International English
– a Future Possibility in the Finnish EFL Classroom?

Tiivistelmä

Tutkimus käsittelee kansainvälistä englantia ja sen mahdollisuuksia tulla hyväksytyksi englanninopetuksen malliksi suomalaisissa kouluissa. Tutkimus toteutettiin kyselytutkimuksena, jossa vastaajina oli 34 englanninopettajaa Tampereen lukioista sekä 108 tamperelaista lukion toisen vuosikurssin opiskelijaa. Ensisijaisena tarkoituksena oli selvittää englanninopettajien käsityksiä ja asenteita ei-äidinkielistä englantia (ts. kansainvälistä englantia) kohtaan, ja näin saada selville, miten valmiita he olisivat hyväksymään kansainvälisen englannin uutena paradigmana ja mallina englannin vieraan kielen opetukseen Suomessa. Myös opiskelijoiden suhtautumista kansainväliseen englantiin sekä heidän omaa englannin kielen käyttöään tutkittiin. Opiskelijoiden vastauksia käytettiin pääasiassa vertailukohteena opettajien vastauksille.

Kansainvälinen englanti perustuu ajatukseen, jonka mukaan englanti ei ole enää yksinomaan kieltä äidinkielenään puhuvien (mm. brittien ja amerikkalaisten) omaisuutta, sillä nykyisin englantia käytetään pääasiassa maailmanlaajuisena, yhteisenä lingua francana hyvin erilaisista kielellisistä ja kulttuurisista taustoista tulevien ihmisten väliseen keskinäiseen kommunikointiin. Moni englanninpuhuja ei välttämättä koskaan tule puhumaan englantia äidinkielisen puhujan kanssa. Lisäksi ei-äidinkielisten englanninpuhujien määrä on jo ylittänyt äidinkielisten puhujien määrän maailmassa, ja jatkaa yhä kasvuaan. Niinpä kansainvälinen englanti katsoo, että ei-äidinkieliset englanninpuhujat tulee hyväksyä täysivaltaisina englanninpuhujina siinä missä äidinkielisetkin puhujat, ja uusi yhteinen kansainvälisen englannin normi tulisi kehittää sen perusteella, miten enemmistö puhujista käyttää kieltä – ei sen perusteella miten vähemmistössä olevat äidinkieliset puhujat sitä käyttävät. Opetuksen kannalta kansainvälisen englanti merkitsee luopumista äidinkielisen puhujan kompetenssin tavoittelusta, koska paitsi että tavoite on suurimmalle osalle oppijoista mahdoton saavuttaa, on se myös tarpeeton yllämainituista syistä johtuen. Koska kansainvälisen englannin käsite on vielä nuori, opetussuunnitelmat kuten myös esimerkiksi suomalainen ylioppilaskoe pohjautuvat kuitenkin yhä äidinkielisen puhujan tason tavoitteluun englannin oppimisen perimmäisenä päämääränä.

Tutkimuksessa ilmeni, että huolimatta opetussuunnitelmien ja ylioppilastutkintolautakunnan perinteisistä, äidinkielisen puhujan tavoitteista opetuksessa, suomalaisten opettajien keskuudessa on orastavaa tiedostusta englannin normien laajenemisesta ja jopa valmiutta luopua äidinkielisen puhujan vaatimuksista. Vain viidesosa opettajista oli vahvasti äidinkielisen puhujan tavoitteiden kannalla, kun taas kolmannes osoitti hyvinkin vahvaa kannatusta kansainvälisen englannin aspekteja kohtaan. Suurin osa vastaajista sijoittui näiden kahden ääripään välille, mikä toisaalta osoittaa, että hekään eivät täysin ja yksinomaan kannattaneet äidinkielisen puhujan tavoitteita, vaikka opetussuunnitelma tätä edellyttäisikin. Eniten normien höllentämisen kannalla olivat nuoremman sukupolven opettajat, ja vastaavasti äidinkielisten normien puolella vanhemman opettajasukupolven edustajat.

Myös opiskelijat osoittivat tietoisuutta englannin lingua franca –asemasta maailmassa ja pitivät tärkeämpänä oppia kommunikoimaan englanniksi erimaalaisten ja –kielisten ihmisten kanssa kuin äidinkielisen normin saavuttamista tai siinä pitäytymistä. Opiskelijoista viidennes ilmoitti, ettei pyri noudattamaan mitään englannin natiivivarianttia omassa kielenkäytössään, koska heistä se oli joko tarpeetonta tai jopa teennäistä. Toisaalta kolmannes sanoi tavoittelevansa äidinkielisen puhujan tasoa, mutta kuten opettajien kohdalla, myös opiskelijoista suurin osa sijoittui näiden kahden ääripään välille. Huomattavaa kuitenkin on, että jopa kolmannes opiskelijoista sanoi pelkäävänsä ajatustensa ilmaisemista englanniksi, mikäli eivät voineet olla varmoja ilmaustensa kieliopillisuudesta. Tämä saattaa johtua siitä, että opiskelijat joutuvat joka tapauksessa jatkuvasti vertaamaan itseään äidinkieliseen puhujaan, koska opettajien omista näkemyksistä huolimatta, tämä on malli, jota kouluopetuksessa edelleen suositaan.

Miksi opettajat sitten suosivat äidinkielistä puhujaa opetuksen mallina, vaikka ymmärtävät kielen kansainvälisen roolin? Tutkimus osoittaa, että lukiossa erityisesti ylioppilastutkintolautakunnan asettamat vaatimukset englannin ylioppilaskokeen muodossa rajoittavat vahvasti opettajien omien näkemysten ja tavoitteiden esiinpääsyä. Vaikka opettajat itse olisivatkin tietoisia englannin pääasiallisesta käyttötarkoituksesta kansainväliseen kommunikointiin, eivät he voi poiketa opetussuunnitelman ja YTL:n vaatimuksista, minkä vuoksi he pitäytyvät äidinkielisen puhujan malleihin opetuksessaan. Myös oppimateriaalit korostavat yhä pääasiassa perinteisiä brittiläisiä ja amerikkalaisia malleja, joten kansainvälisemmän englannin esiintuominen oppitunneilla jää opettajien oman innostuksen ja materiaalin valmistamisen varaan. Tutkimuksesta käy kuitenkin ilmi, että opiskelijoiden asenteet englantia kohtaan heijastelevat hyvin paljon kouluopetuksesta saatuja vaikutteita, joten opetussuunnitelmilla ja ylioppilaskokeiden tavoitteilla on varsin todellisia, suuriakin vaikutuksia ensin opettajien ja tätä kautta opiskelijoiden suhtautumiseen englannin kieleen sekä sen käyttöön.

Tutkimuksen tulos viittaa siihen, että opettajien ja opiskelijoiden puolesta kansainvälinen englanti mitä todennäköisimmin toivotettaisiin tervetulleeksi kouluopetuksen normiksi suomalaisissa kouluissa, jos vain edellytykset tälle opetusviranomaisten puolesta olisivat olemassa. Tietoisuuden herättäminen englannin muuttuneesta roolista juuri opetussuunnitelmista ja arvostelukriteereistä päättävien tahojen keskuudessa onkin tärkein askel, joka seuraavaksi olisi otettava, mikäli kansainvälinen englanti halutaan yleiseksi normiksi suomalaisiin koululuokkiin. Tähän saattaa tosin olla vielä matkaa, koska parhaillaan englanninopetuksen näkemykset englannin kielestä ovat vasta laajenemassa käsittämään ne englannin muodot, joita kieltä toisena kielenä käyttävät (esimerkiksi intialaiset) puhuvat. Kansainvälinen englanti tarjoaisi kuitenkin paitsi taloudellisen normin kielen opiskeluun myös todennäköisesti lieventäisi niin opettajien kuin oppilaidenkin tuntemia, tutkimuksessa esiin tulleita riittämättömyydentunteita (tai jopa pelkoja) siitä, etteivät pysty saavuttamaan äidinkielisen puhujan tasoa omassa englannin kielen käytössään.

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1. Introduction

In the past fifty years, the English language has gained a position in the world that no other language has ever had before. It has become the official language of many international organizations, it lends wings to popular culture and advertising, guards our safety at sea and in the air, and makes international science and tourism possible – just to name a few of its domains. What is noteworthy, though, is the fact that apart from being spoken by approximately 350 million native speakers, today English is utilized the most for communication between non-native speakers who do not share any other language. In other words, what used to be a national language has grown out to be the first true lingua franca of the world. This is hardly news to anyone, but what seems to go easily unnoticed in this context is the fact that through the development of English into a lingua franca, the "ownership" of the language has also shifted: no longer is English personal property of native speakers alone (meaning they cannot dictate any more how the language should be spoken) but belongs to everyone who uses it. Thus, mimicking or aspiring to native speaker-likeness in spoken or written English becomes irrelevant for foreign language learners. This is the very core idea of English as an international language (EIL). Furthermore, regarding English as a de-nationalized lingua franca – free from native speaker ideologies – will help non-native speakers and their countries to resist the linguistic imperialism that English is said to bring with it and impose on smaller languages and cultures (see Phillipson 1992).

