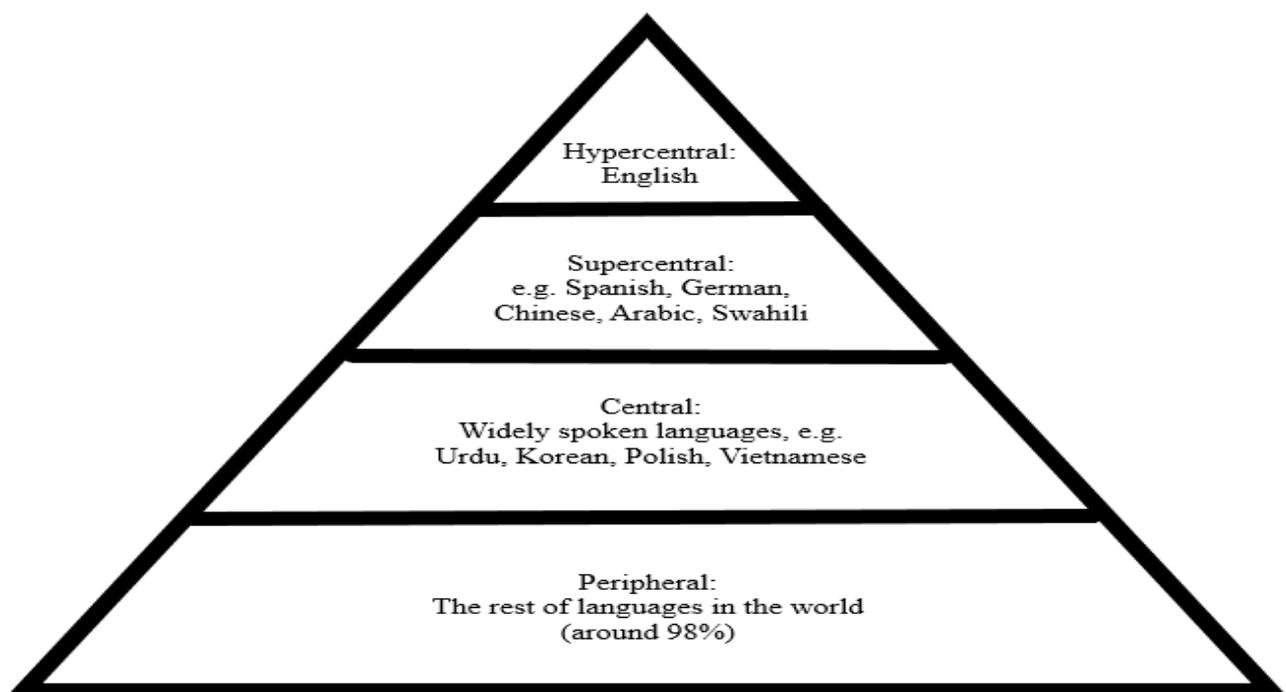


Figure 1: Hierarchy of languages (adapted from de Swaan 2001 and Cook 2008).

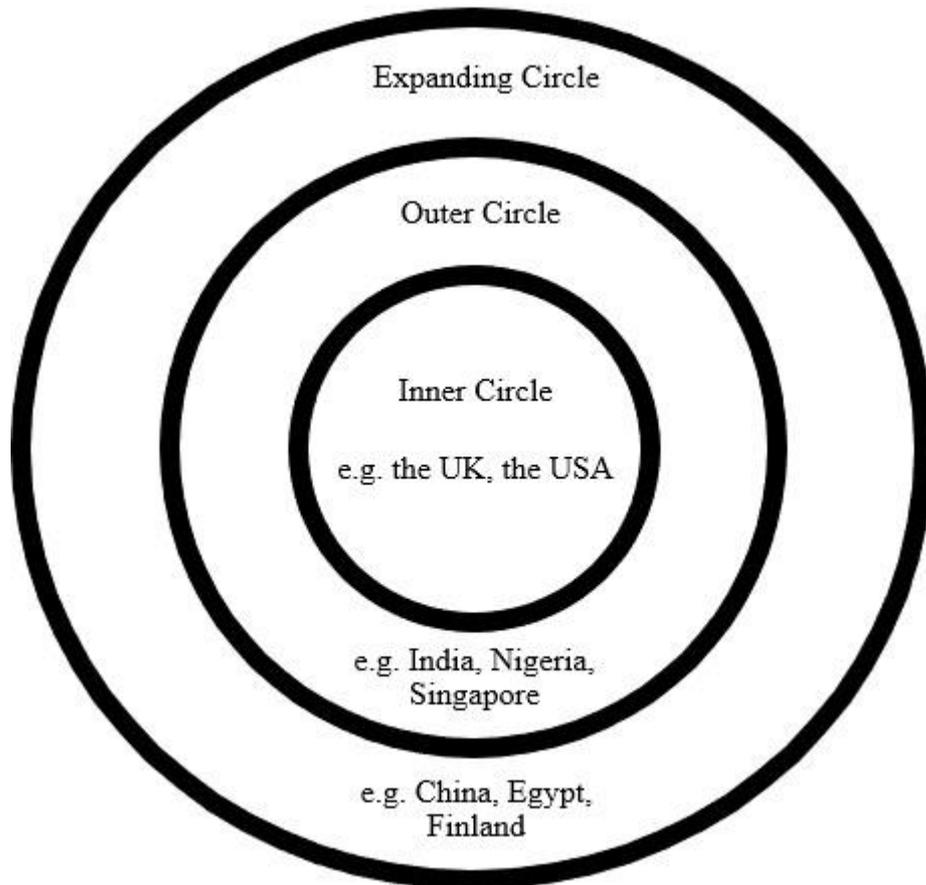


Figure 2: Concentric circles model of World Englishes (adapted from Kachru 1992)

In order to construct a comprehensive representation of ELF, we need to locate it inside the theoretical framework of World Englishes. As a global language used by native and non-native speakers of different backgrounds and in different contexts, English cannot be researched solely by observing its original native speakers in the Great Britain and North America. This is illustrated in the tentative model proposed by Kachru (1992, Figure 2 above; see also Kachru 1985) that depicts the complex profile of Englishes in the world as three concentric circles: the Inner Circle consists of countries like the UK or the USA, which are considered the linguistic bases of the English language; the Outer Circle contains countries where English is used as a second language and it has assumed the status of an institutionalized non-native variety, such as India or Singapore; the Expanding Circle, which is the largest, consists of countries where English is learnt as a foreign language, such as Finland, China, or Egypt (Kachru 1992, 356-357). Kachru's model has received a notable amount of

criticism, and it was only proposed as a tentative model, but no other models have achieved comparable status. However, it must be pointed out that the model categorizes the varieties of English very simplistically, and the terms used are somewhat value-laden. The term *Inner Circle* implicitly grants those Englishes a prestige status and the model underestimates Outer Circle varieties and English used in Expanding Circle countries. Furthermore, the model does not take into account the notion of English as a lingua franca. Different varieties have got enmeshed as people from Outer and Expanding Circle countries have moved to Inner Circle countries, and thus native speakers in Inner Circle countries increasingly often encounter different varieties of English in their everyday life (Canagarajah, in Sharifian 2009, 3). Consequently, the notion of native speaker needs to be revised in the context of ELF research, as speakers need to be able to adapt to the enmeshment of varieties (ibid.).

How, then, can ELF be reflected in de Swaan's and Kachru's models? Even with their flaws, the models can serve us in locating ELF in the sociolinguistic framework of Englishes. First, the same definition concerning hypercentral languages that was quoted above also describes ELF rather accurately, as it can be described as a type of language used by non-native speakers for a wide range of purposes worldwide. It can be argued that when English is discussed as a hypercentral language, it is specifically ELF that is being referred to instead of any established native variety. Second, when it comes to Kachru's concentric circles, ELF is not confined to countries located in the Expanding Circle, but it reaches across all the circles, as different varieties of English become enmeshed when people from different cultures and speech communities encounter each other. Once again, it needs to be emphasized that ELF is not a single distinct variety of English, since it does not adopt a unified form, but rather it is a dynamic means of communication that ELF speakers exploit in different ways depending on their linguacultural background.

In conclusion, although de Swaan's and Kachru's models do not make specific references to ELF, ELF can be placed within their frameworks and established as a dynamic, variable form of

English that has a prevailing position as a device of multilingual communication. If ELF, as it was argued, is the most widely used mode of communication in English in the world, why is English language teaching still largely perceived in terms of native standards? Or is it? The interest towards ELF as a possible paradigm-changing factor in English language teaching has increased significantly in the field of research during the last few decades. The following sections provide more insight on what kinds of views have prevailed in English language teaching and what implications in terms of challenging the dominant approaches ELF brings with it to the field.

2.3. Persistence of native standards

Now that the general framework of ELF is established, this section turns focus more specifically towards the interests of this study. It begins by examining awareness of ELF and how the notion has been brought into the field of applied linguistics. The central discussion here revolves around the legitimacy of ELF as a worthwhile topic of research. In addition, a brief discussion is provided concerning the debate on the concept of ‘language variety’, the accuracy of which is often questioned in ELF research. Next, the traditional divide between native and non-native speakers is discussed and contested in the context of English language teaching. Finally, debate around the central notion of Standard English ideology is examined in detail. This ideology is a major influencer in many aspects of English language teaching, including teaching objectives and materials.

2.3.1. Awareness of ELF

The definition of *lingua franca* was discussed above with emphasis on the extraordinary position that English has as a lingua franca. It was indicated that, compared to traditional lingua francas, English stands out as a special case in that it has a substantial number of native speakers. Other terms have also been used to refer to the globally dominant position that English has adopted, such as English as an international language, International English or Global English (Jenkins 2007, 3). However, ELF

as a term has multiple implications that are not shared by the other terms used (*ibid.*). For example, it emphasizes that it is used as a medium of communication between people of different first languages; it depicts the language as a common resource, ignoring differences between people; and, it implies that ENL speakers do not solely have a privilege to claim ownership over the English language (Jenkins, quoted in Jenkins 2007, 3-4). Furthermore, ELF as a term indicates that the development of the international use of English is strongly influenced by its non-native users (Seidlhofer, in Jenkins 2007, 4).

All these features that ELF implies as a term are in stark contrast with the long-prevailing attitudes towards and perceptions of how the English language should be taught to second language learners. Even after having established the position as a global *lingua franca*, English is still widely observed primarily through the lens of so-called native varieties and native speaker norms. The implications of this are discussed later but let us now consider the concept of variety in more detail. It was already established above that ELF is not a distinct variety of English, but the question that needs to be raised at this point is, what constitutes a language variety? There is an inherent presupposition of homogeneity in describing languages and language varieties as stable or separate entities (Widdowson 2016, 32). Seidlhofer (2011, 71-72) argues that language varieties can in fact be described as convenient methodological fictions, since language is, in reality, a continuum that holds in itself an ongoing process of language variation. Language varieties only come in existence when they are claimed as such stable entities (*ibid.*). What usually leads to this claim is that, as Seidlhofer (*idem.* 77) points out, language users often like to think that they use the language in similar ways, and thus a language variety is formed as a social construct, irrespective of its actual linguistic non-uniformity. Like theories in general, language varieties are only models that aim to simplify and stabilize the real situation which may be much more complicated.

So, if the English language is a continuum of variation, why is English still observed, and especially, taught primarily with reference to established native varieties? Seidlhofer (2011, 14)

argues that there is a conceptual gap in that perceiving ELF as an alternative concept of the English language has not been introduced. In other words, language users and second language learners are not aware of ELF. Despite a strongly established role in international communication, the usage of ELF has not been de-attached from the expectations posed by native speaker norms. Seidlhofer adds (idem. 15) that the reason for this may be found in the rapid spread and change of English caused by globalization, and in the apparent resistance of prescriptive language models to react to these changes.

Seidlhofer (2004, 212) claims that there is a need for a stronger recognition of ELF and a reconceptualization of English from the point of view of ELF to suit the needs of international communication. ELF should be acknowledged as a linguistic phenomenon in its own right (idem. 213). This does not mean that ELF should be given the label of a language variety, as it has been argued already. Instead, what needs to be acknowledged is that ELF is a legitimate variable way of using English; it is an “English that functions *as* a lingua franca” (Seidlhofer 2011, 77). The recognition of ELF as a legitimate variable way of using English would potentially have paradigm-changing implications on English language teaching. Pedagogical issues have received much attention in ELF research, and there are strong attitudinal encounters in the field between opposing perceptions regarding the importance of incorporating ELF into English language teaching.

There are two competing explanations for the variation of English occurring in ELF communication (MacKenzie 2015). The first explanation is that variation is a result of imperfect learning (ibid.). Multiple theories for the causes of imperfect learning have been proposed, one of which, the interlanguage theory (Selinker 1972), is discussed in the next section. It is important to acknowledge at this point that what specifically has been ‘learnt imperfectly’ according to this explanation is the (most likely native) standard against which learners are measured. The other explanation for variation in ELF communication is that ELF users consciously ignore the use of certain linguistic forms that they know to be redundant in order to enhance communicative effectiveness (MacKenzie 2015). The variation would thus be intentional instead of accidental (ibid.).

These competing explanations represent the views of the two opposing sides in the ongoing debate over the validity of ELF. The following two sections give more insight on what are the assumptions behind the first explanation that sees variation in ELF interaction as a result of imperfect learning.

2.3.2. 'Native' and 'non-native' speakers

One of the persistent guiding assumptions influencing second language learning in general is the strict division of language users into native and non-native speakers. At a first glance it would, without doubt, make sense to assume that second language learners are ultimately striving to reach native speaker-level competence in learning a language. Language learners automatically compare their skills to native speakers and practice their pronunciation to sound like a native speaker.

Research in the field of second language acquisition has largely accepted this presupposition of native speaker competence and it has focused on producing theories of development in second language learning in relation to native speaker competence (Widdowson 2016, 32). One influential model is the interlanguage hypothesis, proposed by Selinker (1972). According to this hypothesis, while learning a second language, the learner creates an internalized linguistic system which contains elements both from the learner's native language and the target language, in addition to which there may be elements that originate from somewhere else (Behney et al 2013, 11). Interlanguage can be thought of as a continuum between the starting point of second language learning and native speaker competence as the ending point. The learner formulates and reformulates interlanguage based on available linguistic data, indicating that the system is both consistent and dynamic (*ibid.*).

However, is it possible for a second language learner to ever reach the other end of the interlanguage continuum? It is generally acknowledged that few second language learners ever reach native-like competence in a second language. The interlanguage hypothesis provides an explanation to this dilemma as well. Even after being exposed to the same formally correct linguistic data multiple times, some features in the second language production of the learner deviate from native speaker

norms (Behney et al 2013, 11). According to the theory, these deviant features (or ‘errors’) have gone through a process known as fossilization (ibid.). This means, in practice, that the learner has ceased learning when it comes to those features of the target language (ibid.). In the context of this study, what we need to note here is that the interlanguage hypothesis supports the division of language users into native and non-native speakers with the implication that non-native speakers will never reach a desired competence in a second language, and that deviations from native usage are considered errors in language use. The theory also implicitly assumes that second language learners cannot be granted the status of legitimate language users in the same sense that native speakers possess it, but instead they remain learners who may use the language erroneously.

If we assumed that users of a particular language can be strictly divided into native and non-native speakers, interlanguage theory would make complete sense. However, when it comes to English, and particularly its function as a global lingua franca, we need to revise the notions of native and non-native speakers. Interlanguage theory has been criticized for imposing Inner Circle standards on Outer Circle English speech communities, which does not fit their sociolinguistic reality (Jenkins 2006, 167). In other words, interlanguage ignores the sociohistorical development and sociocultural context of the different local uses of English, labeling their use of English as deficient (ibid.). According to Jenkins (ibid.), traditional second language acquisition theories should focus more on the language acquisition of entire speech communities instead of individual learners and their deviant use of the language. Jenkins (ibid.) adds that it is not only a problem when it comes to Outer Circle varieties, but it is also relevant to ELF.

The interlanguage theory maintains an assumption of native speaker authority. It is often presupposed that the English language is a stable entity maintained by its native speakers (Seidlhofer 2011, 33). This presupposition also implies that English is transferred to second language learners without any changes. However, learning includes a process of appropriation in which non-native users adjust the language to suit their own communicative needs (idem. 64). But if this is not

acknowledged, and the assumption of stable homogeneity prevails, the only options remaining for non-native users are to either accept native speaker authority and aim to adopt native speaker norms or ignore this and endure the attitude that they are considered to be using English incorrectly only because they are not native speakers (idem. 34). The problem with native speaker authority is its implicit assumption that appropriation of language by non-native users will always decrease the effectiveness of communication. Seidlhofer (idem. 39) draws the conclusion that as long as native speaker authority guides ELF communication, deviations from native speaker norms are identified as errors even if there is no evidence of negative influence on communicative effectiveness. Native speaker authority in language use can be seen to arise from an ideology that has long had a strong foothold in English language teaching. We now turn to examine this ideology and how it needs to be contested from the viewpoint of ELF communication.

2.3.3. Standard English ideology and linguistic ownership

A central issue in ELF research is how ELF can be conceptualized in relation to Standard English and standard language ideology in general (Seidlhofer 2018, 85). Standard language ideology refers to the idea that a society benefits from language uniformity and an established standard variety of language enjoys a superior legitimate status over other varieties which are not considered legitimate (Seidlhofer 2011, 42). Standard language ideologies are generally very influential, because most people who go through conventional education accept it at a subconscious level; it is internalized as a sociocultural convention (idem. 43). It is self-evident that education plays a major role in this process, which indicates that standard language ideology guides the formulation of teaching objectives as well.

Standard English ideology requires special attention, because while English has established its role as a global lingua franca, Standard English ideology claims that the national (British or American) standard should be accepted globally (Seidlhofer 2011, 42). Standard English is often the

sole form of English taught as a second or foreign language, while variations from its norms are considered errors. This indicates how well standard language ideology fits together with the theory of interlanguage discussed earlier. Advocates of Standard English argue that while users of the language may use it in varying ways, the standard should be conformed to because it decreases complexity and ensures that communication is effective (idem. 45). From the viewpoint of English language teaching, it is almost natural to assume Standard English as the guideline in formulating teaching objectives and producing teaching materials, because Standard English provides a concrete, defined model for both teachers and students to pursue.

Although Standard English exists as a formally established variety, it is an outdated phenomenon given the modern-day spread and variation of the English language. In other words, Standard English is difficult to define if the current international status of English is taken into account. It was already pointed out in section 2.3.1. that languages are continuums and language varieties are social constructs. Standard English, like any other variety, is an illusion of perceived uniformity which does not apply to real conditions (Widdowson 2016, 36). Widdowson (ibid.) argues that in prioritizing conformity to Standard English, the traditional pedagogical approaches to English language teaching ignore the actual nature of human communication. Standard English ignores adaptive variability, which is an intrinsic component of real language use (ibid.) and an important factor in ELF communication. Standard English can be seen to exist almost exclusively in written language used in high prestige contexts such as academic texts and newspapers and even in these cases variation may be detected.

ELF, as a modern phenomenon driven by globalization, has come to contest the significance and even the existence of Standard English. Standard language ideology attempts to create a sense of stability, but languages are naturally unstable, because language users adapt them to suit their own purposes (Widdowson 2003, quoted in Cogo 2012, 235). Without adaptability, languages would lose their communicative value, which would have a negative influence on their vitality (ibid.). In the case

of ELF, it can be argued that the English language usage has reacted to globalization by being reshaped and adapted to suit the needs of international communication in a wide range of different locales and communicational situations (Cogo 2012, 235).

In the same way as the interlanguage theory (as discussed in section 2.3.2.), Standard language ideology also maintains native speaker authority or the traditional division between native and non-native speakers. One ongoing debate in ELF research concerns the idea of linguistic ownership. This means that, from the viewpoint of standard language ideology, the only correct and legitimate way to use a language is that of the native speakers (Seidlhofer 2011, 114), which also implies that only native speakers have the right to develop the language, whereas non-native speakers would have to submit themselves to native speaker authority. In the case of English this is an extremely questionable claim considering the global spread of the language and the fact that the number of native speakers constitutes a minority among the users of English in the world. Seidlhofer (2011, 68) argues that the transfer of ownership is an inevitable consequence of language spread and this naturally leads to variation and adaptation of the language to local needs. Through the transfer of ownership from native speakers to all users of English, ELF manifests itself as a common linguistic resource that can be adapted and reshaped according to the users' purposes in multilingual communicational encounters.

ELF is a fluid resource that cannot be standardized, because standardization would not serve the communicative function of ELF. If we consider the worldwide spread of English and the fact that a majority of daily interaction in English occurs in multilingual contexts between non-native speakers of English, it is contradictory to assume that Standard English, based on native speaker norms, should still be the defining guideline in English language teaching. Globally, most interactions where English is used as a second or foreign language do not involve any native users of English (Seidlhofer 2011, 2), and this should be taken into account in English language teaching. The next section provides more insight on how English language teaching has evolved recently and discusses what kinds of concepts are brought up alongside Standard English in defining teaching objectives.

2.4. Recent pedagogical developments

Although native standards and traditional approaches have been influential in English language teaching, these viewpoints have been contested in more recent studies in the field of second language acquisition. This section presents the paradigmatic shift that has occurred during the past few decades in teaching methodologies and observes what kinds of implications ELF brings with it to English language teaching.

2.4.1. Communicative language teaching and communicative competence

It has already been indicated that the conceptualization of the English language has had a significant influence on English language teaching around the world and, given the global spread of the language, the significance of ELF should be recognized in that conceptualization. The conceptualization of English has gone through a period of development over the past hundred years. Leung and Lewkowicz (2018, 61-62) note that lexis and syntax have always had a central role in language teaching, but one contested issue is whether they should be given the main focus. This was largely accepted in the early twentieth century, because it was assumed that lexis and syntax maintain language as a stable entity (*ibid.*). This assumption strengthens the beliefs maintained in traditional approaches to second language teaching in which focus is given to the form of language. However, a paradigmatic shift was launched in the 1980s when scholars changed the perspective more towards the social dimensions and actual use of language, and this shift has had significant consequences on language teaching (*ibid.*).

A notable factor contributing to the launch of this paradigmatic shift was the reshaped interpretation of communicative competence. Canale and Swain (1980, quoted in Leung and Lewkowicz 2018, 62) introduced communicative competence as consisting of four components: grammatical, sociolinguistic, discourse, and strategic competences. This formulation served as the

basis for the new developing pedagogical approach in English language teaching, called Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) (ibid.). The CLT approach was adopted by the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR), a framework for evaluating language skills which is now commonly used worldwide in evaluating second language learners (ibid.). According to Leung and Lewkowicz (ibid.), the CEFR defines the goals of language education in terms of providing the learner with the capacity to be able to participate in communicational situations in the real world. Thus, we can conclude that the social dimension has gained more attention in language teaching compared to how traditional language teaching approached the language.

Nevertheless, although actual language use has gained more focus in English language teaching, there are still debatable issues if we observe current practices from the viewpoint of ELF. One notable problem is that English language teaching is largely perceived as a mono-lingual practice (Leung and Lewkowicz 2018, 68). In different methodological approaches, there has been a wide acceptance of the 'monolingual principle' which claims that the target language should be the only language used in language education and using the students' mother tongue should be avoided as much as possible (Littlewood 2012, 358). This approach ignores the fact that ELF is by nature a multilingual language practice. Once again, it must be emphasized that what makes ELF an effective means of communication in international contexts is that it can be adapted and reshaped to the local needs. ELF users are always multilingual, and their linguistic background influences the way they use ELF. In ELF interactions, the exploitation of multilingual resources can potentially facilitate communication. If the interlocutors' first languages are related, or if one of them has knowledge of an additional language that is related to the first language of the other interlocutors, this knowledge can be applied to deliver the message. If this is accepted, then the monolingual principle that condemns any use of languages other than English in English classrooms should also be contested. Although official policies still mainly insist on using only the target language, there are signs that teachers are employing the students' mother tongue as an additional tool in teaching (Leung and Lewkowicz 2018,

69) if it is possible. The next section presents models that claim to provide pedagogical approaches that would take ELF better into account and discusses implications of such methodologies for English language teaching.

2.4.2. ELF-inclusive approaches and implications for teaching

Although research on ELF has a relatively short history, a number of pedagogical models have been proposed which would provide English language teaching with tools to highlight the function of English as a lingua franca. One approach that better acknowledges this is the so-called multilingual model proposed by Kirkpatrick (2011, 221; see also Kirkpatrick 2007). The model is specifically tailored for those settings where the teaching objectives assume that learners will be using English in its lingua franca function (ibid.). The model proposes that instead of using a monolingual native speaker of English as the linguistic model for learners, it needs to be replaced by the model of a successful multilingual user (ibid.).

This shift of perspective acknowledges the multilingual nature of ELF, and it has several implications on English language teaching. First, it removes the sense of inferiority experienced by non-native English teachers in comparing their qualifications with native teachers (Kirkpatrick 2011, 221). Teachers can see themselves as models of successful multilingual users of English for their students. This also implies that they can relate to their students better than their native colleagues, who have not experienced the same process of learning English as an additional language. The multilingual model also provides an approach to reformulate teaching objectives so that multilingual users of English are not expected to use the language strictly inside the limits of native speaker norms (ibid.). In other words, the multilingual model presents a required challenge to the long-prevailed traditional approaches guided by standard English ideology and models like interlanguage theory. The multilingual model acknowledges the claim generally accepted in second language acquisition research that second language learners rarely obtain a competence similar to that of native speakers.

At the same time, the model argues that obtaining a native speaker-like competence does not serve second language learners' needs, but instead it approaches English through the perspective of its function in international communication.

Besides offering multilingual teachers and students a more encouraging perspective in perceiving themselves as users of English, the multilingual model also implies a change in the cultural content in the English curriculum (Kirkpatrick 2011, 221). Instead of teaching English solely through e.g. British or American cultural content, materials could be adapted from local and different regional cultures and contexts where English is used. What makes this sensible is the fact that ELF is used extensively in situations where native speakers are not involved, and thus learners would obtain a better understanding of the role of English in multilingual communication. However, in choosing 'authentic' contents to be used as teaching materials, there are other factors besides the culture of origin that need to be considered. As Leung and Lewkowicz (2018, 66) point out, the materials need to provide learners with opportunities to use English in a way that is meaningful for them. In other words, the materials need to have a link with the students' own world of experience. This issue, however, is not observed here more extensively, because the present study does not focus on teaching materials. Nevertheless, the multilingual model transfers the focus of the cultural contents in English teaching from Anglo-American culture to a multicultural approach.

Finally, Kirkpatrick (2011, 222) argues that, with the adoption of the multilingual model, learning English as an additional language would not need to be started until secondary school. The generally accepted view in second language teaching is that it is more likely for a child to reach native-like competence if second language learning is started as early as possible (*ibid.*). However, the multilingual model adopts an approach in which native-like competence is no more seen as necessary (*ibid.*). Furthermore, Cook (2008, 147) notes that, according to a number of studies, higher age is in fact a benefit in second language learning. On the other hand, Kirkpatrick's argument is a very strong generalization. Local linguistic conditions in different regions of the world influence the

role English is given in curricula, and it cannot be concluded that the teaching of English should be started only in secondary school in all regions. To summarize, the multilingual model liberates teachers and students from Anglo-American norms and assists them in perceiving English as a language of international communication.

Another, rather similar approach to English language teaching that highlights the global spread of English is the pluricentric approach (Jenkins 2006). The aim of this approach is to liberate the learner of English from the sociolinguistic reality of a native speaker (Jenkins 2006, 173), meaning that they would not be forced to perceive the language only through native speaker norms. This is, in essence, a shared goal with the multilingual model. Jenkins focuses more on constructing the theoretical grounds of establishing the pluricentric approach, but on a more concrete level, she suggests that steps need to be taken on making learners aware of the diversity of English (idem. 174). For example, Jenkins (ibid.) suggests that, at the beginning of the learning process, learners could be exposed to different varieties of World Englishes and ELF, whereas classes for more advanced learners could include discussions of topics like the global spread of English or language and identity. This would assist learners in becoming more self-confident as users of English and modify the learners' perceptions of native standard English as a superior form of the language. Jenkins (ibid.) also notes the importance of accommodation skills for users of ELF and World Englishes. Accommodation skills are of major importance in multilingual communication, because ELF users need to maintain an adequate level of intelligibility while communicating with speakers of different linguistic backgrounds, which may demand adaptation of language use.

The implications of the pluricentric approach for English language teaching have been studied by Xie (2014) in the context of college English teaching in China. The study revealed that although the pluricentric approach is appealing in a theoretical level, the monocentric approach is still used in practice (Xie 2014, 44). The study focused on four aspects in discussing the implications of the pluricentric approach for English teaching. First, in terms of teaching objectives, instead of aiming

for native-like proficiency learners should concentrate on achieving an adequate communicative competence and international intelligibility (idem. 45). Second, teaching materials should be modified so that instead of providing learners with cultural content solely from Inner Circle countries they should also reflect local Chinese culture and other cultures (ibid.). Third, Communicative Language Teaching as the prevailing teaching methodology should be modified or replaced by something that would better fit local sociocultural conditions (ibid.). The reason for this is that CLT has been constructed from Western norms of communication and learning which may not be appropriate for Chinese classrooms (ibid.). Finally, when recruiting English teachers, nativeness should not be regarded as a decisive feature on choosing the best candidate, but more emphasis should be given on pedagogical skills (ibid.).

Although Xie's study focused only on college English teaching in China, it reveals factors that could be applied universally if the pluricentric model was adopted. Similarly, Kirkpatrick's multilingual model, calling for very comparable changes, could be applied in English language teaching in various contexts. It needs to be emphasized that local conditions in different countries call for different approaches to English language teaching. The above models do not suggest a uniform approach to teaching English. Instead, they work as a guiding framework of thought that can be applied and adapted to the needs of different learners. However, it can be concluded that these approaches call for a paradigm shift in teaching English as an additional language that would abandon native standards and place more focus on the function of English as a lingua franca. The next section presents a number of earlier studies that have focused on teacher's perceptions of ELF and its role in English teaching.

2.5. Review of previous studies

Attitudes specifically towards English as a lingua franca have begun to be studied only recently, but studies focusing on native and non-native language have a longer history and they contain relevant

implications concerning ELF attitude research (Jenkins 2007, 93-95). Earlier studies have revealed that native varieties of English, especially British and American Englishes, are perceived by non-native speakers of English as prestigious in contrast to local non-native varieties which are considered inferior or unpreferable (ibid.). This prevailing attitude can be argued to be caused by the dominant position that Standard English ideology holds in the English language teaching community. If teachers perceive Standard English as the desired variety and deviation from it as errors, attitudes towards non-native varieties automatically prove to be negative.

ELF attitudes have been studied particularly among teachers, pre-service teachers and students. Timmis (2002) studied students' and teachers' attitudes in 45 different countries ranging across all Kachru's Circles, focusing on pronunciation, grammar and spoken grammar. He concludes that students still have the desire to conform to native speaker norms whereas teachers' attitudes are moving away from them (Timmis 2002, 248). The study was conducted in a time when awareness of English as a lingua franca was not yet very extensive, and as Timmis (ibid.) points out, future findings may differ from his results. However, Timmis (idem. 249) raises a notable dilemma concerning ELF and English language teaching: if students desire to acquire a native-like competence, is it morally appropriate to ignore this goal and label it as unnecessary or impossible to reach?

A study by Sifakis and Sugari (2005) focused on pronunciation of English and the awareness of ELF-related pedagogical issues among EFL teachers in Greece. They conclude that even if the international spread of English implies a shift away from native speaker norms, Greek EFL teachers still rely on native speaker norms in their teaching (Sifakis and Sugari 2005, 483). They (ibid.) also state that the situation is probably very similar in other Expanding Circle countries. This study reveals that non-native EFL teachers in Greece at that time strongly defined the goals of their work with reference to native speaker competence, because they see it as desirable or prestigious, whereas deviation from it is considered erroneous.

Llurda (2009, 127) argues that self-perception and professional self-confidence have an influence on non-native English teachers' teaching practices. Llurda (*ibid.*) found out that teachers who had not visited or spent more than three months in an English-speaking country were more eager to conform to native speaker norms than teachers with more experience in living abroad. Llurda (*idem.* 128) also mentions that non-native English teachers are also reluctant to include cultural contents in their teaching, especially when it comes to contents not related to the UK or the USA. These remarks further illustrate that the influence of 'nativespeakerism' is strong among non-native English speakers.

A more recent study, conducted by Luo (2017) in Taiwan, researched teacher perceptions of ELF, how teachers perceive ELF as part of English classroom instruction, and what kinds of challenges the inclusion of ELF instruction might present in the classroom. The results of her study suggest that Taiwanese teachers of English are well aware of the notion of ELF and acknowledge the communicative value of ELF-related skills (Luo 2017, 5). However, when it comes to incorporating ELF into teaching English, the results show that teachers' attitudes are very ambivalent: on the one hand, they admit that they base their teaching on native speaker norms; on the other hand, they think that learning about and acknowledging English as a lingua franca is useful and necessary (*idem.* 7). The results also show that teachers consider teaching ELF-related skills challenging; it is difficult to adopt ELF as part of language instruction even though spreading awareness of English as an international language is considered important (*ibid.*).

Luo (*idem.* 8) lists three challenges that teachers face in incorporating ELF to English teaching. First, the teachers experience inability to teach ELF-related skills. In other words, teachers do not have sufficient knowledge of the nature of ELF and hence they do not know specifically what they should teach about it. Second, teachers think that their students want to learn Standard English, which gets us back to the dilemma presented by Timmis (2002, 249): if students want to learn native-like English, is it appropriate to ignore this desire and teach them ELF instead? However, the results of

Luo's study also indicate that besides learning native-like English, teachers believe that their students would also be open to learning ELF-related skills. Third, Luo's findings show that there is a lack of teaching materials and absence of multilingual learning environment that would assist in incorporating ELF as part of classroom instruction.

To summarize, this section has provided a brief look into the research of ELF and its implications for English language teaching. It needs to be emphasized that we only scratched the surface here, since even if attitudes towards ELF is a rather new subject of study, there is already extensive research on it. However, ELF is a dynamic phenomenon also in that the attitudes towards it are in constant development which makes it a worthwhile topic of research. Earlier findings have indicated that ESL/EFL teaching still relies on conforming to native speaker norms, and non-native teachers particularly lean on Standard English as a model. On one hand, teachers seem to acknowledge ELF and its value, but ELF is difficult to incorporate into teaching in practice. On the other hand, students' expectations also influence the work of teachers. In short, native speakers are still considered as the sole owners of English and second language users are expected to conform to their norms of language use.

2.6. English language teaching in Finland and the USA

The general approaches and teaching objectives to English language teaching are guided by local sociolinguistic conditions. This study concentrates on teachers' attitudes towards ELF specifically in Finland and the USA because English has a different role in these countries and contrasting them is expected to reveal interesting results. The USA is, in Kachruvian terms, an Inner Circle country which is traditionally seen as one of the norm-providing communities for the English language. In contrast, Finland is an Expanding Circle country in which English is taught as a foreign language, and thus Finland is traditionally labeled a norm-dependent community, meaning that it is guided by the norms set by norm-providing communities like the USA. This section observes how the goals of English

language teaching are formulated in the two countries and how they take the global spread of English and its significance in multilingual communication into account.

In Finland, the general guidelines for basic education and high school education are provided in state-wide curriculums created by the Finnish National Agency for Education (Opetushallitus). The curriculum for basic education was last updated in 2014 and for high school education in 2015. The basic education curriculum contains guidelines for each school subject in grade levels 1-2, 3-6 and 7-9, English as a foreign language being one of them. Currently, English language teaching in Finland does not usually formally begin until the third grade, and thus the focus here is on grades 3-9 and high school.

In grades 3-6, the first goal listed for English language teaching is to provide the learner with an understanding of the linguacultural pluralism of the world and the position of English as a language of global communication (Opetushallitus 2014, 219). This indicates that the global spread of English is acknowledged in teaching. Another goal is the creation of an open learning environment where the focus is on the communicative message being conveyed (*ibid.*). This implies that communicative effectiveness is given more value than formal correctness. The above goals are repeated for the grades 7-9 with the addition that the learners' perception of the global spread of English is advanced through observation of phenomena related to the different varieties of English and attitudes towards them (*idem.* 349). Furthermore, learners are expected to develop crosscultural skills. It is also directly stated that the learners observe the development of English into a global lingua franca (*ibid.*). Finally, in the curriculum for high school education, one of the main objectives for English language teaching is that the learner understands the significance and the role of English as a language of global communication (Opetushallitus 2015, 109). In conclusion, the teaching objectives in Finland for English as a foreign language seem to acknowledge the global spread of English, its pluralistic nature, and its role as a lingua franca.

In the USA, English is taught as a second language to inhabitants who do not speak it as their first language, with the goal of providing them an adequate proficiency of English that grants them an equal opportunity to academic success. It is important to acknowledge, that English is taught in the USA for an essentially different purpose than in Finland. English is the most commonly used language of the country, and without an adequate proficiency of English, opportunities for academic achievement are significantly diminished. By contrast, in Finland, English is taught primarily in order to provide the students the opportunity to be able to communicate in multilingual encounters. However, it can be argued that the position of second language learners in the USA is not completely different from those who learn it as a foreign language in Finland; they are essentially in the same position in that they are learning English as an additional language. In other words, even if teaching objectives may be different, the learners in Finland and in the USA all have a personal linguistic background that leads into different personal appropriations on the way they use English, and they all go through the same stages of learning the language.