In the teaching of English as a foreign language (TEFL), the native speaker model has traditionally gone unquestioned (Kachru 1986, 87). However, with the changing role of English, it is obvious that TEFL must change, too, in order to better cater to the real-life situations that EFL students are likely to face in their lives after school – i.e. those of communicating in English with other non-native speakers. Still sadly enough, as Seidlhofer (2001) has pointed out, it seems that the discourse about TEFL has changed more in recent years than the actual practices in English language classrooms. As an indication of this, any English teacher would, of course, answer "yes" if asked whether English is an international language, but it is another matter if this superficial awareness has reached teachers on a more profound level or whether it shows in their teaching. Many non-native English teachers also suffer from feelings of incompetence or insecurity for not knowing the language as thoroughly as a native speaker would (Seidlhofer 1999). With EIL this should also become a thing of the past.

Previous research on teaching EIL (cf. Kachru 1986; Canagarajah 1999; McKay 2002) has mainly concentrated on the circumstances in the so-called Outer Circle countries (i.e. countries where English has an official status due to British colonialism; see Kachru 1985). In those countries, the interest in EIL and the need for a change in TEFL mainly arise from the inclination to resist English linguistic imperialism. But currently, we lack information on the situation in the so-called Expanding Circle countries (i.e. countries where English has no official status but is taught as a foreign language at schools; see Kachru 1985) such as Finland. In spite of the studies by, for instance, Seidlhofer (1999) and Modiano (2000), the field of teaching EIL in Europe has remained largely unexplored. Yet, the speakers of English in the Expanding Circle countries constitute the greatest number of all English speakers in the world, and if we are to believe Kachru (1986) who says that it is the non-native speakers that will shape the future of English, it is not insignificant how this group of English speakers views the language. Especially, it is the non-native teachers of English who are in the key position to have a say as regards how English will develop in the future, because they (outnumbering the native speaker teachers) have the power of conveying not only information on but also attitudes towards English to their students (Tsui & Bunton 2000). Their opinions affect the future speakers of English. Not only has this group been ignored for too long but also finding out about their views is highly topical if David Graddol's (1997, 2) predictions turn out to be true and the on-going 20-50 years will be decisive of the direction and shape English is going to assume.

Yet, there is little empirical knowledge about what present-day non-native teachers think about the matters mentioned above. Consequently, the main purpose of the present study is to look into non-native English teachers' attitudes towards English as an international language in one of the Expanding Circle countries, Finland. At this point, it would still be premature to inquire of teachers whether they are actually teaching EIL, because a standard for it has not yet been established (cf. Seidlhofer 2001), but we can still probe into teachers' readiness to accept a shift from native speaker-centred EFL teaching towards a more realistic, pluricentric model of English. Hence, the broad research question mentioned above is divided into more narrow sub-questions such as: Do the teachers realize the changed role of English (especially if they finished their university education long ago), and if they do, are they aware of the actual consequences of the change on a more profound level. Furthermore, it will be interesting to see whether the role of English as an international language already shows in teachers' classroom practices (although, as mentioned, actual EIL cannot be taught yet). Finally, the study will take a look into how

the subjects perceive the future of English as regards linguistic imperialism, and how they feel about their own non-nativeness as teachers of English.

In addition to teachers' views, also their students' attitudes will be surveyed in order to see whether the students actually reflect their teachers' opinions and attitudes or if there is a difference between the views of the groups. Surveying the students' opinions will also hopefully create a more realistic picture as to what really takes place in classrooms from the students' point of view – in other words, how much of the teachers' intentions and ideas materialize in their teaching. Furthermore, it will be interesting to see how the students perceive the role of English in their lives, because ultimately, this will also affect the way English is used in tomorrow's world.

The background chapters that follow take a look at the various aspects of International English that are relevant to the study. In Chapter 2, we first establish the ground for EIL by taking a look at how English became the most widely spoken language in the world, what the present position of English is in general, and how different speakers of the language have been categorized. After that, we will first see how the spread of English has been criticized, and what, on the other hand, maintains inequalities between the native and non-native speakers of English. It has been suggested that International English could bring a solution to the inequalities, and because of this, it is discussed in more detail only after the criticism. In Chapter 3, we move on to discuss EIL at school. The role of non-native teachers of English is looked into first, followed by a discussion of how EIL can be introduced in class at this early stage, and what the remaining problems are. Finally, because the study was carried out in the Finnish context, Chapter 4 will take a brief look at the status of English in Finland and in Finnish schools in general. The study itself and its results are presented in Chapter 5, followed by Conclusion in Chapter 6.

2. English in the World

Although terms "English as a lingua franca" and "International English" view the global status of English from slightly different angles (the former referring to the use of *English* as a vehicular language, as opposed to any other language, and the latter implying an English-specific feature), in this study, the terms will be used interchangeably as synonyms to refer to the same phenomenon. But when speaking of a world-wide language, we first have to clarify what is meant by it. David Crystal (1997) has defined a global language simply as a language which has developed a specific, recognized role in various countries. In other words, he says it is not enough that the language has a great number of native speakers (in this respect Chinese has the lead), but other countries – which do not necessarily have any native speakers of the particular language – have to assign a significant role to the language in their societies, too (p. 3). According to Crystal, this can take place mainly in two different manners: either the language is made the official language of the country (used, for instance, in the media, education and government), or the language is endowed a priority in foreign language teaching, even if the language had no official status in the country (p. 3). Consequently, a language becomes globally significant only after non-native speakers have found it feasible and begin to learn it and use it. As we will see, English has met all these criteria.

But English is not the only lingua franca in the world history. As we know, the scholars of the Middle Ages used Latin as their vehicular language, after which the lingua franca status was assumed by French in the 19th century, and today – from the 1950's onwards – the credits have gone to English (Crystal 1988, 7). What is it, then, that makes English as a lingua franca such a special case? The answer is that no other language has ever before been as wide-spread as English is today. Mainly two reasons have been cited as having caused English to acquire its present prominence in the world: the British colonialism with its heyday in the late 19th century, and the ascent of the United States to a leading economy of the world in the 20th century. As Crystal (1997, 5) points out, the emergence of a (natural) global language is very much due to worldwide economic, political, cultural and religious power of the nation(s) that originally spoke the language, which is obviously true in the case of English. But whatever the reasons for a natural language spreading wide, it is still only the non-native speakers that make the language "global" by adopting it.

2.1 Speakers of English

Although the position of English in the world seems very strong, Crystal (1997, 23) reminds us that 2/3 of the world's population do not speak English at all. Even so, 1/3 counts for a large proportion in itself, so who are the people who actually *do* speak English?

Obviously, it is very difficult to define, in the first place, who can or cannot speak English, let alone to calculate the figures. The major problem is to decide who qualifies as an English speaker and what varieties of English are included – for instance, should the speakers of English-based pidgins and creoles be counted in? How about Finnish comprehensive school pupils? Despite the difficulties, some estimations have been made. Swann (1996, 12) cites McCrum who calculates the number of English speakers to add up to roughly 750 million, of whom approximately only a half speak English as their mother tongue. Of these native speakers, about 70% are Americans, and the rest Britons, Irishmen, Canadians, Australians and New Zealanders (Crystal 1997, 53).

Braj Kachru's (1985, 12-15) classical model (see Figure 1) divides the speakers of English into three concentric circles following the pattern how English has spread in the world. The innermost circle, *the Inner Circle*, comprises the native speakers of English, the number of whom is estimated to be around 320–380 million. The next circle, *the Outer Circle*, includes speakers in the countries where English – due to colonialism – has gained a position as an official language of the country. Among these countries are, for instance, India, Singapore or Nigeria, and the estimated number of English speakers in these territories reaches 150–300 million. In the third and outer-most circle, *the Expanding Circle*, are the rest of the members of the English speaking world. This circle covers countries that do not have a colonial background but in which the status of English as an international language is noted and the language is, among other things, taught as a foreign language in schools. Finland belongs to the Expanding Circle, which has as many as 100 million to one billion speakers of English (Kachru 1985, 12-15). It is the number of the speakers in the Expanding Circle that is the most difficult to estimate (because of the difficulty of keeping records of how many citizens have received instruction in English or how many of them can be regarded as knowing English). Nevertheless, what is significant here is the fact that the number of *non-native* speakers in the Outer and Expanding Circles has already exceeded the number of the Inner Circle native speakers, and this trend will continue in an ever-increasing speed in the future (Graddol 1997, 60).