A majority of the states in the USA (39 out of 50) are members of the WIDA (World-class Instructional Design and Assessment) Consortium, which provides the standards for English language development for multilingual learners. In the *2012 Amplification of the English Language Development Standards*, it is stated that “The WIDA English Language Development Standards represent the social, instructional, and academic language that students need to engage with peers, educators, and the curriculum in schools” (WIDA 2012, 4). The WIDA Standards Framework includes the WIDA Can Do Philosophy, which acknowledges the students’ varying cultural, experiential and linguistic backgrounds and perceives them as assets that need to be capitalized in teaching (idem. 3). This implies that the learners’ linguacultural differences are taken into account, although it does not assert that these differences would influence teaching objectives. Overall, it can be concluded that the WIDA standards guide English language teaching in the USA to teach the language for the purpose of academic success in the country. There is no specific mention of the

global spread and variation of English or of its role in international communication, but the multiculturalism among the students is acknowledged and respected. On the other hand, it may be that the role of English as the means of communication in multilingual encounters is taken as self-evident, and specific awareness-raising of it among second language learners is considered unnecessary.

The purpose of this section was to shed light on the educational contexts in which the research participants of this study are employed and observe how, if at all, the lingua franca function of English is acknowledged in them. However, these are not the only contexts in which the teachers participating in this study have taught English, as several of them have also worked abroad. Nevertheless, observing the local curricula and standards provides us with an understanding of the local conditions of English language teaching, since they influence the way English is taught and the way teachers perceive the language.

3. Data and methods

This section first presents the data collection method of this study and discusses the demographic features and prerequisites for research participants. Afterwards, the methods chosen for analyzing the data are presented.

As it was indicated in the introduction, this is a comparative study, and a comparative study needs at least two sets of data. In this case, the comparison is carried out between sets of data collected from ESL/EFL teachers in Finland and in the USA. Participants in Finland were reached through e-mail lists and Facebook pages of regional and national teacher organizations. As for the participants from the USA, the researcher's personal contacts based in the state of Minnesota assisted in finding suitable participants by using their professional networks. The participants from the USA were teachers who have taught English either to ESL learners in the USA or to EFL learners abroad. The important demographic factor for this study that separates the two sets of data is that of nativeness or

non-nativeness of the participant as an English speaker. It was discussed in the theory section that differentiating between the concepts of native and non-native speakers is questionable in the context of ELF research, but in this study native speakers are defined as people who identify the language in question as their first language, whereas non-native speakers identify it as an additional language for them. There were forty-four research participants in total, sixteen of whom identified English as their first language, and twenty-eight of whom identified some other language as their first languages (Figure 3 below).

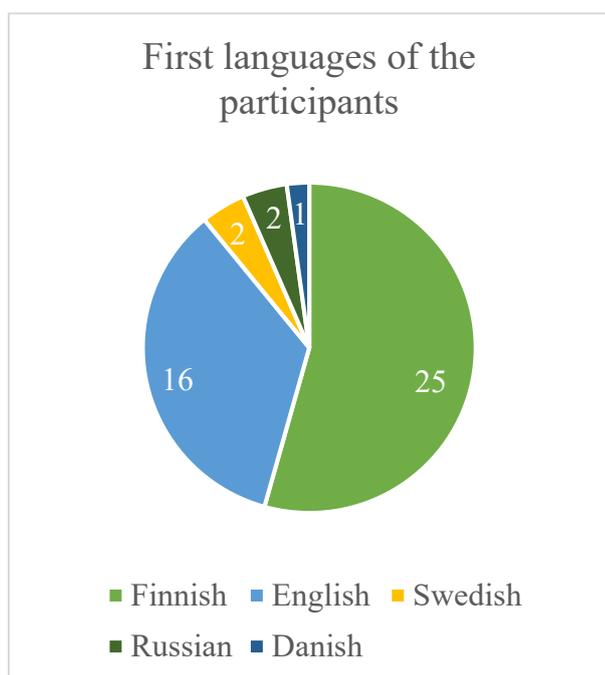


Figure 4. First languages of the participants.

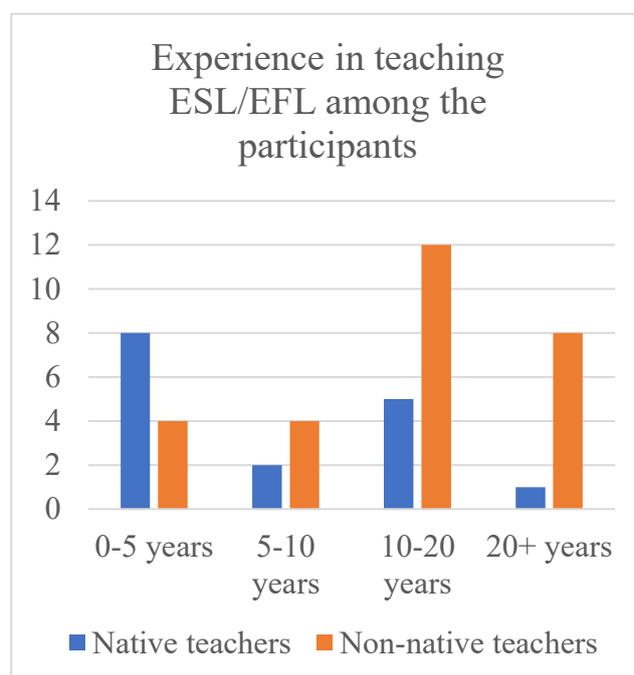


Figure 3. Experience in teaching ESL/EFL among the participants.

Another prerequisite for the research participants is that they have a certification in teaching English as a second or as a foreign language and they have at least some experience working as ESL/EFL teachers. The reason for this is that the present study is targeted specifically at observing teacher attitudes towards ELF. The work experience as an ESL/EFL teacher ranges among the participants from ten months to forty years (Figure 4 above) and the levels of school in which the participants have been employed ranges through all levels from kindergarten to university and adult education (Figure 5 below). As for the level of education, all participants have a higher education

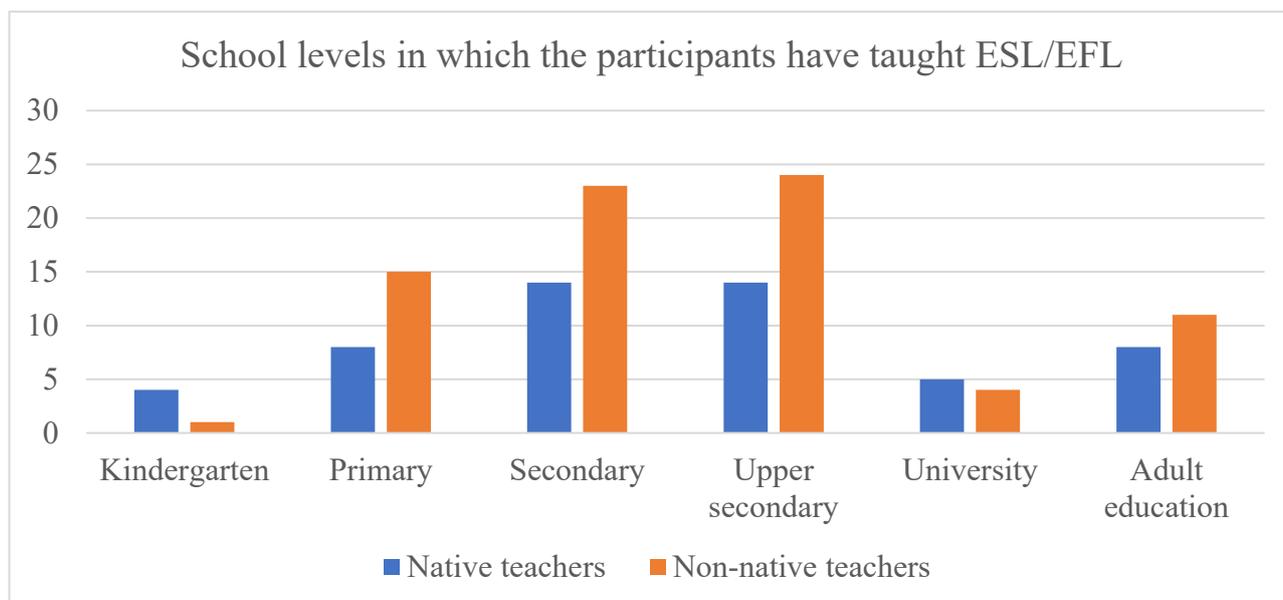


Figure 5. School levels in which the participants have taught ESL/EFL.

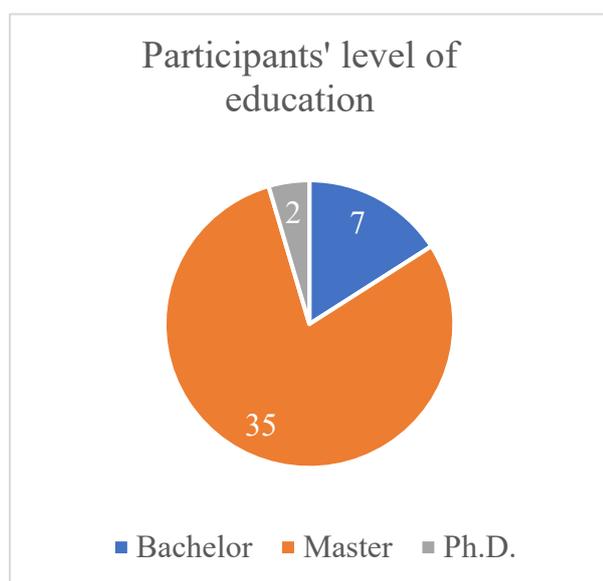


Figure 7. Participants' level of education.

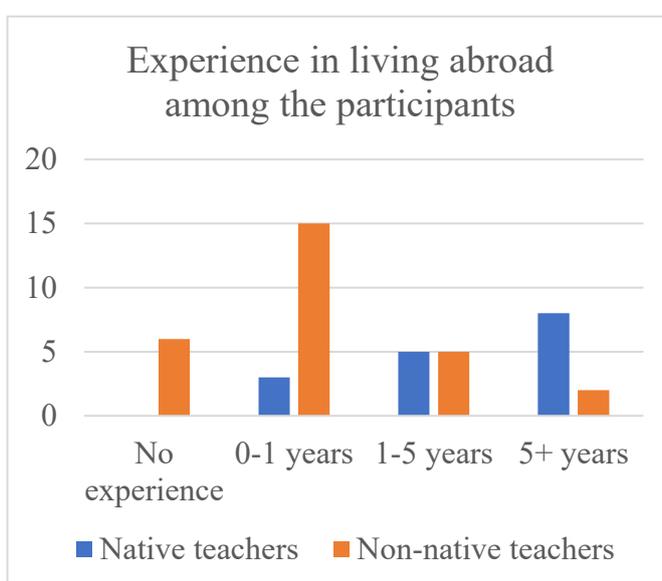


Figure 6. Experience in living abroad among the participants.

degree, with seven of them having a Bachelor's degree, thirty-five having a Master's degree, and two having a doctorate (Figure 6 above). Furthermore, all participants have studied at least one additional language besides their mother tongue. Except for six participants, all of them have lived abroad, ranging from a few months to several years (Figure 7 above). Finally, out of the forty-four participants, only two are male and the rest are female, so gender distinction is ignored in the analysis of the results. As for the other demographic features, the dispersion is considered adequately broad and even to draw conclusions from the data on a more general level, instead of focusing, for example,

on differences between age groups. Thus, the analysis focuses mainly on the distinction between native and non-native speakers.

The data from each group was collected through an online questionnaire (see Appendix 1). As the data was collected in two continents, it was easier to carry out the data collection electronically, and it was also easier to start processing the data this way. The first part of the questionnaire contained demographic questions, the results of which were provided in the above figures. The second part consisted of twenty-five statements, to which the participants were asked to respond through a four-point Likert scale. Number 4 in the scale referred to 'I strongly agree', number 3 referred to 'I somewhat agree', number 2 referred to 'I somewhat disagree', and number 1 referred to 'I strongly disagree'. The Likert scale was used in the questionnaire because attitudes are not a binary construct. In an attitudinal research there needs to be an adequately broad scale to express one's views. In this study, it was considered most resourceful to use a 4-point scale, because there is no neutral middle point in it, and thus the participants were obliged to choose at least a moderate stance of one nature or another.

The twenty-five statements were derived from the debates presented in relevant literature concerning ELF, and the questionnaire used in Luo's (2017) study was also exploited as a guiding source. The statements are concerned with the following themes: awareness of ELF, perception of the legitimacy of ELF, expectations towards second language users of English, ownership of English, teaching standards for second language learners of English, teaching objectives, student evaluation criteria, the role of ELF and different varieties of English in teaching, and the feasibility of incorporating ELF into teaching. In order to increase the reliability of the responses and to confirm that the participants have understood the statements, some of the statements form pairs which handle a specific theme from different viewpoints. For example, statement 10 is 'The development of the English language can be influenced only by its native speakers' and statement 11 is 'Non-native speakers of English have an important role in the development of the English language'. These

statements approach the question of ownership of English from two opposing angles, and the responses of each participant for these statements should correlate with each other at least to some extent.

Besides the statements, it was considered necessary to include a number of open-ended questions that require a written answer so that the participants had the opportunity to elaborate on their views and express their opinions more deliberately. Thus, the third part of the questionnaire consisted of four open-ended questions. The open-ended questions were mainly concerned with English language teaching, focusing on the teaching objectives, the roles of Standard English and ELF in teaching, and the feasibility of incorporating ELF into teaching. It was considered more important to focus on these pedagogical issues in the open-ended questions rather than inquiring about the general perceptions of ELF and ELF users, because the present study is specifically concerned with the role of ELF in English language teaching.

Before the data collection was started, a small pilot survey was conducted with participants whose responses are not included in the results of the actual study. The pilot study was conducted in order to reveal possible flaws or mistakes in the questionnaire and to see what kind of information the questionnaire provides. Based on the pilot study, a number of minor changes and additions were made to the questionnaire so that it suited better the needs of this study. For example, by rewording a number of questions, it was made clearer for the participants that they are expected to express their personal opinions instead of basing their responses on the contents of the curriculum. This was considered important because although teachers are obliged to follow the guidelines of the curriculum in their work, their personal views about English language teaching may at times be in disagreement with the guidelines.

This study adopts a mixed quantitative and qualitative approach in the analysis of the data. The questionnaire is constructed to provide categorical data, meaning that it can be divided into named categories (Eddington 2015, 7). In this study, the two categories that are contrasted against each other

are native speakers and non-native speakers of English. Quantitative research aims to derive conclusions from relationships between variables (idem. 8). The big question for this study which is stated in the introduction section is formulated following the frame proposed by Eddington (ibid.): “What is the influence of X on Y?” In this study the X is ELF and the Y is teachers’ perceptions of ESL/EFL as a school subject. Using quantitative research methods is based on establishing a cause-effect relationship between X and Y, and this is why quantitative methods are used in this study.

The statements in the questionnaire, which are responded through the 4-point Likert-scale, are analyzed by using the quantitative method of descriptive statistics. This method is chosen in order to turn individual numbers in the results into figures depicting the whole data. Most importantly, the central tendency for each statement is measured by calculating the mean, or average output of responses. In addition, focus is given on the mode of each statement, meaning the most often occurring response, or even the two most occurring responses to find out if there is notable dispersion in the responses.

As for the open questions in the questionnaire, they will be analyzed using the grounded theory method. What this means in practice is that central themes discovered empirically from the responses are observed and used to draw conclusions and build a model of the relations between ELF and teachers’ perceptions of ESL/EFL as a school subject. The mixed methods approach is adopted for this study because it is considered to provide more holistic results and more reliable answers to the research questions than using only a quantitative or a qualitative method.

4. Analysis of the data

In this section, an in-depth analysis of the data is conducted, accompanied by illustrative tables and excerpts from the data. The section is divided into four parts following loosely the order of the questionnaire used in the data collection. The first part discusses the experienced awareness of ELF and its perceived legitimacy among the participants. The second part observes the participants’

attitudes towards native speaker standards and non-native users of English. The third and fourth parts take a more pedagogical perspective by examining teaching objectives and attitudes towards ELF in relation to Standard English in ESL/EFL teaching. The first and second parts of the analysis consist of responses only to the statements focusing on the above-mentioned themes, whereas the third and fourth parts involve responses to both statements and open-ended questions.

4.1. Perceived awareness and legitimacy of ELF

The first five statements in the questionnaire were concerned with the participants' general perception of the significance of the English language in international communication, their familiarity with the notion of ELF, and their perception of the legitimacy of ELF as a variable way of using English. Below are the results for the five statements from native speakers (Table 1) and non-native speakers (Table 2).

Statement	Strongly agrees (4)	Somewhat agrees (3)	Somewhat disagrees (2)	Strongly disagrees (1)
1. English has an important function as a language for international communication.	15	1	0	0
2. English serves as a global lingua franca.	9	6	1	0
3. I am familiar with the notion of ELF (English as a lingua franca) and its meaning.	6	9	1	0
4. ELF should be legitimized and researched in its own right as a variable way of using English.	6	8	2	0
5. ELF is a low-level, makeshift form of English.	0	2	8	6

Table 1. Results of statements 1–5 for native teachers.

Statement	Strongly agrees (4)	Somewhat agrees (3)	Somewhat disagrees (2)	Strongly disagrees (1)
1. English has an important function as a language for international communication.	28	0	0	0
2. English serves as a global lingua franca.	27	1	0	0
3. I am familiar with the notion of ELF (English as a lingua franca) and its meaning.	20	8	0	0

4. ELF should be legitimized and researched in its own right as a variable way of using English.	6	16	6	0
5. ELF is a low-level, makeshift form of English.	0	7	14	7

Table 2. Results of statements 1–5 for non-native teachers.

Statement 1 inquired the participants' perception of the role of English in international communication. There is no need for counting the mean or mode for this statement because, as expected, there is a broad consensus among the participants indicating that they consider the English language to have an important function in international communication. Statement 2 shifts attention more directly towards the lingua franca function of English, inquiring whether the participants perceive English as functioning as a global lingua franca. Non-native teachers maintain their consensus, with all except for one agreeing strongly with the statement. However, even if the majority of native teachers agree with the statement strongly, the mean of the results falls down to 3.50. Even if the mean indicates that native teachers mostly agree with the statement, the lower result may imply that English is not necessarily seen as functioning as a lingua franca in a literally global scale, but the teachers acknowledge the existence of other languages that are used as regional lingua francas. Even if they accept that English has an important role in international communication, it is not the only language used in multilingual encounters. On the other hand, the wider consensus among non-native teachers is potentially a result of the fact that, in contrast to native speakers, they see themselves as ELF users, meaning that they automatically assume English as the language of communication whenever they are communicating with someone with whom they do not have a common native language.

Statement 3 aimed to find out how familiar teachers are with ELF as a linguistic phenomenon. For native teachers, the mode of the responses is 3 and the mean is 3.31, whereas for non-native teachers, the mode is 4 and the mean is 3.71. In short, both groups see themselves as being familiar with the notion of ELF and its meaning, but non-native teachers consider themselves more familiar with it than native teachers. There are different possible explanations for the difference in the results. Likely factors influencing the results are the linguistic background of the participants, teacher

education and the different teaching objectives between ESL and EFL. Non-native teachers are better able to relate to the lingua franca function of English because they are essentially ELF users themselves, whereas it can be assumed that native teachers use the language predominantly with other native speakers. Furthermore, if native teachers teach the language as a second language to e.g. immigrants who are being integrated in an English-speaking environment, the lingua franca function is not present in the same sense, although their students can, in fact, also be seen as ELF users because they are not native speakers. There may also be differences in teacher education between native English-speaking countries and non-native countries when it comes to incorporating the notion of ELF into it.

Statements 4 and 5 measure the attitude of the participants regarding the questions of legitimacy and prestige of ELF as a form of English. Statement 4 claims that ELF should be established as a legitimate form of English and it is in itself a worthwhile topic of research. For this statement, the mode for the results of both groups is 3, and the mean is 3.25 for native teachers and 3.00 for non-native teachers. Although these numbers imply a somewhat clear agreement between native and non-native teachers, the responses for this question show a broader dispersion of attitudes, especially among non-native teachers. There is no clear explanation to this based on demographic factors. However, conclusions can be made by comparing the results for statements 4 and 5, since they comprise a pair as regards content in that they approach the same question from different viewpoints. Statement 4 claims ELF to be a legitimate form of English, whereas statement 5 depicts it as practically illegitimate. As can be seen from Table 1 and Table 2 above, the figures for the statements 4 and 5 are in a somewhat clear agreement in both groups. For both groups, the mode in statement 5 is 2, and the mean is 1.75 for native teachers and 2 for non-native teachers. The figures indicate that the perception of legitimacy of ELF correlates with the degree of prestige that is assigned to it; the majority of participants see ELF as somewhat legitimate, but they also perceive it to some degree as low-level or makeshift.

As concluding remarks about the findings from statements 1–5, teachers are broadly aware of the significance of the English language in international communication but their familiarity of ELF as an accompanying phenomenon of this spread, and their general attitudes towards its legitimacy are more varied. This indicates that ELF has mainly reached the consciousness of both native and non-native teachers, but their varying perceptions of its legitimacy may imply that there is still a conceptual gap in that teachers do not have a thorough understanding of the concept of ELF as an alternative to the traditional conceptualization of English. This is not the teachers' 'fault' of course, but the factors that influence this understanding are teacher education and curricula that guide the teaching objectives set for the teachers. The following section of analysis turns to observing factors that influence the attitudes towards native and non-native speakers.

4.2. Attitudes towards native and non-native users of English

Statements 6–11 in the questionnaire are concerned with the perceived roles of native standards and native speaker authority in non-native speakers' use of the English language, and perceptions of ownership of English. The results of these statements are presented below for native teachers (Table 3) and non-native teachers (Table 4).

Statement	Strongly agrees (4)	Somewhat agrees (3)	Somewhat disagrees (2)	Strongly disagrees (1)
6. Deviation from native speaker norms of English necessarily harms communication in English.	0	0	3	13
7. Non-native users of English should conform to native speaker norms of English.	0	4	6	6
8. The use of multilingual resources in ELF interaction may enhance the effectiveness of communication.	6	10	0	0
9. Real, authentic English is spoken only by its native speakers who consider it their first language.	1	1	5	9

10. The development of the English language can be influenced only by its native speakers.	0	0	2	14
11. Non-native speakers of English have an important role in the development of the English language.	9	3	4	0

Table 3. Results of statements 6–11 for native teachers.

Statement	Strongly agrees (4)	Somewhat agrees (3)	Somewhat disagrees (2)	Strongly disagrees (1)
6. Deviation from native speaker norms of English necessarily harms communication in English.	0	5	14	9
7. Non-native users of English should conform to native speaker norms of English.	1	18	4	5
8. The use of multilingual resources in ELF interaction may enhance the effectiveness of communication.	7	18	2	1
9. Real, authentic English is spoken only by its native speakers who consider it their first language.	0	5	14	9
10. The development of the English language can be influenced only by its native speakers.	0	1	10	17
11. Non-native speakers of English have an important role in the development of the English language.	12	11	5	0

Table 4. Results of statements 6–11 for non-native teachers.

Let us first examine the results for statement 7, which claims that non-native users of English should conform to native speaker norms of English. The mode of the results for native teachers is 2 and mean stands at 1.88, whereas for non-native teachers the mode is 3 and the mean is 2.54. The figures show that native teachers are somewhat more tolerant than non-native teachers as regards non-conformity to native speaker norms by non-native users of English. This may imply that native teachers are more aware of the range of variation in English and that the language is increasingly connected to communicational contexts which have nothing to do with Inner Circle varieties that have been traditionally seen as the norm-providing varieties. On the other hand, it is likely that the standard language ideology of English language teaching guides non-native teachers' views more towards the preference for conformity to native speaker norms.

Statements 6 and 8 can be examined as a pair that approaches one issue with different stances. Statement 6 states that non-conformity to native speaker norms of English is harmful to communication. Statement 8, on the other hand, claims that this is not true, but the use of multilingual resources and deviation from native speaker norms may in fact enhance communicational effectiveness. For statement 6, the mode is 1 for native teachers and 2 for non-native teachers, and the mean is 1.19 for native teachers and 1.86 for non-native teachers. This indicates that neither native or non-native teachers see deviation from native speaker norms as necessarily harmful, with non-native teachers taking a slightly more reserved approach. As for statement 8, the mode is 3 for both groups and the means stand at 3.34 for native teachers and 3.11 for non-native teachers. Once again, we can establish an agreement between the responses in this pair of statements, as the figures show that tolerating deviation from native speaker norms correlates with perceiving the use of multilingual resources in ELF interaction as beneficial. Consequently, native teachers, who tolerate deviation from native speaker norms to a slightly larger extent, also see the use of multilingual resources in ELF interaction as slightly more beneficial than their non-native colleagues. The reasons for this difference between the attitudes of native and non-native teachers may be various but, deriving from the theoretical framework of this study, we can assume that non-native teachers are more influenced by standard English ideology and the traditional perception of English language teaching as a monolingual practice.

Statement 9 inquired the participants' attitude towards who can be identified as authentic users of English. The statement claims that only native speakers of English can be considered authentic users of the language. The attitudes of both native and non-native teachers lean towards disagreement with the claim: for native teachers, the mode is 1 and the mean is 1.63, and for non-native teachers, the mode is 2 whereas the mean stands at 1.86. These figures show that both native and non-native teachers can perceive non-native users as authentic users of English at least to some degree. However, the mode being 2 for non-native teachers implies that a somewhat higher degree of authenticity is

given to native speakers of English. We can assume this to derive from the sense of inferiority experienced by non-native teachers due to the dominance of native speaker authority. However, it is notable that native teachers' attitude is more open towards perceiving non-native users as authentic users of English, although their responses also contain more critical attitudes towards the authenticity of non-native users. In conclusion, both native and non-native teachers' attitudes make a claim against native speaker authority.

Statements 10 and 11 address the issue of ownership of English by taking contrasting stances on it. Statement 10 limits ownership of English solely to native speakers, implying that non-native speakers must submit themselves to native speaker authority, whereas statement 11 grants ownership to non-native speakers as well. Results for statement 10 are as follows: the mode stands at 1 for each group of participants, and the mean is 1.13 for native teachers and 1.43 for non-native teachers. As for statement 11, the mode for each group is 4 and the mean is 3.31 for native teachers and 3.25 for non-native teachers. It needs to be noted that even if the mode for statement 11 is 4 for each group, the responses among both groups are rather widely dispersed. However, it can be concluded from the responses that both native and non-native teachers are ready to grant non-native users a role in the development of the English language and to see them as owners of the language. What may cause the dispersion of responses in statement 11 is the word 'important'. This word was included in the statement in order to emphasize the contrast between statements 10 and 11, but it may be that this choice of word has provoked some participants to disagree with the statement. This would imply that even if teachers see non-native users as influencing the development of English, native speakers are still given a priority in the process. The figures show that there is no notable difference in the attitudes of native and non-native teachers as regards ownership of English.

To summarize this section of the analysis, it can be concluded that both native and non-native teachers are ready to accept non-native users of English as a legitimate, distinctly multilingual group of users of the English language. However, the results show that native teachers generally have a

more positive attitude towards the deviation from native standards than non-native teachers, and non-native teachers are more prone to prefer native standards. Furthermore, both groups of participants see the role of native speakers as more important in the development of the English language than that of non-native speakers. Nevertheless, the majority of responses reflect the attitude that non-native users of English should be liberated from native standards and native speaker authority. This section of analysis observed the attitudes of English teachers towards non-native users of English. The next section turns to a more pedagogy-oriented approach by examining attitudes towards issues related more specifically to English language teaching.

4.3. Perceptions of teaching objectives in English language teaching

Now that we have analyzed the attitudes of the participants towards ELF and ELF users more generally, it is time to focus on the attitudes towards English language teaching and second language learners of English more specifically. This section comprises a quantitative analysis of the responses for statements 12–18 in the questionnaire and a qualitative analysis of the responses for open-ended questions A and B (see Appendix 2). Both the statements and the open-ended questions focus on teaching standards, teaching objectives and student evaluation criteria. The analysis is first conducted on statements 12–16 and question B, which are concerned with the role of standard norms in defining competence in English. Below are the results for statements 12–16 for native teachers (Table 5) and non-native teachers (Table 6).

Statement	Strongly agrees (4)	Somewhat agrees (3)	Somewhat disagrees (2)	Strongly disagrees (1)
12. Second language learners of English should conform to standard norms of English.	2	7	6	1
13. Second language learners of English should be taught only a native standard form of English, such as Standard British English or Standard American English.	0	5	7	4

14. Competence in English should be defined in reference to Standard English.	0	5	9	2
15. Second language learners of English should be evaluated based on standard norms of English.	1	10	4	1
16. When evaluating students, it is more important to focus on communicative effectiveness rather than formal correctness.	10	5	1	0

Table 5. Results of statements 12-16 for native teachers.

Statement	Strongly agrees (4)	Somewhat agrees (3)	Somewhat disagrees (2)	Strongly disagrees (1)
12. Second language learners of English should conform to standard norms of English.	5	16	5	2
13. Second language learners of English should be taught only a native standard form of English, such as Standard British English or Standard American English.	5	10	7	6
14. Competence in English should be defined in reference to Standard English.	8	6	9	5
15. Second language learners of English should be evaluated based on standard norms of English.	7	12	6	3
16. When evaluating students, it is more important to focus on communicative effectiveness rather than formal correctness.	10	17	1	0

Table 6. Results of statements 12-16 for non-native teachers.

Statement 12 claims that, when using English, second language learners should aim at conforming to standard norms of the language. The mode for both native and non-native teachers is 3 for this statement, and the mean is 2.63 for native teachers and 2.86 for non-native teachers. Statistically speaking, we can thus see a moderate stance towards agreement with the claim among both groups. However, the dispersion of the responses is broad which indicates that there is no unified view among the teachers when it comes to learners' need to conform to standard norms of English. One explanation for this could be found in the differences in English teaching in different school levels and particular teachers basing their attitudes on a particular school level. In early education it may be perceived as more appropriate to focus on standard norms as the starting point in learning the language, but in later stages communicative effectiveness may be prioritized over formal correctness,

which can lead into acceptance of deviation from standard norms. On the other hand, teachers may have different views on how learners should be evaluated with respect to conformity to standard norms. Some teachers may focus on communicative effectiveness, while others may prioritize formal correctness.

Statement 13 inquired whether the original British and American native standard varieties of English should be the only standards taught to second language learners. In native teachers' responses, the mode is 2 and the mean is 2.06, and among non-native teachers, the mode is 3 and the mean is 2.50. It seems that non-native teachers are more accepting towards adopting traditional native standards as the only varieties to be taught. A probable reason for the higher agreement among non-native teachers is that adopting an established native standard as the sole guideline for teaching makes evaluation easier, provides students with clear rules and decreases uncertainty. However, once again, there is a great deal of dispersion in the responses of non-native teachers. The higher dispersion among non-native teachers and the disagreement with statement 13 among native teachers shows acknowledgement of the variation in the English language, which implies the idea that this variation should also be taken into account in teaching. Overall, the results show that teachers' attitudes are very divided on this issue.

Statement 14 claims that competence in English should be defined in reference to Standard English. Agreement with the statement would mean that any deviation from Standard English would constitute an error in the learners' use of English. The mode is 2 in both native and non-native teachers' responses, but it is noteworthy that among non-native teachers, the response 4 indicating strong agreement is almost as frequent. The mean for native teachers is 2.19 and among non-native teachers it stands at 2.61. Competence may be defined in different ways in different contexts, which may cause the dispersion of responses among non-native teachers and the overall undecidedness indicated by the statistical figures. As Standard English is often used as the standard for evaluation, in academic terms it is reasonable to maintain a link between competence and Standard English.

However, in more informal contexts, Standard English may not be as necessary, and competence has more to do with overall intelligibility and successful communication.

Statements 15 and 16 form another pair that approaches one topic from different viewpoints. Statement 15 claims that evaluation of English language learners should be based on standard norms, whereas statement 16 prioritizes communicative effectiveness over formal correctness, implying that conformity to standard norms is not necessary. In statement 15, the mode for each group of participants is 3, and the mean of native teacher responses is 2.69 and for non-native teachers it is 2.82. The figures indicate a moderate agreement with the claim that learner evaluation should be based on Standard English norms. As for statement 16, the mode in native teachers' responses is 4 and among non-natives it is 3. The mean stands at 3.56 for native teachers and at 3.32 for non-native teachers. These figures show that both native and non-native teachers consider communicative effectiveness more relevant in evaluation than formal correctness, with non-native teachers taking a slightly more reserved stance. The combined results for statements 15 and 16 show that Standard English must have some role in evaluating English language learners, but competence cannot be based solely on it. Instead, evaluation should be based on a combination of standard norms and communicative effectiveness, with the latter being the priority.

Statements 12–16 handle the same topic as open-ended question B, which inquires the participants' opinions on 'what is the role of Standard English in defining competence in the English language?' Let us examine the main topics arising from the responses to this question. Full responses to open questions from all participants can be found in Appendix 2. The example responses used in the analysis are labeled at the end with N for native research participants and NN for non-native participants, accompanied by a number assigned to each participant. First, as the example responses below show, a number of participants argue that Standard English is a well-defined starting point and objective for learning, although reaching a perfect fluency in it can hardly be expected, and learners also need to be aware of variation.

(1) ‘This sets a standard. A learner may not achieve it, however, it does present a goal for that learning.’ (N2)

(2) ‘I think it is a good starting place for understanding how English is used, but I think it is also important to expose students to different usages...’ (N6)

(3) ‘It forms a basis of what the language should look like, but students shouldn’t be expected to reach fluency in standard English’ (N9)

(4) ‘Standard English is the basis but other variants are acceptable and awareness of them is essential.’ (NN7)

(5) ‘Standard English is clearly defined goal of learning the language.’ (NN9)

(6) ‘We need a certain set of rules, a base to build on, a norm if you wish that it is then possible to deviate from. I see SE as ‘technique’, a set of necessary basic tools to develop your skills.’ (NN15)

According to the responses, Standard English works as a kind of supporting framework for learners which they can lean on while developing their language skills. Participant NN28 points out in example 7 below that it is easier to begin learning English with a clear set of ‘black and white’ rules and make the learners aware of variation at a later stage when it is considered appropriate for their development.

(7) ‘At the beginning of the learning process a student needs black and white rights and wrongs, which standard Englishes provide. At the secondary level, they already realize that more than one standard exists, and the most important thing for them is to strive to eliminate harmful interference from their L1.’ (NN28)

Besides providing a clear basis for the learners, Standard English is also considered to serve as a basic tool for the teachers when evaluating the development of their students. To illustrate this, below are a few excerpts from the responses to question B.

(8) ‘... Summative assessment in international level tests...’ (N4)

(9) ‘You have to set a bar to measure second language learning success, so using a standard English is more efficient when setting the bar.’ (N14)

(10) ‘You have to draw the line somewhere, otherwise there's no end to the debate: chaos will ensue, and no one will know, what's right or wrong.’ (NN11)

(11) 'It must be the basis of measuring one's skills and fluency. Otherwise it would be impossible to give any grades.' (NN18)

Many of the participants argue that without the existence of a clearly-defined standard language it would in fact be impossible to evaluate the development of the learners. Without a standard, testing the learners properly and objectively would not be possible. However, as can be seen from the excerpts below, Standard English is not perceived as a completely non-problematic measure of assessment and it cannot be the only factor influencing assessment.

(12) 'It is a limited way of measuring communicative effectiveness of students. It is one of many ways to 'speak English' and when present as the ONLY way to 'speak English' it is a harmful imperial force.' (N8)

(13) 'I don't know that Standard English can be effectively used as a measurement of competence, because Standard English varies between English-speaking countries. (A measure of competence should avoid subjectivity as much as possible.)' (N13)

(14) '...as students evolve their language skills their varied competences should be acknowledged more in reference to the communicativeness of their English in international communication...' (NN21)

The responses argue that using Standard English as a measure of assessment is a very subjective approach to English language teaching, since it implicitly provides a prestige status to the Inner Circle standards over other varieties. Standard English as a measure of assessment does not allow variation which is naturally present in the real use of English. Thus, learner assessment should also take into account the communicative effectiveness of the learners' output, and at later stages of learning this should in fact be the priority.

One argument in the responses to question B that defends the role of Standard English in English language teaching is that there is simply no sufficient amount of time for the teachers to cover different aspects of variation in English. It is also argued that there would not even be space in the curriculum to cover the different varieties of English. These views mainly seem to arise from the responses of non-native teachers, as the examples below illustrate.

(15) ‘You need to have a variety that you strive for as there is no time to cover many varieties.’ (NN8)

(16) ‘Since not all variants can be covered or included in the curriculum, Standard English is a good basis’ (NN13)

What this implies is that variation of the language and its acknowledgement in teaching has the potential danger of making teaching more complicated for the teachers, and the limited time and resources are best put into use if there is a common standard to rely on. Giving too much attention to variation would make teaching fragmented, because there are so many established varieties to cover.