Expanding circle

Outer circle

Inner circle
e.g. USA, UK
320-380
million
speakers

e.g. India, Singapore
150-300 million

e.g. Finland, Japan, Russia
100-1000 million
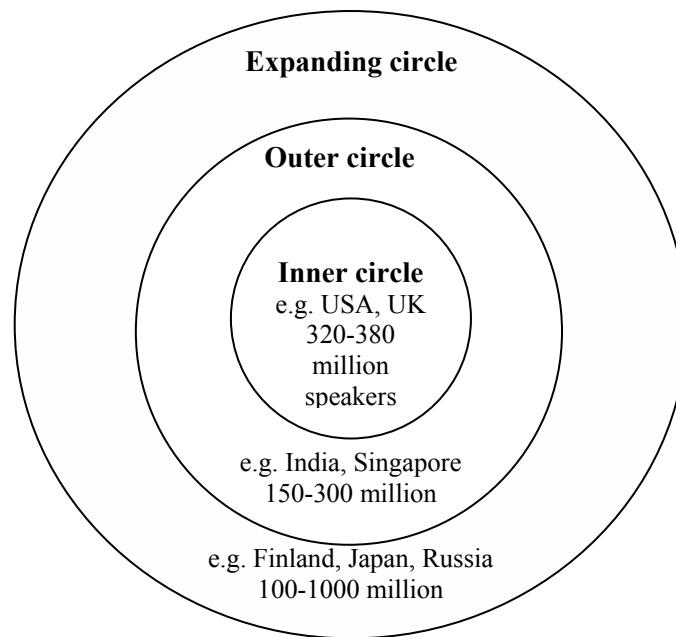
Figure 1. The three circles of English speakers by Kachru (1985)

English speakers in the above-mentioned three circles can also be classified into L1 (first language), L2 (second language) and foreign language (EFL) speakers respectively. L1 speakers have acquired English as their mother tongue (cf. *the Inner Circle*). L2 speakers, on the other hand, have learned English as their second, or additional, language and need it in running their daily errands in their native countries (cf. *the Outer Circle*). Because L2 speakers need the language as a lingua franca *within* their own countries (India being a typical example), this kind of language use is also labelled as INTRA–national language use. In contrast, the people who speak English as a foreign language (cf. *the Expanding Circle*) usually need the language only for INTER-national communication with foreigners (Strevens 1980, 71 and 81).

Although the above-mentioned divisions and concepts are classic and well-known, they are far from being unproblematic and clear-cut. Especially, the boundary between L1 and L2 speakers is often a fuzzy one, as is that between an L2 and an EFL speaker. International English also calls for changes in Kachru's model which is inapplicable to the new "world order", as it places the native speaker at the center. We will return to this issue in Chapter 2.3 below, but for now Kachru's divisions and terminology will be used for our purposes, as they constitute the best-known and established classification in the field.

2.2 Linguistic Elitism

2.2.1 Linguistic Imperialism

If English is as widespread as we saw in the previous chapter, is it not threatening other languages (and other cultures) in the world? If people whose mother tongue is not English are forced to or voluntarily adopt English as their medium of daily communication, what will happen to the native tongues and the linguistic human rights of these people? What will happen to the multiculturalism of the world? These are the kinds of questions that the critics of the hegemony of English are concerned with. Consequently, as a reverse to the positive lingua franca phenomenon, the spread of English can also be seen from the point of view of *linguistic imperialism* which, in essence, means one particular language encroaching on other languages and beginning to dominate. Hence, the spread of English may not only be regarded as favourable development or as a purely instrumental advantage but also as a threat (Swann 1996, 28).

One of the most prominent opponents of linguistic imperialism is Robert Phillipson who defines the concept in regard to English as follows:

> [T]he dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages (Phillipson 1992, 47).

According to Phillipson (1992, 136–172), the main culprits of the "reconstitution of inequalities" are, obviously, the Inner Circle countries the UK and the US. Although colonialism was the original reason for English becoming widespread, Phillipson notes that the dominant position that English gained among other languages in the post-colonial world was not a coincidence, but deliberately planned political action stated as a goal, for example, in British governmental reports (1992, 151). The significance of this action is that the dominance of English has helped the US and Britain to distribute their own ideologies and culture globally, by which means they can also strengthen their commercial power in the world (1992, 136-172). They are, in addition, the largest producers of ELT materials and methodologies, thus securing their position as "dictators" of what kind of English is learnt and how. Yet, their teaching of English in the so-called Third World countries has often been disguised as non-political charity by making local people believe that learning English is a downright "blessing" which automatically brings development with it (Phillipson 1992, 11-12). As a consequence, local languages and cultures have been and

are being extinguished, and monoculturalism increases. Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), another fervent fighter for linguistic human rights, has even found a connection between linguistic diversity and biodiversity in the world: "where one type is high, the other is too, and vice versa" (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, 83). Her study implies that linguistic diversity, as biodiversity, is the "normal" state of affairs, the disturbance of which harms the natural order of things.

Interestingly enough, Britain and the US have not only promoted monolingualism abroad but also at home. Both countries favour English at the expense of other languages inside their national borders, although the prevailing multilingualism and multiculturalism in the countries would give rationale for contrary procedure (Phillipson 1992, 20-21). In the US, there have even been debates on whether English should be made the official language of the country (as the status of English is not expressly stated in the US Constitution) in order to prevent the country from "disuniting" due to a vast number of immigrant languages (Crystal 1997, 117ff). As for Britain, on the other hand, Phillipson (1992, 20-21) notes the country's original refusal to implement the *Lingua* programme, launched by the European Community in 1989 to promote European children's learning of various foreign languages. The *Lingua* programme aims at children learning at least two foreign languages at school and thus strengthening the relationships between different European cultures (Hermans 1997, 46) – which can also be seen as a means of restricting the dominance of English. Labrie and Quell (1997, 3) point out that nearly half of young Britons still do not speak any foreign language, but at the same time these Britons are the ones who have benefited the most from other Europeans' improving foreign language skills because English is most often the first foreign language learned in Europe and thus, most often the language chosen to mediate communication between Europeans. In this respect, the inequality between Britons and other Europeans is clear.

Although it is relatively safe to say that English is not threatening the *existence* of other *European* languages (such as Finnish) there are still aspects of linguistic imperialism that have come ashore in the continental Europe, too. Phillipson (1992, 185) calls these the "tenets" of English linguistic imperialism which include such ideas as: "English is best taught monolingually", "the more English is taught, the better the results", and "the ideal teacher of English is a native speaker". Such ideas are, of course, meant to maintain the dominance of English and to secure the spread of particular native speaker varieties through their native speakers. At the same time, the inferiority of non-native English teachers is implied. Nevertheless, English linguistic imperialism is seen as a graver

problem in the Outer Circle countries that are still in the process of restoring their national identities after the period of colonialism, and therefore, do not want the influence from English (or the western values) to dominate their thinking any more.

Be that as it may, for some scholars the fuss about linguistic imperialism seems irrelevant altogether. For instance, Brumfit (1982, 2) considers the whole concept naive because, according to him, the world ultimately needs a common language, and for those who do not wish to communicate in the common language the only choice is to become exploited or be "at the mercy of decisions made outside" (p. 2). Isolating oneself from the surrounding world may, indeed, be a stronger threat to the survival of one's language and culture than accepting a foreign lingua franca (cf. Sajavaara 1983, 47), but is forcing the native speaker standards of one particular language on other people morally acceptable? If compared, for example, to Latin in the Middle Ages, it was not spoken natively by anyone at the time but functioned as an equally "foreign" lingua franca for all of its speakers. In contrast, demanding native speaker competence from all speakers of English places the speakers in unequal positions as the native speakers are able to use their own mother tongue effectively, whereas for others, English will be a foreign language in which most of the latter-mentioned will never acquire a competence anywhere near native. As a solution to the need of a common language, Skutnabb-Kangas suggests reviving Esperanto as a world's lingua franca because, as an artificial language, it provides equality and non-discrimination to its speakers (2000, 280-284). Unfortunately, history has shown that none of the artificial or planned languages (cf. Interlingua, Novial, Volapük etc.) have ever really succeeded – even despite the claims that they are culturally and politically neutral (cf. Opetusministeriö, 1984). Thus, the suggestion that Brumfit (1982, 2) himself puts forth seems more applicable. In his opinion, there does not have to be only *one* world language but a few of them. Also Salverda (2002) is saying that in the future, knowing English will be necessary but not be enough. He points out that with the advent of new media such as the Internet, multilingualism is actually increasing rather than decreasing. As Salverda sees it, linguistic diversity is not disappearing but gathering strength.

2.2.2 Linguistic Purism

As mentioned above, concerns about English linguistic imperialism have mainly been an issue in the Outer Circle countries, but there is another feature of linguistic elitism that, in the case of English, is closely related to linguistic imperialism, and which *is* affecting the

usage and teaching of English in the Expanding Circle, too. The phenomenon is called *linguistic purism* which, in essence, refers to maintaining one's native language "clean" of foreign or non-standard linguistic influence. In Keipert's words (quoted in Thomas 1991, 11):

> The word purism is associated primarily with the antipathy to foreign words and the resulting attempt to expel them from the language. . . . The purist's anathema can however also be aimed at the social and territorial variants of its own language area, because they do not conform to the articulatory, morphological, syntactical or lexical norms of the standard language (or his notion of the latter).

The definition nicely captures the mission that Randolph Quirk – one of the most outspoken advocates of linguistic purism in British English – has embarked on. In his much-debated article from 1990, Quirk regarded local varieties of English as having lower status than standard (native) British English, and proclaimed that "the so-called national variety of English is an attempt to justify inability to acquire. . .'real' English" (1990, 8). In other words, Quirk did not approve of the emergence of such local varieties as Indian English or Hong Kong English, but wanted all the speakers of English to keep to the British standard. It is exactly this kind of rigid, prescriptive view of "correct" and "incorrect" language that maintains the inequalities between native speakers and non-native speakers, and which also inhibits a language from developing naturally. As Thomas (1991) points out:

> By favouring etymological over functional criteria in judging the desirability of linguistic items, purism may be a serious impediment to the spontaneous…growth of a language in accordance with its socio-communicative needs. (Thomas 1991, 219).

This is to say, in the case of English, that its growth into a truly international language – which obviously has different socio-communicative needs than a restricted national language – is also hampered by linguistic purism, i.e. by not accepting the evolution of the language, but imposing a "native standard" on all its speakers. Kachru (1986, 84) further observes that the norm that non-native speakers of English are made to comply with is based on the language as it is spoken by only the highest segment of the native speakers – not the majority (cf. Trudgill and Hannah 1990, 2 who claim that only 3-5% of native British English speakers follow RP as their pronunciation model, yet, RP is the model most often conveyed to learners of English) – and that this kind of norm primarily stems from pedagogical, attitudinal or societal motivations, not from the sociolinguistic realities of how English is actually used in given surroundings (1991,6).

As English conquers the world, it is very unrealistic to assume that the language would remain unchanged all around the globe. As Widdowson (1997, 136 & 139) points out, English is rather spreading by itself than being "transmitted without being transformed" – the language has begun to live a life of its own. Non-native speakers who need English for different purposes will shape the language to meet their own socio-communicative needs. The English-speaking Empire has – so to speak – struck back, as non-native speakers are letting go of the native speaker rules and starting to claim the right as "fully-fledged" speakers of English.

However, the quarter that still very much wants to advocate the puristic ideas about the language is, of course, the school, and in terms of English, the whole ELT industry. As Kachru (1986, 87) notes:

> Teaching materials and teacher training programs do not generally present a 'linguistically tolerant' attitude toward non-native localized varieties, or toward the speakers of varieties considered different from the 'standard' ones.

In a way this is understandable, because all language learning requires a norm or a standard that can be conveyed to learners and against which learners can be evaluated. Language teaching is, of course, one of the fundamental reasons why languages are codified in the first place (cf. Parakrama 1995, 7). But at the same time, when resorting to a strict, puristic model of English, ELT also helps to keep the inequalities between different English speakers alive and well. This is what is taking place in the Expanding Circle ELT, too. Surely, language teaching will always require a norm, as Kachru observed, but what should the standard be, then, for ELT if not the native speaker norm? We shall return to this question in the next chapter.

But before that, let us still take a brief look at how linguistic purism is related to linguistic imperialism. Thomas (1991) points out several times that despite disguising linguistic purism with (rational or non-rational) motivations of maintaining intelligibility or solidarity among the language community, "purism is little more than an epiphenomenon of nationalism" (p. 43). In his words, purism not only affirms the superiority of one's own native culture but also functions as a kind of protecting shield against other cultures. "The view that the language is exposed to a threat posed by some external source or from internal disintegration is based on the us/them, our/their dichotomies" Thomas contends (1991, 47). He also relates linguistic purism to national pride (p. 40) or to "coming to terms with the past: seeking to preserve the link with some past golden age" (p. 53). All this rings true when looking more closely into Quirk's puristic statements of present-day English. He

is obviously troubled with his own language (and culture) losing on status – and perhaps losing on domination – if "they" (e.g. English-speaking people in the former colonies) start to use "our" language as "they" please. Against this background it is rather surprising, then, that Thomas (1991, 48) should also go on to say that purism has never taken hold in English because a linguistic threat from an external source has been missing. A certain amount of purism has, however, followed English from its early days (Görlach 1997, 147) and at least today, this kind of external "threat" to the native British standard is more than real, indeed, as more and more non-native speakers of English are starting to shape the language in order to have it suit their own needs (and identities). This is the very cause of the puristic statements such as the one by Quirk quoted above. As Kachru (1986) says:

> In the purists' view perhaps English is internationally in disarray, going through a process of decay. In reality, however, English is acquiring various international identities and thus acquiring multiple ownerships. (Kachru 1986, 31)

In the light of the above discussion, the link between linguistic purism and linguistic imperialism is obvious as regards English. They are both based on a nationalist ideology and thus try to suppress or dominate other cultures or people by means of "linguistic control" (see Kachru 1991). Whereas linguistic imperialism wants to spread the language around the world, linguistic purism wants to see to it that the new speakers of English (i.e. non-native speakers) comply with the rules set by the Inner Circle. Yet, at least in the Expanding Circle, it is not so much the actual spread of English that creates inequality, but linguistic purism that reconstructs the inequalities between native and non-native speakers over and over again. This is where International English has stepped in.

2.3 International English

Having set the scene, we now come to our main focus of interest, *International English* –
which is said to bring a solution to the problems mentioned above: in an ideal situation, it
will both meet the needs for a world-wide common language (and a standard for teaching)
but it will also eliminate the imbalance brought about by linguistic elitism, both at once.
But before delving into these matters, let us take a brief look at the concept itself and how
this new phenomenon has been justified.

International English is often referred to also as *English as a Lingua Franca*,
Global English or *World English*. What should be noted here, though, is that terms such as
International English or *World English* have appeared in the literature before, but in the
past, they were mainly applied as blanket terms for the Inner (L1) and Outer Circle (L2)
varieties of English only, thus excluding the non-native Englishes of the Expanding Circle
(cf. Cheshire 1991; Todd & Hancock 1986; Abbott & Wingard 1981). The L2 varieties
began to arouse scholarly interest only as late as in the 1970's (Bailey & Görlach 1982, 1),
which again has meant that the EFL varieties of the Expanding Circle have begun to draw
researchers' attention only in the recent years.

However, the new concept of *English as an International Language* (EIL), as it
will be applied here, comprises the EFL speakers as well. EIL can be defined as a variety
of its own, as "a vehicular language spoken by people who do not share a native language"
(Mauranen 2003, 513). As mentioned above, this concept is based on the idea that English
is no more the property of the native speakers but belongs to all who use it, and thus the
speakers of EIL should be recognized as language users in their own right (e.g. Seidlhofer
2001, 133). This, on the other hand, has been justified by the facts that we discussed in
chapter 2.1 above: the number of non-native speakers of English has surpassed the number
of native speakers, and most occasions where English is used today take place in non-
native speaker contexts where natives are not necessarily even present. Consequently, the
native speaker Standard English as a model for all the speakers of English in the world is
beginning to appear in a somewhat ludicrous light. What is the point in striving for a native
speaker competence in the first place when we know that achieving it verges the
impossible for most of us, and when studies have shown that non-native speakers engage
in successful conversations even with lower competence (e.g. Görlach & Schröder 1985,
230)? What is more, we also know that a significant proportion of English speakers will
possibly *never* be in contact with a native speaker in any case (cf. e.g. Nelson 1995).