Finally, the last recurring topic in the responses to question B is that the role of Standard English in English language teaching is largely dependent on the personal goals of the learner. The excerpts below are examples of the recurrence of this argument.

(17) ‘In some spheres (i.e. the academic and professional), Standard English is essential. That is, the use of non-standard English in formal academic writing would be considered a huge faux pas. Again, though, in some spheres, standard English is less critical. Hotel staff and tour guides, for example, need to be much more competent in the actual spoken language of customers.’ (N1)

(18) ‘... it depends on the learner's own goals. If the learner wants to attend secondary education in an English-speaking country, then Standard English would be an important metric to use to assess competence. If the learner has different goals, it might be irrelevant.’ (N3)

(19) ‘... It is still a benchmark for the publication of - for example - scientific research, business documents, legal & business contracts etc’ (N4)

(20) ‘standard English is especially important in written communication and in formal situations, hence it should be taught in school, students quite often acquire informal English on their spare time’ (NN22)

(21) ‘... Competence should be defined by ability to perform relevant tasks.’ (NN26)

The responses highlight that teachers see the learners’ own goals as an important factor in determining their competence in the language. A major dividing line concerning the knowledge of Standard English as a determiner of competence can be drawn between written and spoken communication and formal and informal situations. Standard English thus has a significant role in academic and business settings, whereas in informal everyday use and in spoken language it is not as relevant. If the learner

is going to pursue a career where English is needed, or if the learner wishes to go to school in an English-speaking country, knowledge of Standard English is necessary. However, if the learner mainly learns English in order to communicate with other people in non-formal contexts, sufficiently high communicative effectiveness is the priority.

The implications of the combined results for question B and statements 12–16 are discussed in more detail in section 5, but brief conclusions are provided here. Both the statements and the open responses indicate that the majority of native and non-native English teachers consider Standard English as one of the factors needed as part of the conceptualization of English taught as a second language. It has a key function in providing a well-defined core framework of the language both for the learners and for the teachers. This function is especially important in learner assessment and curriculum design, and it provides the students with a clear goal at which they can aim. The teachers see Standard English and native standard norms as having an important role especially in written communication and formal contexts, such as business and academic settings. However, as the results show, the teachers' attitudes towards conformity to Standard English and native norms are not in total agreement, and they see this expectation of conformity as causing certain issues as well.

The main concern arising from the responses is that Standard English cannot be the only factor determining competence in English, but communicative effectiveness needs to be taken into account as an influencing factor as well. This implies that the teachers acknowledge the multilingual backgrounds of their students and that they are willing to tolerate deviation from standard norms by learners as long as it does not harm communication. Based on the results of the statements, native teachers are slightly more tolerant towards deviation than non-native teachers. Ultimately, however, the advantages of learning Standard English are seen to be dependent on the learners' own goals. If the learner wants to use English for academic or other formal purposes, knowledge of Standard English is essential, but if this is not the case, it may be more advantageous to focus on communicative effectiveness. As participant NN21 puts it: '... This is where ELF comes to the picture.' Students

need to be aware of the variation in the real use of English and be equipped with the necessary skills to cope with this variation while communicating with people of different linguistic backgrounds.

Moving forward with the analysis, the statements 17–18 and open-ended question A explicitly inquired the perceptions of the teachers regarding the goals of learning English as a second language. Although the analysis above already provided us with some views concerning the goals, the following responses provide a more thorough examination of the issue. First, below are the results of statements 17–18 for native teachers (Table 7) and non-native teachers (Table 8).

Statement	Strongly agrees (4)	Somewhat agrees (3)	Somewhat disagrees (2)	Strongly disagrees (1)
17. The ultimate goal of second language learning of English is native speaker fluency.	0	5	7	4
18. The ultimate goal of second language learning of English is to become an efficient communicator in international or multilingual communication.	12	4	0	0

Table 7. Results of statements 17-18 for native teachers.

Statement	Strongly agrees (4)	Somewhat agrees (3)	Somewhat disagrees (2)	Strongly disagrees (1)
17. The ultimate goal of second language learning of English is native speaker fluency.	2	8	10	7
18. The ultimate goal of second language learning of English is to become an efficient communicator in international or multilingual communication.	21	7	0	0

Table 8. Results of statements 17-18 for non-native teachers.

Statement 17 claims that second language learners should aim to reach a competence resembling that of native speakers of English in their use of the language. For both native and non-native teachers the mode of the responses is 2, and the mean is 2.06 for native teachers and 2.11 for non-native teachers. The figures show that the teachers do not see native speaker fluency as a necessary goal for second language learners. Statement 18, on the contrary, claims that the ultimate goal of learning English as a second language is the ability to maintain communicative effectiveness

in multilingual communication. The results for this statement show a rather strong agreement with the mode being 4 for each group of participants, and the mean standing at 3.75 for each group. Observation of the results for statements 17 and 18 shows that teachers, both native and non-native, view developing communicative effectiveness as a priority in learning English, whereas setting the goal of reaching fluency comparable to a native speaker of English is considered somewhat unnecessary.

The results of this study have so far shown that the objectives of teaching should be formulated according to each learner's own goals, and that the major directions the goals can take are that of achieving sufficient competence in Standard English to use the language in formal settings on the one hand, and that of developing adequate language skills to maintain communicative effectiveness on the other hand. These goals are not completely separate dimensions, of course, but both are needed to some extent, irrespective of the learners' own goals. In order to gain a more thorough understanding of what teachers perceive as the main teaching objectives in ESL/EFL, the open-ended question A in the questionnaire asked, 'What are the main goals of teaching English as a second language?' The results for this question are analyzed here.

First, let us restate the fact that the learner's personal goals must be acknowledged. This view was raised by a number of teachers, as can be seen in the examples below.

(22) 'The goals depend largely on the student: some students need to be able to function in an international context like the U.S. or Australia, whereas others need to be categorized "fluent" by some external standard so as to qualify for jobs with international NGOs. Some students want to be able to watch TV and read books in English.' (N1)

(23) 'This depends so much on where the learner is located and the learner's own goals that it is difficult to answer.' (N3)

(24) 'It is impossible to generalise...' (N5)

(25) 'What the learners identify as their goals.' (NN26)

The responses indicate that question A is difficult to respond to specifically because every learner is a unique individual with a unique personal motivation for learning the language. This theme was

somewhat more recurrent in the responses of native teachers than those of non-native teachers. In any case, different goals between learners are caused not only by the learners themselves, but the environment in which they live and local and international linguistic conditions also have an influence on them.

The most recurrent theme in the responses to question A argued that the main goal for teaching English is developing the learners' communicative competence in English. This is illustrated by the examples below.

(26) 'To enable students to effectively communicate in English' (N9)

(27) 'To improve students' ability to communicate in English.' (N11)

(28) 'Communication, making yourself understood and understanding others'
(NN2)

(29) 'Learning to communicate effectively in English' (NN16)

The recurrence of this theme in the responses indicates that both native and non-native teachers give priority in language teaching to improving the learners' communicative effectiveness. These views support the role of communicative language teaching as the dominant pedagogical approach in contemporary English language teaching. However, the teachers do not only stress the role of communicative competence as such, but there are other closely connected themes in the responses that highlight certain features of communicative competence as the teachers perceive it. Above all, a substantial number of the participants emphasize the need for a communicative competence that acknowledges the role of English as the language used in multilingual and multicultural interactions. This view is illustrated in the excerpts below.

(30) 'Equipping students to communicate at some level, consume English materials to learn about the word, and encounter other cultures through another language to open their imaginations to the world outside of their own language and culture.' (N8)

(31) 'Enhanced communication abilities for learners from varried backgrounds. Increasing bilingualism and multilingualism. Connecting

learners to different cultures, ensuring access to dominant discourse in English speaking nations' (N12)

(32) 'That the students gain such knowledge and skills that they are able to work and function in multilingual environments.' (NN8)

(33) 'Enabling effective communication between different people from different cultures.' (NN18)

The above opinions clearly show that teachers are aware of the role of English in international communication and it is a feature of the language that influences teaching objectives in English language teaching. English is seen as a language that can connect people of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, implying that it works as a lingua franca in these interactions. It is seen as a tool that can foster multicultural relations by offering a means of communication in which the priority is mutual intelligibility or communicative effectiveness.

Other teaching goals arising from the responses to question A are concerned with the development of the learners' personal attitudes towards the English language and their perceptions of themselves as non-native users, or to put it in another way, as lingua franca users of English. The examples below show what these goals are.

(34) 'Encouraging learner autonomy and an ability to make progress outside the classroom. Building the students' self confidence.' (N4)

(35) 'Instilling confidence in English language abilities especially through verbal communication. Encouraging participation and the notion that one doesn't have to speak perfectly.' (N10)

(36) '...helping students feel comfortable when practicing the language (and okay with making mistakes)...' (N13)

(37) 'That the students enjoy learning and have a positive attitude towards learning English' (NN20)

(38) 'Providing the learners with a tool kit of the English language: enough vocabulary and grammar for the learners to communicate in English, ways to evolve their skills further if they so wish, and the skills to evaluate their own competence.' (NN21)

(39) 'Giving students the confidence to use the language' (NN27)

The examples indicate that one of the goals of English language teaching is to make the learners believe in their own skills and see themselves as confident users of the language. The idea behind this is that the language does not have to be formally perfect and making mistakes does not necessarily harm communication. Participation in communication is encouraged so that learners can develop confidence in their language use. Furthermore, teachers believe that it is important to create a positive attitude among the learners towards learning English and the importance of developing skills for further learning is also emphasized. One dimension of this is the ability to assess one's own level of competence.

To summarize this section of the analysis, it can be concluded that English language learners themselves have an important role in defining teaching objectives for English language teaching. However, teachers generally prioritize the development of communicative competence that prepares the learner to be able to communicate in international or multilingual settings. Despite its issues, Standard English is also an important factor in providing a framework for teaching and learning English, and for assessing learner development. Knowledge of Standard English becomes more significant if the learner is going to need English for academic or work purposes in the future. In ELF contexts, developing skills that maintain international intelligibility are of great value. Furthermore, it is seen as important to provide language learners with a readiness to further improve their skills and improve their confidence to use the language. The following section examines teachers' attitudes towards ELF and variation in English as factors influencing classroom instruction in more detail.

4.4. Perceptions of incorporating ELF into teaching

The last section of analysis focuses on teachers' perceptions of whether and to what extent ELF and variation in English should be incorporated into classroom instruction and whether this is considered feasible. The analysis covers the results for the remaining statements used in the questionnaire and the open-ended questions C and D. Statements 19–22 and question C are concerned with the

perceived necessity of practical skills and awareness of ELF and variation in English, whereas Statements 23–25 and question D deal with the issue of feasibility of ELF as part of classroom instruction. Below are the results of statements 19–22 for native teachers (Table 9) and for non-native teachers (Table 10).

Statement	Strongly agrees (4)	Somewhat agrees (3)	Somewhat disagrees (2)	Strongly disagrees (1)
19. Second language learners should learn in practice about different varieties of English.	7	6	2	1
20. Second language learners should be aware of different varieties of English.	11	3	2	0
21. Learning about ELF in practice is necessary for second language learners of English.	2	8	4	2
22. Being aware of ELF is necessary for second language learners of English.	1	10	4	1

Table 9. Results of statements 19-22 for native teachers.

Statement	Strongly agrees (4)	Somewhat agrees (3)	Somewhat disagrees (2)	Strongly disagrees (1)
19. Second language learners should learn in practice about different varieties of English.	15	12	1	0
20. Second language learners should be aware of different varieties of English.	26	2	0	0
21. Learning about ELF in practice is necessary for second language learners of English.	6	14	8	0
22. Being aware of ELF is necessary for second language learners of English.	10	16	2	0

Table 10. Results of statements 19-22 for non-native teachers.

Statements 19 and 20 focus on established varieties of English, claiming that it is necessary for English language learners to learn about the different varieties in practice (statement 19) and be aware of them (statement 20). In statement 19, the mode is 4 for both groups and the mean is 3.06 for native teachers and 3.50 for non-native teachers. As for statement 20, the mode is, likewise, 4 for each group and the mean is 3.56 for native teachers and 3.93 for non-native teachers. The figures indicate that both native and non-native teachers consider it important to teach English language learners about

different varieties of English in practice, but awareness of them is considered even more important. Non-native teachers are in stronger agreement with the statements than native teachers. The reason for this difference may be that at least some of the native teachers approach these statements mainly from the viewpoint of teaching English to learners who intend to live in English-speaking countries like the USA, in which case the focus of learning would be on learning American English rather than any other variety. However, the overall attitude of both native and non-native teachers is that awareness of different varieties is an advantage for English language learners.

Statements 21 and 22 draw a distinction between established varieties of English and English as a lingua franca by stating the same claims about ELF that statements 19 and 20 did for the established varieties. In statement 21, which claims that learning about ELF in practice is necessary for English language learners, the mode for each group is 3 and the mean is 2.63 for native teachers and 2.93 for non-native teachers. As for statement 22, which states that being aware of ELF is necessary for English language learners, the mode is again 3 for each group, and the mean is 2.69 for native teachers and 3.29 for non-native teachers. Compared to attitudes towards established varieties of English, the figures indicate that teachers consider awareness and practical skills concerning ELF in particular less relevant for English language learners. Furthermore, non-native teachers are once again in a slightly stronger agreement with the claims, and awareness is considered more necessary than practical skills. The reasons for these attitudes are revealed below in the analysis of the responses to question C.

Responses to the open-ended question C provide more insight to the attitudes observed in the above statements. The question was, 'Is it necessary and useful for second language learners to be aware of English as a lingua franca? Why/Why not?' This question was included in the questionnaire in order to find out the reasons for the attitudes of the teachers regarding whether ELF is a pedagogically relevant phenomenon to English language learners. The main findings from the responses are presented below.

First, a number of responses argue that the necessity of ELF awareness depends largely on the learner's personal needs. If English is learnt primarily to communicate with native speakers, it is not considered necessary to be aware of ELF and Standard English is of more importance, whereas if the language is learned in order to use it in multilingual non-native contexts, awareness of ELF is seen as more beneficial. These views are illustrated in the example responses below.

(40) 'This depends on the learners life and work situation. Where do they live? With whom do they interact? What is essential for survival? A teacher should find out the answers to these questions so that s/he can help the learner communicate in life.' (N2)

(41) 'I don't think it's necessary to be aware of English as a lingua franca in order to learn English since ESL learners may be learning to primarily communicate with native speakers, in which case I'm not sure it's correct to say they would be using ELF, but it is probably useful to be aware of since English is often used as a lingua franca in today's world.' (N11)

This argument was mainly raised by native teachers. Example 41 raises the conceptual issue of whether English used by a non-native user in communication with a native user can even be labeled as ELF. This issue can be approached from different viewpoints, but in this study it is argued that any interaction which involves a non-native user of English is essentially ELF interaction, since any non-native user's linguistic background is prone to influencing the way the person uses English in one way or another. However, as it has been stated already, conformity to native standards may be very beneficial in certain contexts and the level of knowledge of standards is dependent on the learner's needs.

Besides the learner's personal needs, the responses to question C show that another factor influencing the necessity of introducing ELF to the learners is the learners' level of English. This is illustrated in the excerpts below.

(42) 'I suppose it depends largely on the level of the students. Until students achieve a certain level of English acquisition, I think it's moot. For more advanced students who can appreciate nuances, though, it's a useful pedagogical point.' (N1)

(43) 'I think it could be useful, but at least at early levels of learning it may be confusing to have two sets of expectations for learners. But I think as learners get into more advanced levels it depends on their particular goals of using English.' (N6)

(44) 'The more advanced students yes, because they will nedvto be aware of it when working' (NN20)

According to the responses, in the early stages of learning English it is more useful to concentrate on learning the standard rules. In a later stage, however, awareness of ELF can be introduced to learners as they are more prepared to encounter and understand variation in the language. Once again, as response N6 points out, the benefits of introducing ELF depends on the personal goals of the learners.

The main arguments that see awareness of ELF as beneficial for English language learners have to do with the learners' self-perception and confidence as users of English. These views can be found in the examples below.

(45) 'Yes. For many students (especially adult learners) progress in fluency is negatively influenced by a fear of making errors, instilled by ESL teachers practising a prescriptive grammar approach to teaching and learning. An awareness of ELF can show students that the 'rules' can be broken without inhibiting effective communication.' (N4)

(46) 'Yes, because it is an encouraging notion and underscores the importance of learning English especially for younger students who may not see it's immediate importance.' (N10)

(47) 'Yes it is, so that they understand that we aren't aiming at perfection as the most important thing is to be understood and to be able to communicate your business.' (NN8)

(48) 'yes, it can motivate them study English, they understand that English is spoken in different ways and it may help them feel less anxious about their own pronunciation, they understand that the same thought can be expressed in different ways depending on the context etc.' (NN22)

The responses show that many teachers see ELF as a concept that can potentially increase motivation in the learners and build their confidence as users of the language. ELF is described as a notion that pictures international communication in English as a flexible process that does not have to strictly follow standard rules. In other words, the notion highlights the prioritization of communicative effectiveness over formal correctness. ELF encourages participation in communication that both

provides the learners with more flexibility and widens their opportunities for communication. ELF can assist the learners in seeing themselves as language users instead of labelling themselves as language learners.

Other responses to question C emphasize the function of the notion of ELF in promoting awareness of English as a global language used by native and non-native speakers and awareness of the variation that is always present in the real use of English. These views are illustrated in the following examples.

(49) 'I think it's important to understand the global context of how English is used around the world, yes.' (N3)

(50) 'I believe so, because an understanding of exactly how global the English language is gives some context to the learning (and would hopefully provide motivation to some students).' (N13)

(51) 'Yes, because most learners will be communicating with non-native speakers in real life.' (NN1)

(52) 'Yes, it is because in their future careers, they will most likely be dealing with people from other countries than the UK or the USA, for example. So they will most likely need to use English as lingua franca when working with other non-native speakers of English.' (NN18)

It can be noted from the responses that especially non-native teachers emphasize the significance of English in communication between non-native speakers of English who do not share a common mother tongue. General awareness of the global spread of English is considered important and this awareness is also seen to provide learners with more motivation and reason to study the language. The above responses support the incorporation of ELF into teaching English, but there are also negative views arising from the responses. These views are observed below.

A number of views opposing to teaching awareness of ELF stress the role of standards as the supporting guideline for learners. The examples below illustrate these views.

(53) 'I don't think it's necessary because learning standard English can be more beneficial' (N7)

(54) 'It may be useful for some students, but it's not really necessary. In order to develop competency, it's best to set a standard that will move the EL closest to intelligibility and comprehension. ELF is not developed enough in terms of consistency and agreement between speakers to do that.' (N14)

(55) 'I don't think so, that is not the standard' (NN27)

As it is stated in example 54, ELF is a concept that challenges the function of standards as a supporting framework that provides learners with certainty of their development. According to these views, focusing on standards supports international intelligibility by teaching the same rules of language use to all learners. ELF is seen as something that may disrupt communication and cause misunderstandings between language users.