So what exactly is International English, then? To answer the question, it may be wise to begin by defining what it is not. Firstly, Widdowson (1997, 144) has made a puzzling proposition of the nature of EIL by suggesting that English as an international language could be equated with English for specific purposes (ESP), because for most non-native learners the purpose of learning English is to be able to become "members of expert communities". While this is true to a large extent, it is not the whole story. EIL is specifically meant to function as an international variety of English applicable to all communicative needs in all fields of life (not just for specialized contexts), and by diminishing EIL to ESP, Widdowson seems to downplay this crucial aspect of EIL. Secondly, English as an international language should not be confused with movements such as Nuclear English which deliberately tried to strip English down into a simplified model *prescribed by the native speaker* (in order to have a norm for teaching English to non-native speakers) (Quirk 1982, 15-28). The idea of International English is the reverse: native speakers should not dictate what form EIL will eventually take, nor should this variety be prescribed in advance but *de*scribed from empirical data as we will soon see.

However, because of the objection to the native speaker standard, the most common misconception regarding EIL is, perhaps, the illusion of EIL disregarding norms and rules in language use altogether – as if promoting a kind of *laissez-faire* variety where "everything and anything goes". This is not true. Maintaining intelligibility in lingua franca communication is of heightened importance (e.g. Halliday 2002), and it goes without saying that intelligibility can only be achieved through a certain standard, a common ground that interlocutors can (and should) converge on. What EIL *is* criticizing is the fact that this common ground should be the native speaker norm. Among others, Parakrama (1995, 47) calls for broadening and de-hegemonizing language standards to the point "at which the widest possible acceptance of variation is the norm". Modiano (1999a, 7-11), on the other hand, contends that "Standard English" should be built on the features that the *majority* of English speakers use and recognize, and this should be done by building on a descriptive basis rather than a prescriptive one (Modiano 1999a, 23). This is what EIL is all about.

In Outer Circle countries, the local varieties of English may also provide a natural alternative for the native speaker norm, but, for instance in the continental Europe such an "endo-normative" model (cf. Kachru 1986, 86) is missing – though tentative references to the emergence of so-called "Euro-English" or even "Nordic English" for Scandinavia have been made (e.g. Jenkins et al. 2001; McArthur 2003). Hence, as the first step towards a

common norm for European English speakers, Modiano (2000) proposes so-called Mid-Atlantic English, which combines features from British English and American English, but is not distinctively either. In fact, he is of the opinion that Mid-Atlantic already *is* the standard used in Europe and that it will eventually become the international standard as well (Modiano 1996, 209). This is all very well, except for the fact that Modiano, too, is suggesting the model be based on the two leading native varieties, not on a descriptive model that he referred to above. Nevertheless, we may still accept Mid-Atlantic as a *starting point* for EIL in Europe – at least it is a step away from rigidly holding to one variety of English as a model.

Be that as it may, what is now needed is a great deal of research into the linguistic features of English as it is spoken by non-native speakers in order to find a common core in the empirical data that can constitute a standard for EIL. What are the absolutely crucial characteristics in terms of phonology, grammar or pragmatics that any speaker of lingua franca English is required to know in order to make him-/herself understood by other speakers of lingua franca English? Jennifer Jenkins (2000) is the first scholar to have ventured into pioneering work on the phonological core of EIL. She observed and recorded her non-native students co-operating and solving different kinds of tasks in English, and made notes whenever misunderstandings and communication break-downs occurred due to "bad" pronunciation. In her research, Jenkins discovered, for instance, that the phonemes actually essential for intelligibility in EIL were not necessarily the same as the ones that are hammered into pupils' heads in L2 or EFL classrooms. For example, the dental fricatives /ð/ and /θ/ – that are so typical of English and therefore considered important to learn – could easily be substituted by other consonant sounds such as /d/ and /t/ or /z/ and /s/ respectively without causing any phonological unintelligibility. The same was true with substituting velarized /ł/ with clear /l/ or with /ʊ/ (Jenkins 2000, 137-139). A great deal more of this type of empirical work on the core features of EIL is now required and already partly underway (e.g. Seidlhofer 2001; Mauranen 2003).

Finally, we come back to the question "why does EIL matter?" According to Mauranen (2003, 514-519) researching English as a lingua franca has three kinds of implications: theoretical, descriptive and applicational – the latter of which is based on the findings in the first two, and which is particularly in our interest as it relates, among other things, to educational goals and people's language rights. As a descriptive norm based on the observations on how the majority of English speakers actually use the language, EIL is supposed to introduce a neutral, democratic lingua franca – free from historical or political

burdens. As implied above, this is how EIL will help eliminating linguistic control (be it in the form of linguistic imperialism or purism) from the Inner Circle.

By the same token – as a model of teaching and a goal for learning – EIL could provide its learners with a variety that they can feel comfortable speaking without a sense of inferiority. With EIL, learners can feel accepted and express their own identities (instead of that of a quasi-native speaker). In addition, EIL would most likely bring efficiency into English classrooms, as the striving for native speaker-likeness is put aside and teachers and learners can concentrate on the most important features that will be useful in international communication (Mauranen 2003, 517-518). Modiano (2001, 344) summarizes the thought as follows:

> The teaching and learning of a geographically, politically, and culturally 'neutral' form of English, which is perceived as a language of wider communication and not as the possession of native speakers, is one of the few options we have at hand if we want to continue to promote English language learning while at the same time attempting to somehow 'neutralize' the impact which the spread of English has on the cultural integrity of the learner. (Modiano 2001, 344.)

Further, in Modiano's (2001) words, we should regard English as "simply a utilitarian communicative tool, one which allows the non-native user to retain…their distinctive cultural characteristics" (p. 344), and not learn or teach English as an "avenue into cultural indoctrination" (p. 340), because for most speakers of English the latter is not what they want or need.

Naturally, the shift in the focus and "ownership" from native speakers to non-native speakers has not been easy to digest for the Inner Circle. Modiano (1999a) maintains that it is especially the Britons who are unwilling to let go of their priorities as creators of the standard. This is, of course, understandable from an individual native-speaker teacher's point of view, because teaching "Standard English" is their very bread and butter, and EIL calls their authority and expertise into question. What is more, in terms of EIL, native speaker competence will no longer be enough, but in addition to their own, native varieties, Inner Circle speakers will have to learn the EIL variety as well, to be able to function in international contexts (Crystal 1997, 137). Because of this changed role of English, Modiano (1999b) has suggested a revision to Kachru's three concentric circles of English speakers (see Figure 2) based not on the spread of English but on the communicative abilities of its speakers. In Modiano's view, the speakers of EIL (or, in Crystal's terms, *World Standard Spoken English*) – be they native or non-native speakers – ought to be

placed in the innermost circle, because their communicative abilities in international settings will undoubtedly be the best. The second circle in Modiano's model is reserved for native and foreign language speakers who have achieved varying degrees of proficiency in one local variety of English but who are not proficient in EIL. And finally, the third circle includes learners of English – even those of so-called standard varieties – who are only in the process of attaining proficiency in a local variety (Modiano 1999b, 25-26).

People who
do not know
English

Learners

Proficient in
international
English

Native and
foreign
language
proficiency
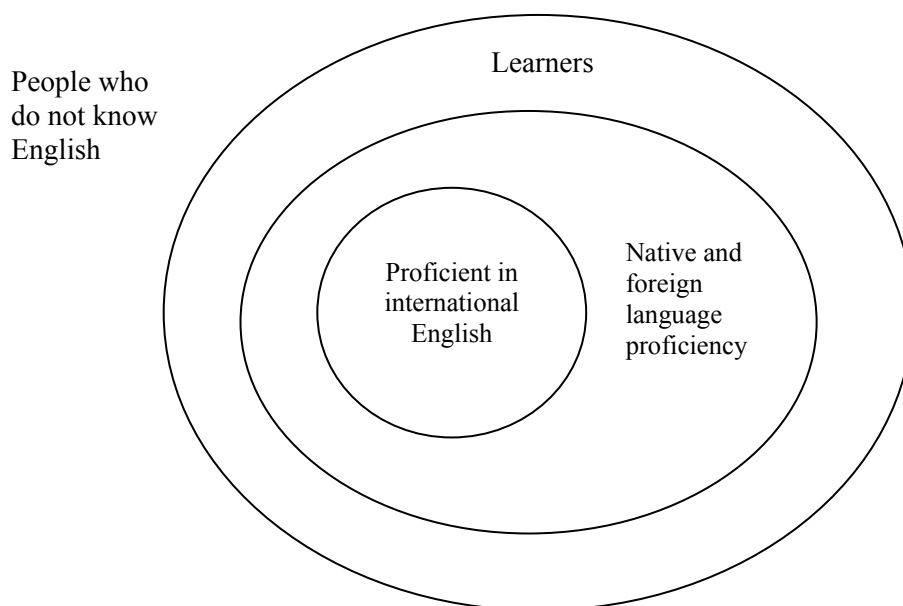
Figure 2. The three circles of English speakers by Modiano (1999b)

As in Kachru's model, it is difficult to draw clear lines between the categories in Modiano's model, too, but at least the new model conceptualizes the way we will have to start looking at English (i.e. in terms of its communicative efficiency as a lingua franca, and not from its historical, geopolitical origins). The model inculcates the importance of English as an international language and, as opposed to Kachru's model, is also more relevant for the future learning and teaching of English.

3. Teaching English in the Expanding Circle

So what are the implications that EIL has – or can have – to the teachers and teaching of English in the Expanding Circle? This we will delve into next.

3.1 Non-native Speakers as Teachers of English

As mentioned above, Phillipson (1992, 185) lists the idea of the superiority of a native speaker English teacher among the tenets of English linguistic imperialism. This idea still seems to be rather persistent in the Inner Circle countries corresponding to the view that only a native speaker is invested with authority on his/her language. In Finland (as an Expanding Circle country), there has never been a serious discussion on whether the English teachers in Finnish schools should be native or non-native speakers of English (practically all of them being non-native Finnish- or Swedish-speaking), but in the Outer Circle (L2) countries this has been and continues to be a topic for a heated debate. Nevertheless, the sheer perception of non-native teacher as "only" non-native speakers of the language, has often resulted in non-native teachers feeling insecure of their competence, in the Expanding Circle as well, as they have looked up to the native speaker as a point of comparison for their own skills. For instance, Seidlhofer (1999, 241) found in her survey of 100 non-native Austrian teachers of English that most of them (57%) felt that their non-nativeness was more a source of insecurity than a source of confidence in their teaching, and 60% of the subjects indicated that during their studies the main emphasis had been on becoming an effective communicator (meaning as near-native as possible) in English rather than learning how to become an effective foreign language teacher. As an example from an Outer Circle country, on the other hand, Tsui and Bunton (2000) analyzed over a thousand messages with questions on English grammar and vocabulary sent by non-native Hong Kong teachers of English to an English teachers' computer network, and found that in exchanging views of correctness and acceptability of various aspects of English, the Hong Kong teachers most often referred to dictionaries or grammar books written by native speakers in support of their views, and were rather hesitant to trust their own instincts or competence when giving advice to other teachers, or when expressing their opinions on, for example, grammar-related issues.

However, there should be no reason for non-native teachers to feel inferior to their native colleagues. Firstly, as Seidlhofer (1999, 237) points out, being a competent (native) speaker of a language does not – by any means – automatically translate into being a

competent teacher of the language. And secondly, non-native teachers have qualities that a native teacher can never have: more often than not non-native teachers share the cultural background of their students, hence being able to exploit materials and methods they know will be the most useful to their students, and further, usually they also share the mother tongue of their students thus being in position to understand their students' difficulties (for instance, transfer from L1) in acquiring English and being able to sort out and explain differences between the languages (Seidlhofer 1999, 235ff.). This is something that a native (perhaps a monolingual) English teacher cannot accomplish (or which will become possible only after years of trial and error). Further, Seidlhofer makes a very apt observation on another advantage that non-native teachers posses:

> This [learning English as a foreign language] is an experience which is shared only between non-native teachers and their students. One could say that native speakers know the destination, but not the terrain that has to be crossed to get there: they themselves have not travelled the same route. Non-native teachers, on the other hand, know the target language as a foreign language. Paradoxically, it is precisely this which is often perceived as a weakness, although it can be understood, and drawn upon, as an important resource. *This shared language learning experience should thus constitute the basis for non-native teachers' confidence, not for their insecurity.* (Seidlhofer 1999, 238; emphasis added)

This is obviously an all too often over-looked insight into the non-native teacher's competence. Because of this particular strength invested in non-native teachers, Seidlhofer (1999, 235) calls them double agents: they have access to both cultures as well as both the native and the target language of their students – this is what makes them invaluable instructors.

What is more, it is the *non-native teachers* who are in the key position in defining what kinds of forms English (as a world language) will assume in the future, as they clearly out-number the native teachers of English. Brutt-Griffler (1998, 387) contends that the spread of English to non-native users in itself implies that the most active agents of the spread will actually be the non-native users, or more specifically the teachers of the language, because the Inner Circle can no longer cover all the possible "social and functional needs of the learning/teaching context", and thus, the authority on the language shifts to non-native teachers who are "thrown back on their own judgement, on their reasoning, on their creativity". According to Brutt-Griffler (1998, 390), this also means that non-native teachers become agents of *language change* – be they conscious of it or not – by enriching the language through their diverse cultural identities.

As the focus moves from the native teachers to the non-native ones, the latter are also invested with the ethical responsibility for the implications of the subject they teach (e.g. Parakrama 1995, 205). Hence, it is in their hands whether the puristic attitudes (which help reconstituting inequalities) continue to prevail or if the standards are broadened and the hegemony of the Inner Circle is broken out of. As Tsui and Bunton (2000, 289) point out, teachers' language attitudes (whether they keep to the native standards or accept local variation) play a significant role in classrooms because they have an effect on the students' attitudes as well.

All in all, non-native teachers of English are clearly seizing the power over the future of English whether they know it or not. Because of this, Seidlhofer (1999, 234) is calling attention to a broader conception of "what it means to teach languages going hand in hand with a more comprehensive view of the languages being taught". Seidlhofer (1999, 233) sees teacher training as playing a crucial role in arousing non-native teachers' awareness of their assets and encouraging them to take a full advantage of these assets. Also Brown (1995, 236) stresses the fact that a wider perspective of English as a world language (and the implications it brings with it) should be infused into teacher training programs, because these programs "inculcate skills, values, and attitudes into educators who will shape what their learners acquire for an entire generation." As Seidlhofer (1999, 240) points out, it is important to make future teachers aware not only of the choices that *have* to be made but also of the choices that *can* be made.

3.2 Teaching English as an International Language

So how can English be taught as an international language? What are the choices that a non-native English teacher in the Expanding Circle can make? One of the problems when discussing teaching international English is the fact that most of the literature on the field deals with English teaching in the (Asian) Outer Circle countries, where the fundamental questions do not relate solely to the English language itself but also to the western culture that English is said to convey in it (e.g. McKay 2002; Canagarajah 1999). In the Outer Circle countries even the teaching methods and textbook contents (often produced in the Inner Circle) may differ from the world views and values held by the local people, thus producing a rather different kind of set of problems than those relevant to the western Expanding Circle countries. As mentioned earlier, only a few researchers (such as

Seidlhofer and Modiano) have made frequent references to EIL teaching in the European context.

Nevertheless, whatever the context, one thing remains true of all of them: the traditional view of language (and English) teaching has been based on the idea of "acculturation" – the idea that English students actually strive to "become" English *through* the English language, and the expected result of successful language learning would hence be the adoption of multi-identities (Modiano 2000, 29). With EIL, this is hopefully changing.

Another point worth noticing as we start discussing the teaching of EIL, is the fact that EIL as such – as a variety of its own – cannot be taught yet, as there is still too little research on its basic features (as noted in Chapter 2.3). According to Seidlhofer (2001), the very lack of codification of the EIL model has led to the current situation where the meta-level *discussion* of English classroom practices has changed but the actual teaching and learning practices themselves have not, as teachers still rely on native speaker norms for want of any other model. Also Modiano (1999b, 26) notes that EIL is perceived difficult to teach because it is felt that EIL attempts to include (too) many different forms of English. On the whole though, the main focus in teaching English as an international language should be on making oneself understood in multi-cultural contexts, not on keeping to a distinct native variety of the language.

Nevertheless, as we are awaiting linguistic research to form an applicable model for EIL, there is still plenty we can do in the meanwhile. Raising awareness of the global status of English, its varieties and its implications to power relations in the world, as well as encouraging language learners' tolerance towards non-native varieties of English, are tasks that no "enlightened" teacher of English can afford to ignore today. No longer is it possible to present only one variety (be it AmE or BrE or something else) as a representative of the language but to extend the meaning of "English" to the level which it has already assumed in the outer word.

3.2.1 Teaching the Four Language Skills

Linguistic competence in language has traditionally been divided into four basic skills: on the one hand into speaking (pronunciation) and listening, and on the other hand into writing and reading. Let us take a brief look at what has been said so far of these skills in relation to EIL and its teaching.