Other views that are opposed to making students aware of ELF are concerned with curricular issues and learners struggling even with standard language. These concerns were raised especially by non-native teachers. This can be seen in the below examples.

(56), translated from Finnish) 'It is surely beneficial to some extent, but not too much, because it may confuse some learners.' (NN4)

(57) 'They're struggling with the current two versions already, I see no reason to introduce even more variation. Once they start using ELF themselves, they will not likely even realise the difference.' (NN11)

(58) 'No. The curriculum is already full and I feel that these are things that can be learned in working life.' (NN24)

As it was already mentioned above, ELF is considered a concept that may only make learners feel overwhelmed by variation. Learners become confused of what is right and what is wrong, and in school settings it is considered more beneficial to maintain clear guidelines for the learners. Furthermore, ELF is seen as a burden that is difficult to include in the curriculum. Instead, example 58 above proposes that ELF-related skills are something that learners can develop later in their careers.

To briefly summarize the results for statements 19-22 and question C, it can be concluded that awareness of variation in English and the concept of ELF are mainly considered beneficial, although not absolutely necessary, for English language learners. Furthermore, it is not seen necessary to

transfer this awareness into practical skills. It is considered useful to maintain Standard English as a framework that supports international intelligibility. However, awareness of ELF is perceived as supporting the learners' self-confidence as users of English and as increasing motivation. Awareness of ELF also serves to promote the global spread of English and its importance in international communication. On the other hand, by challenging standard norms and supporting variation, ELF is seen to overwhelm learners and potentially increase the workload of teachers. The following part of the analysis observes the feasibility and the challenges of incorporating ELF into teaching more closely.

The final part of analysis is concerned with the perceived feasibility of incorporating ELF into English language teaching and the possible challenges it brings with it. The results for statements 23–25 are analyzed first, followed by an examination of the responses to open-ended question D. Below are the results of statements 23–25 for native teachers (Table 11) and for non-native teachers (Table 12).

Statement	Strongly agrees (4)	Somewhat agrees (3)	Somewhat disagrees (2)	Strongly disagrees (1)
23. Teaching ELF-related skills to second language learners of English is feasible.	3	10	2	1
24. Teaching ELF-related skills in practice is challenging.	2	10	3	1
25. Teaching ELF-related skills in practice must be incorporated into ESL/EFL curriculum.	1	6	9	0

Table 11. Results of statements 23-25 for native teachers.

Statement	Strongly agrees (4)	Somewhat agrees (3)	Somewhat disagrees (2)	Strongly disagrees (1)
23. Teaching ELF-related skills to second language learners of English is feasible.	7	18	3	0
24. Teaching ELF-related skills in practice is challenging.	1	12	13	2
25. Teaching ELF-related skills in practice must be incorporated into ESL/EFL curriculum.	3	16	9	0

Table 12. Results of statements 23-25 for non-native teachers.

Statement 23 claims that it is feasible to teach ELF-related skills to English language learners. The mode in this statement is 3 for both native and non-native teachers and the mean is 2.94 for native teachers and 3.14 for non-native teachers. The figures imply that teaching ELF-related skills to English language learners is not entirely feasible, but teachers have a positive attitude towards the idea. This view can be compared with the results of statement 24 which claims that teaching ELF-related skills in practice is challenging. The mode in the results for this statement is 3 for native teachers and 2 for non-native teachers, whereas the mean is 2.81 for native teachers and 2.43 for non-native teachers. The results show that teaching ELF-related skills is not considered entirely easy, and it makes sense that native teachers who see it as somewhat less feasible also see it as more challenging. Overall, the results indicate that the majority of teachers consider teaching ELF-related skills possible, but it does not come without challenges.

Statement 25 claims that ELF-related skills need to be part of the ESL/EFL curriculum. In this statement, the mode is 2 for native teachers and 3 for non-native teachers, and the mean stands at 2.50 for native teachers and at 2.79 for non-native teachers. These figures reflect the same views as the results for statements 23 and 24. Teachers are rather undecided as to whether ELF needs to be included in the curriculum, which may imply that it is seen as making teaching more challenging and its feasibility is questionable. We now turn to examine the responses to open-ended question D, which provides us with more insight into what causes the attitudes expressed in statements 23–25.

The last open-ended question in the questionnaire, question D, was the following: ‘Is it feasible in practice to incorporate ELF into teaching English as a second language? Why/Why not?’ The main themes arising from the responses to this question are observed below. The responses mainly focused on the current conditions in English language teaching, some of which facilitate and others that challenge the incorporation of ELF into the curriculum.

First, as it has been noted in the analysis of previous open-ended questions in this study, the personal goals of the learners are an important factor when it comes to introducing ELF as part of

classroom instruction. As we can see from the examples below, a number of responses argue that the feasibility of this approach is dependent on the learners.

(59) ‘Yes, I think a second language teacher can incorporate anything into a lesson that will help the students learn. How much this is done depends on the end result needed by the learner.’ (N2)

(60) ‘It depends. Students have a wide variety of learning goals and motivations. The teacher needs to consult to students and they can decide together how appropriate it would be to incorporate ELF...’ (N4)

This concern was mainly brought up by native teachers. Once again, the responses confirm that it is considered necessary to take learners’ personal needs and goals into account when designing the curriculum. A major difference concerning the goals may be found between ESL and EFL in that ESL learners learn English primarily to communicate with native speakers whereas EFL learners are more likely to use English in communication with other non-native users.

Many of the responses point out that while incorporating ELF into English language teaching is feasible, it requires changes to be done in the curriculum, development in teaching materials and further training and more work for teachers. The examples below illustrate these views.

(61) ‘I think it is feasible, although I imagine it would require additional materials and extra work that there may not be time or resources for...’ (N6)

(62) ‘It is feasible but I don’t think most teachers have learned how to do so.’ (N9)

(63) ‘I don’t know enough about ELF to answer.’ (NN2)

(64) ‘If the scope of studies is as it is now, I really can not see how this could be possible. But if more time is allocated to language studies and the hidden curriculum, i.e. the matriculation exam, truly devised, yes, why not!’ (NN13)

As examples 62 and 63 indicate, there is a lack of knowledge among teachers as regards the full meaning of ELF and how it could be incorporated into English language teaching in practice. Furthermore, current teaching materials and curricular limitations are seen as challenges, and a number of teachers believe that there is simply not enough time. However, the following examples

show that teachers are aware of an ongoing paradigmatic shift that would allow ELF to have a more significant role in English language teaching.

(65) ‘I do think there is a definite shift in understanding language as a means of communicating ideas, and less focus on specific grammar and usages.’ (N6)

(66) ‘Yes, students never know WHY they should try so hard to learn this crazy, confusing language which mixes so many others together and has so many exceptions to its exceptions. ESL courses are STARVING for a better why than ‘doing well in English makes you a good student and might help you when you go to University.’ Let’s talk about equipping them to communicate with the world and bend this language to their needs and their communities needs!’ (N8)

(67) ‘Yes to a degree - to familiarize students with it to assist communication in their future lives.’ (NN7)

These responses echo the benefits of ELF-aware teaching in realizing the importance of communicative effectiveness. This awareness and willingness to commit to it makes the above-mentioned paradigmatic shift possible. In other words, teachers’ own willingness and attitudes towards ELF also have an influence on whether incorporating ELF into English language teaching is feasible.

Other responses to question D argue that ELF can be incorporated into English language teaching with existing resources. The internet and media are seen as major facilitators in this process, as the examples below point out.

(68) ‘...In classrooms where students share a native language, I think it is certainly feasible to highlight how ELF bridges different cultures/linguistic contexts through carefully chosen activities (ex: video calling someone from another country who has learned ESL, reading English-language news articles from a variety of sources, watching K-Pop stars speak at the United Nations).’ (N13)

(69) ‘I think so, the Internet makes it easy (showing different varieties of English on Youtube, in different podcasts and so on)’ (NN1)

There is indeed no lack of potential external resources when it comes to finding teaching materials that would support incorporating ELF into English language teaching. However, it may be that

teachers are unconsciously drawn to prioritize native sources in choosing their materials. Nevertheless, modern technology provides teachers with infinite sources to find material that would make students familiar with ELF communication.

Finally, a number of responses argue that ELF is already inherently present in English classrooms. This view is illustrated in the excerpts below.

(70) 'I would assume that, by the very nature of language learning, it is already a part in some form. People do it as part of the communication process.' (N5)

(71) 'In certain classrooms, incorporating ELF can be inherent (if students are from a wide range of backgrounds)...' (N13)

(72) 'It comes naturally, but we should have more speakers with different native languages to have more variation.' (NN8)

The responses imply that, especially in multilingual classrooms, ELF is an inherent part of the learning process. Learners practice ELF-related skills automatically while they practice effective communication with other students. ELF is not seen as a separate set of skills, but as something that non-native learners acquire inherently in developing their communicative effectiveness in English.

The themes discussed above indicate that incorporating ELF as part of English language teaching is a multifaceted issue. On the one hand, it is an inherent part of the process of developing communicative competence in English. On the other hand, acknowledging it more concretely would require a number of actions, including effective revision of the curriculum and further training for teachers. Furthermore, learners' personal needs must be taken into consideration. Nevertheless, the ongoing paradigmatic shift, that increasingly stresses the importance of sufficient communicative effectiveness, is creating an atmosphere that makes incorporating ELF into English language teaching increasingly feasible.

5. Discussion of the results

The aim of this study was to find out what is the influence of ELF as a sociolinguistic phenomenon on the way English is perceived as a school subject by ESL and EFL teachers. Furthermore, the study aimed to reveal any differences in the attitudes between native and non-native teachers of ESL/EFL. In order to make this distinction possible, data for the study was collected from ESL/EFL teachers in Finland and America. It needs to be acknowledged that this study was a case-study only depicting teacher attitudes in the two above-mentioned countries and conclusions on a broader scale would need further research. However, the global spread of certain language teaching methodologies (e.g. Communicative Language teaching, see section 2.4.1.) suggests that similar attitudes could be found among teachers of ESL/EFL more generally and in other countries as well. Let us now draw together the results of this study and provide answers to the research questions presented in the introduction. The first two research questions are answered by revisiting the results of the quantitative analysis and the answers to the last two research questions are found from the qualitative analysis.

The first two research questions were interested in what kinds of attitudes ESL/EFL teachers in Finland and America have towards English as a lingua franca and how these attitudes differ between native and non-native ESL/EFL teachers. The answers to these questions are rather broad or multifaceted since the results provide partial answers from many different angles. For example, the below discussion observes and compares the attitudes of the participants from the perspective of non-native users generally, and from the perspective of second language learners more specifically.

The first section of the data analysis focused on the awareness of ELF among the research participants and its perceived legitimacy as a way of using English. The results suggest that both native and non-native teachers understand the significance of English in international communication and teachers are well-aware of the notion of English as a lingua franca. This is not surprising, as awareness of the global spread of English and its use in multilingual communication is often regarded as common sense. However, a minor difference between native and non-native teachers was detected

in that native teachers were slightly less accepting towards labelling ELF as a global lingua franca than non-native teachers. The reason for this difference may well lie in the difference between the linguistic worlds of experience between native and non-native teachers. Non-native teachers are probably used to adopting English as the means of communication in any interactions where they have a different first language than the other interlocutor. This is not to say that other languages are seen as less valuable by non-native teachers, but it is rather normal to assume in multilingual interactions that English is the language most likely known by all interlocutors. In other words, non-native teachers automatically assign English as the lingua franca used in multilingual communication. By contrast, native teachers may be more willing to acknowledge the different mother tongues in multilingual communication, which makes them believe that English is not strictly a global lingua franca, but other languages may assume a lingua franca function as well.

It was also found out that both native and non-native teachers perceive ELF as a somewhat legitimate form of English, but there were also views according to which ELF can be characterized as a low-level or makeshift form of the English language. Besides depicting different attitudes, the dispersion in the responses indicates that some teachers may have received more instruction on the nature of ELF than others, and this, in turn, potentially has a significant influence on the attitudes towards it. One interesting contrast between native and non-native teachers is that while non-native teachers are slightly readier to label English as a global lingua franca, native teachers accept ELF slightly more readily as a legitimate way of using English. This indicates that even if non-native teachers perceive English more strongly as a global contact language, they also perceive ELF more strongly as inferior compared to native varieties of English. This implies that non-native teachers have a higher tendency of valuing native varieties and even native standards of English than native teachers. Besides having different linguacultural backgrounds, the difference between native and non-native teachers may be explained by differences in teacher education and curriculums they are obliged to use in their work.

The second section of the analysis focused on attitudes towards non-native users of English and what teachers expect of them as non-native users of the language. The results provide us with further insight on some of the findings discussed above, namely the tendency of non-native speakers to stress the importance of conforming to native standards. The results indicated that even if total conformity to native standards is not expected by either native or non-native teachers, non-native teachers clearly expect non-native users to conform to native standards of English more than their native colleagues. On the other hand, both native and non-native teachers perceived the use of multilingual resources by non-native users as beneficial for communication, and neither group considered deviation from native standards as being necessarily harmful to communication. However, even in these questions, non-native teachers adopted a more reserved stance than native teachers. Thus, the results confirm that non-native teachers view non-native users' conformity to native standards of English in as more important than native teachers. This is not surprising if we compare these results with the findings from the first section of the analysis. Non-native teachers have a higher preference for conformity to native standards because they value them more in the use of English by non-native speakers, whereas native teachers are more open to encountering variation. It can be argued that the results derive from the traditional approaches to English language teaching and the strong influence of native speaker authority over non-native users of the language. As non-native users themselves, non-native teachers are under the influence of this imagined authority, which has an effect on their attitudes and expectations non-native users of English in general.

The second section of the analysis also investigated who are perceived as authentic users of the English language and the issue of ownership of English. The results indicated that non-native users are perceived as authentic users of English by both native and non-native teachers. The results for this issue were also in line with the results discussed above, in that non-native teachers were slightly more reserved than native teachers in granting non-native users a status of authentic user of English. This difference is potentially caused by the sense of inferiority experienced by non-native users in

general as they often unconsciously measure themselves against native speakers. This sense of inferiority is arguably a result of the strong influence of native speaker authority. However, the results concerned with the issue of authenticity indicated only a very slight difference in the attitudes between native and non-native teachers, and the central tendencies between both groups show that they both accept non-native users as authentic users of English.

As for the issue of ownership of English, the attitudes of both participant groups point towards a widening of ownership from native speakers to non-native users. There were no notable differences between the results of native and non-native teachers. Overall, the findings from the second section of the analysis argue for a liberation of non-native users from native standards. This means that the teachers see English as a common linguistic resource for native and non-native users alike. However, the results also indicate that non-native teachers mostly approach this liberation with a more reserved attitude than their native colleagues which indicates that native speaker authority maintains at least some degree of influence over non-native teachers.

The third section of the analysis observed perceptions of teaching standards, teaching objectives and evaluation criteria for second language learners of English. It needs to be noted that the parts of the questionnaire that were analyzed in the third section were largely concerned explicitly with attitudes towards Standard English instead of ELF, but as the discussion in section 2.3. showed, Standard English has long been an important factor in defining teaching objectives. As ELF is a linguistic phenomenon that strongly contests Standard English, attitudes towards ELF can be derived by measuring attitudes towards Standard English and its role in English language teaching.

Quantitative findings from the third section of the analysis indicate that improving communicative effectiveness is clearly valued by the teachers over formal correctness in English language teaching. The results showed that conformity to Standard English rules is not considered as something that the learners should specifically strive for, and developing competence resembling that of a native speaker is not seen as a necessary goal for learning. However, the results imply that

Standard English must be maintained as a component in defining evaluation criteria. While the differences in the results between native and non-native teachers were quite minimal, the central tendencies resembled those of the previously discussed findings in that non-native teachers took a slightly more reserved approach in opposing to conformity to standard norms than native teachers. However, there was a great deal of dispersion in the results among both native and non-native teachers, indicating that there is no unified view concerning the definition of learning goals in English language teaching.

The fourth section of the analysis was concerned with whether and to what extent ELF and variation in English in general should be incorporated into English language teaching and whether this is feasible in practice. The quantitative results show that awareness of variation in English is considered very important and that awareness of established varieties is considered more important than awareness of ELF. Furthermore, awareness of variation was perceived as more important than practical skills concerned with variation. A notable difference between the results of native and non-native teachers was that non-native teachers stressed the significance of awareness and practical skills concerning variation in English more than native teachers. This is a surprising result, considering that the other results discussed above indicated that non-native teachers have a higher tendency of stressing conformity to native standards among second language learners. However, despite the difference in the results, both native and non-native teachers did consider awareness of variation an important issue.

Finally, the last quantitative results indicated that incorporating ELF into English classroom instruction is considered somewhat feasible, but it does not come without challenges. Non-native teachers considered this idea slightly more feasible than native teachers, which makes sense when comparing this result with the results discussed above concerning awareness of variation. Overall, the figures indicated that both native and non-native teachers are rather undecided as to whether ELF should be concretely incorporated as part of English language teaching curriculum.

To summarize the discussion above, and to provide clear answers to the first two research questions, a few major points are highlighted here. First, both native and non-native teachers acknowledge English as an important language in international communication. Non-native teachers agree more strongly in granting English the function of a global lingua franca, but native teachers see ELF more as a legitimate form of using English than non-native teachers. Second, both groups of participants want to liberate non-native users of English from the expectation of conforming to native standards, implying that ELF is regarded positively in non-native use of English. Native teachers agree with this idea of liberation slightly more than non-native teachers. Third, while Standard English needs to maintain a role in learner evaluation, the participants mostly agreed that developing mutual intelligibility and strong communicational skills is a priority in English language teaching. This clearly implies an acknowledgement of the lingua franca function of English. Finally, teachers believe that awareness of variation in English needs to be emphasized in teaching, but teachers remain undecided as to whether ELF specifically needs to be incorporated into the curriculum. Non-native teachers emphasized the importance of including awareness of variation into teaching more than native teachers. Thus, based on the quantitative results we can conclude that English teachers are aware of ELF and they want to share this awareness with their students. Their appreciation of ELF is also visible in that they value mutual intelligibility over formal correctness in formulating teaching objectives. In other words, being able to express oneself and understand others in multilingual encounters is considered more important than being able to conform to native standards. On the other hand, the slightly more reserved stance adopted by non-native teachers in a number of statements indicates that native speaker authority and Standard English ideology still influence their attitudes at least to some extent.

The remainder of the discussion focuses on the last two research questions which inquired how the attitudes towards ELF are reflected on the way teachers perceive English as a school subject, and why ESL/EFL teachers want, or do not want, to incorporate ELF into their teaching. The answers to

these questions are provided by discussing the results from the qualitative analysis, meaning the analysis of the responses to the open-ended questions. The open-ended questions were concerned with four topics: teaching objectives of ESL/EFL teaching, the role of Standard English in defining competence in English, perceived necessity of awareness of ELF, and feasibility of incorporating ELF into English language teaching. As an overall impression, the responses to the questions were multifaceted and they raised a range of issues and viewpoints concerning English language teaching, and some responses to single questions also overlapped with responses to other questions in the questionnaire.

First, the results argued for the idea that the teaching objectives of English language teaching cannot be defined without taking each individual learner's personal goals into account. Furthermore, these personal goals are influenced by local linguacultural conditions. It is indicated by the results that the definition of the teaching objectives has an influence on teaching contents. For example, if the personal goal of the learner is to become a member of a native English-speaking speech community, or if the learner wishes to use her English skills in formal settings such as business or academia, it is appropriate to aim to develop good knowledge of Standard English. Knowledge of Standard English was also considered important in written communication. On the other hand, if the learner studies English in order to use it in informal multilingual communicative encounters, such as when going abroad for a vacation, it may not be necessary to master Standard English, but priority should be on improving communicative effectiveness. However, learning either only formal standards or only communicative skills is not enough, since sufficient skills in both are needed to some extent in order to be able to use the language in communication.

Besides raising learners' personal goals as an issue, teachers emphasized the development of communicative effectiveness and intercultural skills as part of the teaching objectives. Furthermore, it was considered important to build the learners' self-confidence as language users and to provide the learners with the capability to develop their language skills further. The emphasis on these issues

highlights teachers' awareness of the variation in English and its function in international communication. English is seen essentially as a common resource that helps people of different linguistic backgrounds to communicate together. By supporting the development of communicative effectiveness, intercultural skills, and self-confidence in teaching, non-native users can shape the language to respond to their personal needs and maintain mutual intelligibility even if people with different linguistic backgrounds speak their own similect of English.

As for the role of Standard English in defining competence in English, the results revealed that teachers consider it a necessary but not a completely unproblematic component. On the one hand, Standard English provides the learners with a clearly defined formal goal for learning that decreases uncertainty of their correctness of language use. Furthermore, Standard English is a convenient tool for the teachers, as it provides them with a clear formal framework for teaching. For example, Standard English is a facilitating tool in learner evaluation. It was even argued that Standard English is considered a necessary component of teaching, because there is no time to observe variation in English in detail. On the other hand, a major issue with Standard English that was raised in the results is that it is a subjective tool for evaluation and even a 'harmful imperial force'. It was pointed out that communicative effectiveness should be prioritized in learner evaluation. This perspective implies a further acknowledgement of variation in English and its significance in intercultural communication. However, the teachers' views confirm the necessity of Standard English in English language teaching as it provides a supporting framework both for the learners and the teachers. Furthermore, the necessity of learning Standard English is partly dependent on the personal goals of the learners.

Teachers were also inquired about their views about how necessary it is that second language learners are aware of ELF. The results revealed both positive and negative views towards this awareness. First, it was argued that awareness of ELF is not necessary if the learner is going to use English mainly in a native-speaker environment where knowledge of Standard English is considered more important. Even if this was not the case, other responses argued that the concept of ELF should

not be introduced until later stages of the learning process because in the earlier levels it is more beneficial to lean on standard rules. Negative views towards awareness of ELF claimed that it would only confuse learners who are already struggling with the standard variety and focusing on learning the standard is seen as generally more beneficial. On the other hand, positive views emphasized that the notion of ELF would increase learners' self-confidence as non-native language users. Furthermore, the notion of ELF was considered to assist the learners in understanding the significant role of English in intercultural communication. In short, the views among the teachers concerning the necessity of awareness of ELF are very divided. On the one hand, it is seen to potentially confuse the learners, but on the other hand, it may potentially strengthen their confidence as language users.

Finally, teachers were asked to share their views concerning the feasibility of incorporating ELF into English language teaching. Overall, the participants' opinions indicated that this idea is not impossible. On the one hand, it was pointed out that ELF is already inherently present in multilingual classrooms even if it is not discussed explicitly. Furthermore, it was noted that ELF can be easily incorporated by using various external sources to expose learners to ELF. Teachers also acknowledged that there are signs of a paradigmatic shift in teaching that would increasingly allow emphasis on English in its lingua franca function. On the other hand, a number of participants argued that while incorporating ELF into English language teaching may be feasible, it would require notable reformulations of the curricula and further training for the teachers. In short, ELF may be an inherent factor in some English classrooms and there is a generally positive atmosphere in the field for its incorporation into teaching but carrying this out in practice would require changes to the curriculum, further training to teachers, and development in teacher education.

To summarize the above discussion of the findings from the qualitative analysis, and to provide answers to the last two research questions, the main points are raised here once more. First, the results provide us with insight on how the attitudes towards ELF are reflected on the way English is perceived as a school subject. While teachers acknowledge that Standard English cannot be disregarded in

English language teaching, the general tendency is that communicative effectiveness is gaining more attention and the need for highlighting the role of English in international communication is emphasized. However, teachers also emphasize the importance of acknowledging the learners' personal learning goals. In other words, introducing ELF to the learners is appropriate only if they are going to use English specifically in multilingual encounters. Second, teachers provide reasons both for and against incorporating ELF into English language teaching. On the one hand, it is seen as an encouraging notion for second language learners, and it would assist in learning intercultural skills. On the other hand, it is considered to potentially cause confusion among learners and extra work for teachers and curriculum designers.

Teachers' attitudes towards English as a lingua franca have been studied earlier, and the results of this study are in moderate agreement with previous research. The results of this study confirm that non-native teachers' perceptions of English as a school subject are still somewhat influenced by native speaker authority, although their attitudes towards ELF are leaning towards a positive stance. Similar conclusions were done, for instance, by Timmis (2002), Sifakis and Sugari (2005), and Luo (2017). However, the results of this study show that, compared to earlier results, the appeal of ELF has become stronger and the influence of native speaker authority has decreased at least to some extent. The comparison with native teachers reveals that native teachers are slightly more tolerant of variation in the language than non-native teachers. The results also agree with the findings of the above-mentioned studies in that there is an appeal towards a development in English language teaching that would lead to a paradigmatic shift away from a monocentric approach enshrining native standards, and towards a pluricentric approach that would better acknowledge the nature of English as a global language and its function as a lingua franca. This was realized in the results through the acceptance of deviation from native standards and emphasis on the importance of sufficient communicative effectiveness. One result that differed to some extent with the results of Luo's (2017) study was that teachers do not consider it as challenging to incorporate ELF into teaching as what

Luo's findings indicated. This may be due to an increase in the availability of external resources and technology that can be used in teaching. In addition, in the case of Finland, the recently updated national curriculum has also potentially caused teachers to spread awareness of the importance of English in international communication more intentionally. The following section concludes this thesis by reviewing the aims, conduct, and implications of this study and by suggesting topics for further research.

6. Conclusion

The study reported in this thesis aimed to contribute to the research on English as a lingua franca by observing ESL/EFL teachers' attitudes towards ELF and the influence of these attitudes on English language teaching. In particular, the study was interested in whether ELF has had a major influence in challenging traditional views concerning teaching objectives, which have previously been defined largely in reference to native standards and norms. The study was also interested in the possible difference in the attitudes between native and non-native ESL/EFL teachers and whether native speaker authority and Standard English ideology still have an influence especially on the attitudes of non-native teachers.

This study was a survey study, and the research participants were ESL and EFL teachers based in Finland and the USA. The study adopted a mixed methods approach using both quantitative and qualitative approaches in order to achieve more holistic results. The quantitative approach was successful in finding minor contrasts and differences between native and non-native teachers, but it needs to be acknowledged that the sample of this study was rather small ($n=44$) for a quantitative analysis. Making valid generalizations would require conducting a similar study with a larger number of participants, especially with a larger sample of native English teachers. On the other hand, the adoption of similar language teaching methodologies in different countries and the wide agreement on the conceptualization of the English language suggests that similar results could be found among

ESL/EFL teachers on a broader scale. As for the results of the qualitative analysis, the study was successful in raising a range of relevant issues concerning the potential benefits and drawbacks of the incorporation of ELF into English language teaching.

There is a number of implications that can be drawn based on the results of this study. First, while research on English as a lingua franca often condemns Standard English as a harmful factor that favors Inner Circle varieties, its supportive role in English language teaching cannot be ignored. Language teaching would not be as efficient without a standard framework, because it provides both teachers and learners with clear guidelines in assessing learner development. While there is no ‘international standard English’, the currently existing Standard Englishes, based on Inner Circle standards, are the most appropriate starting point for English language teaching because it is the most elaborately developed standard framework.

Second, while Standard English needs to remain a norm-providing component in English language teaching, emphasis on learner development has clearly shifted towards the development of communicative competence. Languages ultimately exist as tools of communication, and deviation from standard norms does not necessarily lead to a decrease in communicative effectiveness. ELF interactions are situations where different linguistic backgrounds encounter each other, and second language learners need to be prepared to process and understand variable uses of English and maintain mutual intelligibility. Besides developing communicative competence, learners need to be provided with the opportunity to improve their intercultural skills which, for its part, prepares learners to encounter and tolerate different ways of communication that are unavoidable in ELF interaction. In other words, learners need to be made aware of the variation that is encountered in the real use of English.

Third, while there is a theoretical appeal towards introducing the notion of ELF in English language teaching, this would require adjustments to the status quo. Above all, curricula would need to be adjusted further to grant the space for including ELF as a part of it, and teachers would need

further training to become more familiar with the nature of ELF. In addition, the developmental stage of the learners would need to be taken into account when introducing ELF to them. It would make no sense to include ELF as a part of the early language studies, since beginners are better supported by clear rules that provide them with certainty. However, when the language proficiency is sufficiently high, ELF would function as an encouraging notion that would potentially raise the learners' motivation and improve their self-confidence as non-native users of English. Furthermore, better knowledge of ELF would potentially also reformulate non-native teachers' perceptions of English as a school subject by liberating them from the influence of native speaker authority.

Finally, this study confirms that the notion of ELF is clearly more relevant to EFL learners than ESL learners, which is only logical. ESL learners learn English in order to adapt to native English-speaking societies, in which the knowledge of native standards is, of course, very relevant. For EFL learners, on the other hand, the reality of interactions where they use English is often very different in that they use it mainly to communicate with other non-native speakers of English. In other words, EFL learners mainly use English in its lingua franca form. Thus, the incorporating ELF into EFL teaching in practice is an issue that needs to be considered by curriculum designers in the future.

Suggestions for further research can also be done based on this study. First, further studies on attitudes towards ELF could be done on English language learners to gain a better understanding of what learners expect of learning the language. In particular, it would be interesting to find out whether the notion of ELF would in fact encourage learners, or whether it would only make learning more confusing from their point of view. Second, curricula for English language teaching used in different countries could be researched to find out, whether there is increase in the pressure to acknowledge the role of English in intercultural communication, or whether the curricula are still dominated by a monocentric approach to English. Third, broader case studies on the attitudes towards ELF could also be done in multilingual countries where English has an official status, such as India or Nigeria. It

would also be interesting to study attitudes towards ELF among non-native speakers of English who live in the USA and use English frequently in their daily lives.

To conclude, English as a lingua franca remains a controversial topic in the fields of sociolinguistics and language teaching. The spread of the English language and its function as a global lingua franca are undeniable, but English language teaching responds to this development in a slower pace. Among English teachers, there is a positive stance towards the appeal of reconceptualizing English by taking into account its function as a lingua franca. However, English language teaching cannot be solely defined in terms of communicative effectiveness in multilingual situations, but it always needs to be accompanied by a framework of standards.

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Appendix 1. Questionnaire used in data collection (adapted from the electronic version)

Teacher attitudes towards English

This questionnaire collects data for a Master's thesis which is part of MA degree studies in the Faculty of Communication Sciences in Tampere University, Finland. The topic of the thesis is concerned with perceptions of the English language among ESL/EFL teachers. This study does not make a conceptual difference between ESL and EFL learners, but the term 'second language learner' is used to refer to each. The abbreviation 'ELF' is used in the questionnaire to refer to English as a lingua franca.

This questionnaire is meant to be filled in only by people who have a certification or license to teach English either as a second or a foreign language and/or have experience in teaching English as a second or foreign language. Answering to the survey takes about 20-30 minutes.

Please answer every question in the questionnaire. Thank you in advance for your contribution!

Part 1: Demographic information

Gender: Male Female Other

What is your nationality? _____

What is your first language? _____

What additional languages have you studied? _____

What is your level of education? Bachelor Master Ph.D. Other

How long is your career as an ESL or EFL teacher (in years and months)? _____

In which school level(s) have you taught ESL/EFL?

Kindergarten/Preschool Primary/Elementary school Secondary/Middle school

Upper secondary/High school College/University Adult education

Have you lived abroad (e.g. to work or study), and if yes, for how long? _____

Part 2: Statements

React to each statement according to your personal opinion on the scale of 1 to 4.

4 = I strongly agree

3 = I somewhat agree

2 = I somewhat disagree

1 = I strongly disagree

1. English has an important function as a language for international communication.

1 2 3 4

2. English serves as a global lingua franca.

1 2 3 4

3. I am familiar with the notion of ELF (English as a lingua franca) and its meaning.

1 2 3 4

4. ELF should be legitimized and researched in its own right as a variable way of using English.

1 2 3 4

5. ELF is a low-level, makeshift form of English.

1 2 3 4

6. Deviation from native speaker norms of English necessarily harms communication in English.

1 2 3 4

7. Non-native users of English should conform to native speaker norms of English.

1 2 3 4

8. The use of multilingual resources in ELF interaction may enhance the effectiveness of communication.

1 2 3 4

9. Real, authentic English is spoken only by its native speakers who consider it their first language.

1 2 3 4

10. The development of the English language can be influenced only by its native speakers.

1 2 3 4

11. Non-native speakers of English have an important role in the development of the English language.

1 2 3 4

12. Second language learners of English should conform to standard norms of English.

1 2 3 4

13. Second language learners of English should be taught only a native standard form of English, such as Standard British English or Standard American English.

1 2 3 4

14. Competence in English should be defined in reference to Standard English.

1 2 3 4

15. Second language learners of English should be evaluated based on standard norms of English.

1 2 3 4

16. When evaluating students, it is more important to focus on communicative effectiveness rather than formal correctness.

1 2 3 4

17. The ultimate goal of second language learning of English is native speaker fluency.

1 2 3 4

18. The ultimate goal of second language learning of English is to become an efficient communicator in international or multilingual communication.

1 2 3 4

19. Second language learners should learn in practice about different varieties of English.

1 2 3 4

20. Second language learners should be aware of different varieties of English.

1 2 3 4

21. Learning about ELF in practice is necessary for second language learners of English.

1 2 3 4

22. Being aware of ELF is necessary for second language learners of English.

1 2 3 4

23. Teaching ELF-related skills to second language learners of English is feasible.

1 2 3 4

24. Teaching ELF-related skills in practice is challenging.

1 2 3 4

25. Teaching ELF-related skills in practice must be incorporated into ESL/EFL curriculum.

1 2 3 4

Part 3: Open-ended questions

Answer each question reflecting your own thoughts and opinions.

A. What are the main goals of teaching English as a second language?

B. In your opinion, what is the role of Standard English in defining competence in the English language?

C. Is it necessary and useful for second language learners to be aware of English as a lingua franca? Why/Why not?

D. Is it feasible in practice to incorporate ELF into teaching English as a second language? Why/Why not?

If you wish to get an access to the results of the study, write your e-mail address here and you will be contacted when the thesis is finished. Your e-mail address is handled confidentially:

Thank you!

Your participation is much appreciated! You may now exit the survey.

Appendix 2. Responses to open-ended questions

A. What are the main goals of teaching English as a second language?

(i) Native participants

N1	The goals depend largely on the student: some students need to be able to function in an international context like the U.S. or Australia, whereas others need to be categorized “fluent” by some external standard so as to qualify for jobs with international NGOs. Some students want to be able to watch TV and read books in English.
N2	communicative competence
N3	This depends so much on where the learner is located and the learner's own goals that it is difficult to answer.
N4	Encouraging learner autonomy and an ability to make progress outside the classroom. Building the students' self confidence.
N5	It is impossible to generalise. For the majority, it will be enough for them to be comfortable communicators in English. However, if written skills are involved, this requires more attention to form. Language is ultimately a tool for communication, so confident speech is uppermost.
N6	To allow learners to communicate with others around the world, or to help them live their daily lives in a place where English is the common language.
N7	Communication skills
N8	Equipping students to communicate at some level, consume English materials to learn about the world, and encounter other cultures through another language to open their imaginations to the world outside of their own language and culture.
N9	To enable students to effectively communicate in English
N10	Instilling confidence in English language abilities especially through verbal communication. Encouraging participation and the notion that one doesn't have to speak perfectly.
N11	To improve students' ability to communicate in English.
N12	Enhanced communication abilities for learners from varied backgrounds. Increasing bilingualism and multilingualism. Connecting learners to different cultures, ensuring access to dominant discourse in English speaking nations
N13	The main goal when teaching English as a second language is to support the development of students' clear communications skills (so they can understand and be understood). A closely related goal is helping students feel comfortable when practicing the language (and okay with making mistakes). While clear grammar and pronunciation are certainly desirable, I don't think that native-like fluency should be the most important objective (and, really, I don't think it's even necessary).
N14	Intelligibility and comprehension
N15	1. To improve communication between diverse peoples. 2. To allow people to interact with a culture that is different than their own. 3. To provide people with a skill that has become increasingly important for work and travel.
N16	communication

(ii) Non-native participants

NN1	Making one a fluent, confident communicator that know how to communicate in different kinds of situations, with different kind of speakers.
NN2	Communication, making yourself understood and understanding others
NN3	International communication. The language user has to be competent enough to get their message through and to avoid misunderstandings.
NN4	Pärjääminen eri tilanteissa englannilla sekä pärjääminen yo-kokeessa.
NN5	To goal is to learn to use it for effective communication, speaking and listening skills in particular, to encourage the learners to be open minded about different varieties of English
NN6	A somewhat broad mastery of spoken and written standard English
NN7	Communicative competence and meeting the demands of academic English
NN8	That the students gain such knowledge and skills that they are able to work and function in multilingual environments.
NN9	The ability to communicate effectively in English.
NN10	Communication
NN11	To provide the learner as large and profound a basis a possible, regardless of their future career and/or surroundings.
NN12	To give students a new tool (English) that they can use in their lives. The goal is that they are able to use it for all kinds of communication, that they are able to understand and to be understood.
NN13	To help the learner to achieve such a standard that he/she can understand and be understood in various situations relative to the learner
NN14	To obtain basic communication skills.
NN15	Communicative competence, acquiring language learning skills
NN16	Learning to communicate effectively in English
NN17	Tarjota oppilaille kielitaito, jolla he pärjäävät tulevassa työssään ja opinnoissaan. Luoda myönteinen kuva kielten opiskelusta.
NN18	Enabling effective communication between different people from different cultures.
NN19	To encourage the student to use their communication skills as best they can.
NN20	That the students enjoy learning and have a positive attitude towards learning English
NN21	Providing the learners with a tool kit of the English language: enough vocabulary and grammar for the learners to communicate in English, ways to evolve their skills further if they so wish, and the skills to evaluate their own competence.
NN22	the student is able to communicate in both written and oral English in every day situations + preferably study and work in an English speaking environment
NN23	Teaching ways to communicate with other people in English. Also teaching about the cultural differences globally.
NN24	Firstly achieving native level language use, secondly reaching a level which allows the speaker to communicate in most situations
NN25	To help people (students) feel comfortable in the world where English is the international language of communication
NN26	What the learners identify as their goals.
NN27	Giving students the confidence to use the language
NN28	To enable learners to communicate in English in their future lives at the highest possible level achievable to them. They should be very proficient in written communication and have the tools needed to develop the professional oral skills they eventually need.