As regards pronunciation models, Modiano (1996, 208) presents a commonplace view that European English teachers have traditionally promoted British English as the model of "good" English while their pupils – the younger generation – prefer American English in their own speech. Also, according to Modiano, the teachers will generally frown upon pupils' mixing the two models. Faithful to his belief in Mid-Atlantic as a proper model for EIL, Modiano suggests that Mid-Atlantic should be made the model for EIL pronunciation, too, as the two native norms are already being mixed (1996, 208). On the other hand, Starks and Paltridge (1996, 218) call for asking the learners themselves what *they* want as their learner goal. Asking the learners may be very well in some contexts (e.g. if the learners are adults or if there is, for example, a local variety that can be used as goal) but in most European countries, English instruction begins at the age of approximately ten, when many children are not able to say what they want or, indeed, will need as their model. In this, Jenkins' (2000) core features of EIL come in to remedy the situation. With her study, we already have a preliminary model for EIL pronunciation. It seems rather obvious that wasting time on attempting to sound "native" is counter-productive when it is possible to make oneself understood with less, by mastering (only) the crucial phonological features of English that Jenkins has nicely summed up in her work.

What comes to listening comprehension skills and attitudes towards non-native accents, this is the field where an individual teacher certainly *can* have an influence. Modiano (1996, 209) notes that English instruction should include exercises in the understanding of not only L1 speakers but L2 speakers of English, too, in order to promote "understanding of these varieties as a means of facilitating communication." It goes without saying that these exercises should comprise frequent samples from non-native EFL speakers as well. The promotion of only native speaker accents in listening comprehension exercises not only is inappropriate as regards the myriad of varieties that learners will come across in the real world, but it can also lead the learners evaluate their own pronunciation as inadequate to the point at which they are unwilling to speak the language themselves. Or it may lead learners to undervalue their non-native interlocutors on the basis of the interlocutors' foreign accents no matter how fluent they were in English. Dalton-Puffer et al. (1997) studied the attitudes of Austrian English students towards different Austrian vs. native accents of English, and found that the students preferred the native accents to non-native ones, RP being rated the best and Austrian non-native accents the worst. The accents ranked the highest were the same as the ones students had become most familiar with at school (Dalton-Puffer et al. 1997, 115). Chiba et al. (1995) came to

the same conclusion in their study of Japanese students' language attitudes. This shows that in order to increase non-native speakers' understanding of and tolerance towards their own or other non-native speakers' accents, the accents have to be present in the English classrooms, too.

The model for writing seems to be the most elusive of the four skills. Currently, there is no consensus of what kind of spelling should be used in EIL, and the myth of one standard in writing seems to prevail even though tolerance towards different varieties of *speech* has increased. Nero (2002, 55) suggests that this may be due to the fact that while speech is "natural", writing is something usually learned at school, hence, being able to write "correctly" indicates that a person is educated – which is obviously something people do not want to downplay in their backgrounds by starting to write "badly". Both Nero (2002, 56) and Parakrama (1995, 13-14) point out that non-standard writing is often reserved for restricted and specialized 'creative' contexts, such as for renowned authors writing in their local varieties or dialects. Still, even mixing the two main varieties of written English – British English and American English – seems to be a sensitive issue to many. It is rather striking that even Modiano (1996, 214) – despite his fervent advocacy of EIL or Mid-Atlantic English – should make the following remark:

> While I do not recommend that students make a conscious effort to keep AmE and BrE pronunciation and vocabulary separate, in written form it is advisable for the writer to stay with one norm. This is because a text may be distracting to the critical reader if spellings like BrE *tyre*, *metre*, and *kerb* are used beside AmE spellings such as *honor*, *theater*, and *check*. (Modiano 1996, 214, italics in the original)

Here, the question arises: who is this "critical reader" that Modiano refers to? The most probable answer is, of course: the *native* speaker of British English or American English. Non-native speakers of EIL are not likely to be too distracted – given that they are familiar with the different kinds of spelling systems and know the meaning of the word at hand. Mixing the two norms is only disturbing to the native speaker and perhaps language professionals. In other words, Modiano is also (consciously or unconsciously) torn between promoting the native speaker standards and/or accepting the use of English as a varied, truly international language. Halliday (2002, 12), on the other hand, is ready to accept any local variety of English as a model for the whole of EIL, *as long as* it is intelligible world-wide and as long as the chosen variety is *consistently maintained* as a model (2002,13). Thus, if consistency is important, then Halliday's own notion that we need not be too fussy about spelling (2002, 13) obviously contradicts this. It truly seems that written language is the most difficult area to make concessions about – at least for

native speakers – even though intelligibility of the text should be the starting point here, too, *not* maintaining a specific (native) norm.

In addition to spelling, also writing conventions and expression vary from culture to culture. Ivanič (1998, 32) points out that the writer's identity is always present in writing and s/he reflects the socio-cultural norms that s/he has learnt to follow (see, for instance Clyne 1987 for examples of differences in English and German norms of essay writing). However, this variation in style as well as creativity in expression should be accepted and appreciated in EIL – as long as it is understandable to another speaker of EIL. Widdowson (1987, 18) notes that learners often produce expressions that are entirely appropriate in respect to their communicative effectiveness but which happen to go against the codified (native speaker) rules of the language and therefore are labelled errors. Yet, what Widdowson believes is taking place in these "erroneous" expressions is the writer's exercise of communicative capacity of both his/her first and second language, and therefore this type of creativity should be encouraged in students rather than suppressed. Widdowson (1987, 18) further notes that: "Nothing is more frustrating for an advanced learner than to be corrected when he knowingly produces an expression which aptly represents his intended meaning *because* it does not accord with convention." The same applies, of course, to speech as well.

Finally, the fourth language skill, reading, is not much discussed in the EIL literature, probably because reading literature in different varieties of English has been debated in connection with contrastive rhetorics or cross-cultural studies on discourse. In that context, Yamuna Kachru (1987), for example, has noted that learners of English should develop a textual competence for a variety of English literatures because otherwise texts in non-native varieties will be "evaluated as poor examples of writing and hence not worth taking seriously (Y. Kachru 1987, 98). Or, as she later puts it: "In fact, a reader lacking textual competence in world varieties of English will only react to texts created in them with puzzlement, bewilderment, shock, or even resentment, depending upon the nature of the text" (1987, 98). This aptly points out why it is important to have learners read texts in different varieties of English at school, too: in addition to occasional differences in spelling, learners would also gain insights into and familiarize themselves with different vocabularies and structures of English, and even with completely new ways of thinking or arranging information. This, on the other hand, would make them accept and realize the existence of different kinds of Englishes. In the actual EIL literature, Nero

(2002, 69) is among the few who also suggests pupils read literature by writers of "diverse Englishes".

3.2.2. Methodologies for Teaching EIL: Dangers in Communicative Language Teaching and Intercultural Communication

If intelligibility – making oneself understood – is in the focus of EIL, how can it be taught? Before discussing this question, let us take a brief look at the levels of intelligibility and competence. Smith and Nelson (1985) divide 'understanding' into three levels: intelligibility (recognition of separate words), comprehensibility (recognition of the *meanings* of words and utterances), and interpretability (understanding the intent or purpose of utterances, such as "It's hot in here!" interpreted as a request to open the window). Later, Smith (cited in Nelson 1995, 274) concluded that it is the latter, interpretability, that is the most important of the three for communication to succeed, thus, it has been argued that interpretability is also the one that causes the most problems in communication (Candlin 1982, 95). This may be very true in cross-cultural communication where it can be difficult to infer other people's intentions if they come from a very different cultural background than oneself. Hence, it seems that teaching interpretability should be in focus for EIL teaching, and in order to aid interpretability we need good communicative competence. Communicative competence, on the other hand, can be divided into four strands according to Canale (cited in Yli-Renko 1989, 13) – it not only includes grammatical competence but also sociolinguistic, discoursal, and strategic competence, of which the sociolinguistic competence seems to be of heightened importance in international and -cultural communication. Thus, we may conclude that teaching sociolinguistic competence should also be the focal point of teaching EIL.

Now, the awareness of the importance of interpretability and sociolinguistic competence is no news to ELT, and to many it may seem that with the methods of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) and Intercultural Communication (IC) these problems have already been taken care of. However, this is not the whole truth. Though it is tempting to think that CLT and IC would provide a shortcut through the challenges of forming appropriate methodology for teaching EIL, it is better to take a critical look at them.