B. In your opinion, what is the role of Standard English in defining competence in the English language?

(i) Native participants

N1	In some spheres (i.e. the academic and professional), Standard English is essential. That is, the use of non-standard English in formal academic writing would be considered a huge faux pas. Again, though, in some spheres, standard English is less critical. Hotel staff and tour guides, for example, need to be much more competent in the actual spoken language of customers.
N2	This sets a standard. A learner may not achieve it, however, it does present a goal for that learning.
N3	Again, it depends on the learner's own goals. If the learner wants to attend secondary education in an English-speaking country, then Standard English would be an important metric to use to assess competence. If the learner has different goals, it might be irrelevant.
N4	1) Summative assessment in international level tests. 2) It is still a benchmark for the publication of - for example - scientific research, business documents, legal & business contracts etc
N5	The ideology of Standard English is such that it is held by many as the most prestigious form of English; the one to be aspired to for higher social recognitions for both native and non-native speakers. In my opinion, Standard English provides the rules for using the glossonym that is English, and is, therefore, highly relevant for written language. ELF is more relevant to spoken language where communication is the goal. I cannot clearly answer this question as competence comprises both elements.
N6	I think it is a good starting place for understanding how English is used, but I think it is also important to expose students to different usages. Especially any differences that help them in the particular ways they hope to use English.
N7	Serves as a guide
N8	It is a benchmark that makes standardized testing easier. It is a limited way of measuring communicative effectiveness of students. It is one of many ways to 'speak English' and when present as the ONLY way to 'speak English' it is a harmful imperial force.
N9	It forms a basis of what the language should look like, but students shouldn't be expected to reach fluency in standard English
N10	Competence is such a relevant term and it's definition can shift depending on context. It's important as an educational and theoretical standard but in practice it's less important.
N11	I think people who speak nonstandard dialects of English can be considered competent in English, but most learners of English as a foreign language will be best served by learning a standard dialect. It would also be necessary to distinguish between native English speakers whose dialect is nonstandard or non-prestigious from speakers of English as a foreign language whose speech is nonstandard due to not following the rules of any dialect. Students should strive to imitate a dialect as opposed to constructing their own idiolect.
N12	Understanding grammar and rules of usage will help students communicate clearly in some cases. However these standards are not the end all be all of competence.
N13	I don't know that Standard English can be effectively used as a measurement of competence, because Standard English varies between English-speaking countries. (A measure of competence should avoid subjectivity as much as possible.)

N14	You have to set a bar to measure second language learning success, so using a standard English is more efficient when setting the bar. ELF would not be a good standard for measuring English comprehension and intelligibility because of the greater degree of variation between the many forms of ELF English outside of English speaking countries. Also, standard English like North American, Australian, or British English have many more speakers with stronger similarities. ELF Englishes are further apart linguistically and culturally and have many fewer speakers, with the possible exception of Indian English. Although, with Indian English there are still too many dissimilar features because of all of the varieties of first languages in India. International Englishes are growing, for sure, but I don't think there is one form of ELF English yet that could be used as the standard of measure for intelligibility and comprehension in English.
N15	Using Standard English to define competency is important for people who are ultimately learning English for work or educational purposes. Having a norm provides clearer expectations for how one should be able to converse if they are "fluent/proficient".
N16	no opinion

(ii) Non-native participants

NN1	I think evaluation has to be based on some kind of standards, so the role cannot be ignored. You have to learn a certain set of standard rules to be understood widely.
NN2	The basis I suppose...
NN3	Everyone should know the basic structures of Standard English but I think each ESL/EFL brings their own background to their English. This can be seen as a way to increase the variety of expressions in English as well.
NN4	Minun mielestäni se on lähtökohta.
NN5	Standard English serves as a starting point, a core that is needed to understand varieties of English. People need it to understand the language of (mainstream) media and science.
NN6	In ESL I consider its role very important. In EFL I think it's important but not as crucial as in ESL.
NN7	Standard English is the basis but other variants are acceptable and awareness of them is essential.
NN8	You need to have a variety that you strive for as there is no time to cover many varieties. Standard BrE and AmE are the clearest choice.
NN9	Standard English is clearly defined goal of learning the language.
NN10	It's not the main goal but it is important to compare students' level of competence to a standard norm.
NN11	You have to draw the line somewhere, otherwise there's no end to the debate: chaos will ensue, and no one will know, what's right or wrong.
NN12	It's a goal post that we can try to aim at.
NN13	Since not all variants can be covered or included in the curriculum, Standard English is a good basis
NN14	It is a model but IT shouldn't be considered the only means of communication
NN15	We need a certain set of rules, a base to build on, a norm if you wish that it is then possible to deviate from. I see SE as 'technique', a set of necessary basic tools to develop your skills.
NN16	It gives you a general idea of what the language is like in use.
NN17	Opiskelijan kielitaitoa arvioidessa on mielestäni tärkeää keskittyä viestin ymmärrettävyyteen, ei niinkään siihen kuulostaako kieli aidolta britti- tai muulta aksentilta. Toki hyvä ja ymmärrettävä ääntäminen usein tarkoittaa juuri edellistä.

NN18	It must be the basis of measuring one's skills and fluency. Otherwise it would be impossible to give any grades.
NN19	It is the groundwork and structure for all English use - but as a professional language teacher one cannot deny that change is always present in and an essential dimension in any language
NN20	The more the pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary deviates from standard English, the more difficult it is to understand unless you are used to that person's way of speaking
NN21	Standard English serves as a good starting point to learning ESL/EFL. However, as students evolve their language skills their varied competences should be acknowledged more in reference to the communicativeness of their English in international communication. This is where ELF comes to the picture.
NN22	standard English is especially important in written communication and in formal situations, hence it should be taught in school, students quite often acquire informal English on their spare time
NN23	I think that Standard English is useful in defining grammatical competence. However, I don't think that Standard English pronunciation should be required (i.e. American or British accent), and that your competence can be very good even though your pronunciation isn't that of a native speaker.
NN24	Being fluent in standard English allows the speaker to communicate with most English-speaking people so being good at it opens doors and that is why it should be valued
NN25	The role is substantial, but not crucial. It is rather important to know how Standard English works in order to be able to use it as a Lingua Franca
NN26	As an applied linguist, I don't believe standard English exists. Competence should be defined by ability to perform relevant tasks.
NN27	It is the standard, so that is the level we are trying to reach
NN28	At the beginning of the learning process a student needs black and white rights and wrongs, which standard Englishes provide. At the secondary level, they already realize that more than one standard exists, and the most important thing for them is to strive to eliminate harmful interference from their L1.

C. Is it necessary and useful for second language learners to be aware of English as a lingua franca? Why/Why not?

(i) Native participants

N1	I suppose it depends largely on the level of the students. Until students achieve a certain level of English acquisition, I think it's moot. For more advanced students who can appreciate nuances, though, it's a useful pedagogical point.
N2	This depends on the learners life and work situation. Where do they live? With whom do they interact? What is essential for survival? A teacher should find out the answers to these questions so that s/he can help the learner communicate in life.
N3	I think it's important to understand the global context of how English is used around the world, yes.
N4	Yes. For many students (especially adult learners) progress in fluency is negatively influenced by a fear of making errors, instilled by ESL teachers practising a prescriptive grammar approach to teaching and learning. An awareness of ELF can show students that the 'rules' can be broken without inhibiting effective communication.

N5	ELF per se - no, they need to gain confidence to use the language skills that they have. This does not have to be labelled ELF.
N6	I think it could be useful, but at least at early levels of learning it may be confusing to have two sets of expectations for learners. But I think as learners get into more advanced levels it depends on their particular goals of using English.
N7	I don't think it's necessary because learning standard English can be more beneficial
N8	It's useful for students to be aware of information they can get and give in English. It's beneficial for them to think of it as a tool for global communication but not because it is a superior language but because it is so widely used due to (cultural) imperialism.
N9	It may be useful so they can view it as a tool and understand why they are learning it and how it can be applicable to their life (especially for students who are not interested in learning English).
N10	Yes, because it is an encouraging notion and underscores the importance of learning English especially for younger students who may not see it's immediate importance.
N11	I don't think it's necessary to be aware of English as a lingua franca in order to learn English since ESL learners may be learning to primarily communicate with native speakers, in which case I'm not sure it's correct to say they would be using ELF, but it is probably useful to be aware of since English is often used as a lingua franca in today's world.
N12	I am unsure as I am not well versed in the idea of ELF
N13	I believe so, because an understanding of exactly how global the English language is gives some context to the learning (and would hopefully provide motivation to some students).
N14	It may be useful for some students, but it's not really necessary. In order to develop competency, it's best to set a standard that will move the EL closest to intelligibility and comprehension. ELF is not developed enough in terms of consistency and agreement between speakers to do that.
N15	It's not necessary, but it can be useful. Being able to communicate and effectively express oneself is a large component to learning a foreign language. Therefore, giving non-native speakers a variety of tools to communicate can benefit all parties.
N16	yes, motivation

(ii) Non-native participants

NN1	Yes, because most learners will be communicating with non-native speakers in real life.
NN2	Yes, I think so.
NN3	I think it is. Understanding the fact that each speaker has different language skills can encourage 'quiet Finns' to communicate even when they are not completely sure that they will get it grammatically correct etc.
NN4	Jonkin verran on varmasti hyväksi, mutta ei liikaa, koska saattaa joitakin hämmentää.
NN5	It's important to understand that there is a wide range of varieties of English.
NN6	It is necessary in order for them to understand the reason for uses of English deviant from Standard English.
NN7	Awareness is definitely necessary but not a sector to be studied in any detail at secondary or upper secondary level. It is a global variant of English but we cannot concentrate on more than one or two variants in teaching and studying a language.
NN8	Yes it is, so that they understand that we aren't aiming at perfection as the most important thing is to be understood and to be able to communicate your business.
NN9	Yes, it is.

NN10	Yes, it might motivate some of them
NN11	They're struggling with the current two versions already, I see no reason to introduce even more variation. Once they start using ELF themselves, they will not likely even realise the difference.
NN12	Yes, they should be aware that at the end of the day, it's unlikely that they will achieve "perfect" skills in English through studying it at school, but it's still ok - they can still communicate with the whole world, as most of the world will be communicating with them using "bad" English (=not native speaker level) too.
NN13	Of course! Becoming aware helps learners to widen their possibilities
NN14	It is good to know that you don't have to be perfect in Standard in order to communicate. Hearing other varieties builds confidence; I can do that!
NN15	Sure, it might motivate them, it increases their linguistic competence and understanding. They need to have an understanding of the importance of English worldwide as well as its multiple dimensions.
NN16	Yes, so they are aware that English is used in different ways and that you don't have to use it perfectly to use it well.
NN17	Kyllä, koska maailmalla niihin kuitenkin törmää.
NN18	Yes, it is because in their future careers, they will most likely be dealing with people from other countries than the UK or the USA, for example. So they will most likely need to use English as lingua franca when working with other non-native speakers of English..
NN19	Yes. It encourages them to use English as a communicative tool instead of something that must be imitated and strived for but can never be achieved.
NN20	The more advanced students yes, because they will need to be aware of it when working
NN21	I think it is absolutely vital for second language learners to know about ELF and to even have the skills to evaluate their own competence on the basis of how functional their English is in international communication (as a lingua franca).
NN22	yes, it can motivate them study English, they understand that English is spoken in different ways and it may help them feel less anxious about their own pronunciation, they understand that the same thought can be expressed in different ways depending on the context etc.
NN23	Yes. Especially in realizing that one doesn't need "perfect English" to be able to communicate, as most people using English globally are not native speakers.
NN24	No. The curriculum is already full and I feel that these are things that can be learned in working life.
NN25	Yes, because when they get out of the classroom to face the real world without textbooks, they may get confused
NN26	Yes, I think it's useful to know as part of knowing about varieties of English
NN27	I don't think so, that is not the standard
NN28	It makes all the difference. Especially in oral communication. Teenagers especially tend to compare themselves to native speakers, but as soon as they realize most of their interactions will be between non-native speakers, they are more ready to practice their oral skills.

D. Is it feasible in practice to incorporate ELF into teaching English as a second language?
Why/Why not?

(i) Native participants

N1	Anything is possible, if you choose to make it a priority. I don't know that I've ever actively, consciously incorporated ELF into my teaching practices, but I suppose it's because I've taught primarily high school and college students who need to acquire strong mastery of formal, Standard English in order to accomplish their educational goals.
N2	Yes, I think a second language teacher can incorporate anything into a lesson that will help the students learn. How much this is done depends on the end result needed by the learner.
N3	Certainly, if the teacher is aware of the context and willing to incorporate it.
N4	It depends. Students have a wide variety of learning goals and motivations. The teacher needs to consult to students and they can decide together how appropriate it would be to incorporate ELF. (Also native speakers could benefit from being taught about ELF, to improve their ability to communicate well with nnes.)
N5	I would assume that, by the very nature of language learning, it is already a part in some form. People do it as part of the communication process.
N6	I think it is feasible, although I imagine it would require additional materials and extra work that there may not be time or resources for. But I do think there is a definite shift in understanding language as a means of communicating ideas, and less focus on specific grammar and usages.
N7	Yes, students have different needs. Students learning English for business versus a doctoral program should be aware that certain English mechanics are unnecessary.
N8	Yes, students never know WHY they should try so hard to learn this crazy, confusing language which mixes so many others together and has so many exceptions to its exceptions. ESL courses are STARVING for a better why than 'doing well in English makes you a good student and might help you when you go to University.' Let's talk about equipping them to communicate with the world and bend this language to their needs and their communities needs!
N9	It is feasible but I don't think most teachers have learned how to do so.
N10	Yes, anything can be incorporated into ESL teaching!!
N11	Yes, especially in multinational classrooms. The students might consider different communication strategies according to the level of English of the non-native interlocutor.
N12	Yes, I believe that it can be incorporated through thoughtful curriculum design
N13	In certain classrooms, incorporating ELF can be inherent (if students are from a wide range of backgrounds). In classrooms where students share a native language, I think it is certainly feasible to highlight how ELF bridges different cultures/linguistic contexts through carefully chosen activities (ex: video calling someone from another country who has learned ESL, reading English-language news articles from a variety of sources, watching K-Pop stars speak at the United Nations).
N14	Yes, anything is feasible; however, it isn't useful yet at this point when teaching because the variations between international Englishes are too dissimilar.
N15	Yes, because it's very similar to code switching. Students would still learn the conventions of standard English for academic purposes. However, they would also learn other ways to effectively convey their thoughts in informal situations.
N16	no opinion

(ii) Non-native participants

NN1	I think so, the Internet makes it easy (showing different varieties of English on Youtube, in different podcasts and so on)
NN2	I don't know enough about ELF to answer.
NN3	It can be mentioned from time to time but I wouldn't emphasize it very much.
NN4	Mikäli opsien sisällöt antavat periksi.
NN5	It is very important to learn about different varieties and also registers of both written and spoken English. ELF is everywhere, it can't be avoided.
NN6	To enhance understanding, yes, to a certain extent
NN7	Yes to a degree - to familiarize students with it to assist communication in their future lives.
NN8	It comes naturally, but we should have more speakers with different native languages to have more variation.
NN9	Yes, via internet.
NN10	I don't know why someone would think that
NN11	There's absolutely no time.
NN12	Sure, to educate students about ELF - many aren't aware of it and compare themselves to for example native English speakers.
NN13	If the scope of studies is as it is now, I really can not see how this could be possible. But if more time is allocated to language studies and the hidden curriculum, i.e. the matriculation exam, truly devised, yes, why not!
NN14	Yes. You can listen to different varieties and when learners speak you can accept less than perfect responses, to enhance self-confidence and courage. However, I would always offer Standard language material and encourage the learners to try and produce Standard language. But many weaker learners find it very relieving to notice that they can communicate with not-so-perfect skills.
NN15	Honestly, I do not know enough of ELF to be able to answer this question. BE/AE as a base, works fine for me.
NN16	Yes, but maybe more when practicing speaking and listening.
NN17	Vaikea sanoa?
NN18	I don't see any special need for it. I think we should go on teaching Standard English but point out that in real life there's no need to worry if you don't sound like a Brit or an American because there are so many varieties of English around the world, ELF being one of it. In my teaching, I have always thought that I teach some kind of "global English" so it does not matter if one uses British English or American English forms.
NN19	Yes. ELF is more a question of attitude, whereas ESL is the structure. Therefore there is no conflict.
NN20	I think we already have at least various pronunciation variants
NN21	I think it is totally feasible. ELF can be brought to the English classroom through discussions, exercises and even real-life demonstrations (if not physically, through technology).
NN22	it depends how you define efl, on what level your students are, what you think is important etc. The teachers work quite independently, so if you think that elf is the most important thing, you find time for that, if you don't think it's important you can spend the time for something else
NN23	I think it is very feasible, as the whole world can be brought to a learning situation via Internet.
NN24	No. The curriculum is already full and I feel that these are things that can be learned in working life. Students with difficulties struggle enough with one variant of English

NN25	I feel the answer is yes. It is feasible because nowadays we have so many opportunities to watch/listen to real-life english
NN26	Generally yes, again as part of learning about varieties of English
NN27	It is important to stress the fact that it is more important to have the courage to say something in a foreign language than getting it completely right, but I also think we need to continue trying to reach the next level with our students and try to communicate more like natives...
NN28	Yes, but the more relevant issue is working away from their L1 interference. ELF doesn't need to be a "standard" to work towards, but rather needs to be something they are aware of - that there is little or no need to strive towards BrE or AmE... that their variant will work as long as it doesn't have elements that prevent comprehension.