Especially the *traditional* applications of IC are very much in conflict with the basic idea of EIL. Intercultural Communication seems to be a very fashionable topic in contemporary foreign language education – it has even been added to the new Finnish

national curricula of foreign language teaching for both primary and secondary education, where learning "intercultural communication skills" is made the focus of all language learning (see Opetushallitus 2003a and 2003b). But as is apparent from the curricula, Intercultural Communication is largely understood as the non-native speaker learning to behave (linguistically or pragmatically) the same way as the native speakers of the target language. For instance, the curriculum for the upper secondary school lists among the goals set for their foreign language students that the students are expected to learn "to communicate in a manner typical of the target language and its culture" (Opetushallitus 2003b, 100; my translation). This may be very well in those foreign languages which are still spoken in geographically rather restricted areas and share more or less homogenous culture, but for English, if we want to perceive it as an international language, it is not an appropriate goal. This kind of understanding of IC, in terms of English, would mean returning to the old ideas of acculturation and native speaker superiority, however, it is the type of interpretation we most often find in textbooks or studies on Intercultural Communication (see, for example, Salo-Lee & Tuokko 1996 or Yli-Renko 1993 for examples of studies where Finns' "intercultural skills" in English were judged by or against a native speaker of English.) To be applicable in teaching EIL, IC should really come to mean what its name implies: communication between speakers from all kinds of different cultures (whether native or non-native speakers of English). Intercultural Communication for EIL means that both parties are willing to converge on a common linguistic or pragmatic plane, and both are willing to make concessions and help each other in order to make communication flow (not so that one party is making efforts to imitate the other party's ways of communicating). If this is how Intercultural Communication is understood, *then* it may function as a method for teaching EIL.

What about Communicative Language Teaching, then? At first glance it seems like a perfect solution: CLT aims at effective communication and comprehensible pronunciation, and it holds the tenets that meaning is paramount and that language learning is, above all, learning to communicate (Richards and Rodgers 2001, 156). But unfortunately it suffers from the same basic flaw as IC. As Seidlhofer (1999, 237) notes:

> In some extreme cases, over-zealous communicative teachers have interpreted their task (and have sometimes been encouraged to do so by the ELT industry) as that of getting their students to ape native speakers as faithfully as possible, of rehearsing them in patterns of native-speaker behaviour, with all the cultural baggage that comes with this going unquestioned, even unnoticed.

Also, the encouraged use of authentic materials in CLT (e.g. texts that have not been meddled with for pedagogical purposes) is, again, likely to place the native speaker model on a pedestal and question the abilities of a non-native teacher (see McKay 2002, 111ff for a more profound discussion).

As well-meaning methods as CLT and IC may be in theory, the manner in which they have been applied in practice has somewhat discredited them as methods for EIL. They provide a potential point of departure, but as Modiano (2000, 34) notes, EIL teaching methodology still remains to be constructed. However, Modiano also (2000, 33) makes an apt observation by pointing out that it is the *non-native speakers* who already have the most experience in cross-cultural communication (as opposed to native speakers), which makes them invaluable in the process of developing EIL teaching strategies.

3.2.3 Teaching Culture in EIL

Along with Intercultural Communication, teaching culture as such has also gained more and more prevalence in EFL classes. Yet, teaching culture, on the whole, is a tricky issue for EIL. Smith (1976, 38) pointed out as early as in mid-1970's that if a language is truly international, it means that it is *de-nationalized* which, again, means that there is no reason why the learners of the language should internalize the cultural norms of the native speakers of that language. Furthermore, the educational goal, according to Smith, of learning a foreign language should be to enable learners to communicate their *own* ideas and cultures to others. These arguments seem valid for EIL, too. If the English language is utilized the most as a global lingua franca, why should the use of it, then, be tied to the culture of the few Inner Circle countries? As a vehicular language, English is being put into innumerable uses in different contexts around the world – surely the culture of use changes with the context and not due the fact that non-native speakers switch from their national codes into English.

However, many teachers and scholars still maintain that language and culture are inseparable, mainly because culture is said to be embedded in the semantics of a language (see McKay 2002, 86). What is more, some studies indicate that teaching cultural background increases learners' motivation to learn the language (McKay 2002, 86). Thus, teaching the culture of the native speakers has become a real buzzword of today's foreign language instruction, as can be inferred from the new national curricula for Finnish schools

referred to above. So what would be the appropriate way to go about teaching culture in EIL?

Kramsch (1993, 205-206) has suggested two goals regarding the teaching of culture in language education. The first one is to draw learners' attention to the diversity that exists even within one culture so as to make the learners aware that one "national" culture or identity is never monolithic but comprises a number of different views and values. The second goal for Kramsch is establishing a "sphere of interculturality" which means that learners are encouraged to reflect upon their own culture in relation to the target culture. (Here, though, I would like to note that in terms of EIL there is no one "target culture" but rather a variety of other cultures in general.) This is done, not by learning facts about other cultures nor by accepting information on them at face value, but by gaining insight as to how the new information might affect the learner's interaction with people coming from these cultures (see McKay 2002, 83). Moreover, through a reflective learning of cultures, the learners will hopefully gain insights also into their own culture and learn how and what to communicate about it to others. Such an approach seems applicable to EIL, too.

However, traditional teaching materials for foreign language instruction have often presented one-sidedly only the "target culture" native speakers. For instance, Prodromou (1988) criticizes English textbooks heavily by pointing out that most of the stories and dialogues in the texts take place in Anglo-centric contexts and deal with issues and situations that most learners of English will never encounter, such as: "finding a flat in London, talking to landladies in Bristol, rowing on the river in Cambridge" (p. 80). He notes that the textbooks produced in the Inner Circle "have not gone very far in recognizing English as an international language" (p. 76). Even though Finland has always been rather self-sufficient in producing English textbooks for Finnish students, the same tendency is still clear: despite the few chapters on Finland and Finnish culture, the main purpose of the texts is still to present British, American, Australian and other Inner Circle countries and cultures, and prepare students for encounters in cross-cultural situations with representatives from the Inner Circle. Texts, and thus speakers, from the Outer Circle (e.g. India) are starting to be more and more common, too, but examples of, for instance, conversations between two non-native speakers in English are still rare – although Brown (1995, 241) maintains that these are on the increase as well.

Nevertheless, Seidlhofer (1999, 236) makes a perceptive observation of the matter by pointing out that it is not the texts themselves that can make a difference because they will always have to be interpreted (and will always be just texts), but it is *teachers* who can

make the difference by adapting the texts and books to their local needs. McKay (2002, 88) cites Cortazzi and Jin who have distinguished three types of cultural information that can be used in foreign language teaching materials: "source culture material" (the content of which comes from the learner's own culture), "target culture materials" (representing the Inner Circle cultures), and "international target culture materials" (that draw on a great variety of English- and non-English-speaking cultures around the world). Regardless of the source of the material, the main focus for McKay (pp. 93-96) is to "adapt" the texts in a way that makes students reflect upon them by comparing what is similar and what is different (and how) from their own culture – and what they would do in a situation like the one described in the text in terms of their own cultural background. All texts can be discussed in this manner, thus hopefully, leading students to a broader world view and understanding of culture differences in general.

As a conclusion, McKay (2002, 125-126) clarifies that the ultimate goal of teaching culture in EIL is to "help learners develop strategies to achieve comity – friendly relations – when English is used with speakers from other cultures" (p. 127) and for this, they will not need to "acquire the pragmatic rules of another culture but rather to mutually seek ways to accommodate to diversity" (p.128). In the European context, an initiative has also been taken to develop awareness of English "as a means of access to the richness of *other cultures*" (Goethals 1997, 61, emphasis added) in the form of a network called NELLE, established for native and non-native English teachers. NELLE stresses the importance of "the rich variety of European values as a larger part of the cultural component of teaching, learning and using English as an international language in Europe" (Goethals 1997, 58), which might be a good starting point for teaching culture in EIL to Finnish students, too.

3.2.4 Resisting Linguistic Imperialism

As we have come to understand by now, teaching English differs radically from teaching any other language because of the distinctive role that English plays among other languages. English language teaching cannot be dissociated from its world-wide context and the implications that the prominence of English brings with it. Many scholars have called for English teachers' responsibility as "distributors" of the language to pay careful attention to *how* English is being taught so as not to reinforce its imperialistic power but to present it in a more democratic manner in relation to other languages and cultures. As noted above (see Chapter 2.3), teaching EIL in itself provides a partial solution to the

problem. What teachers will also need is a critical attitude towards the ideology of the so-called "mainstream pedagogy".

Canagarajah (1999, 15-22) talks about critical pedagogy as opposed to mainstream pedagogy, the former of which means basically questioning the tenets that the latter takes for granted. One of the things mainstream pedagogy considers axiomatic is that knowledge and thus learning is supposed to be value-free, disinterested and pragmatic – which would mean that teaching, too, is "innocent and practical activity of passing on correct facts, truths, and skills to students" (Canagarajah 1999, 17). And even if the teacher does not accept the "facts", in mainstream pedagogy he or she can still function as an uninvolved intermediary of them. In critical pedagogy, on the contrary, teachers have "the ethical responsibility of negotiating the hidden values and interests behind knowledge, and are expected to help students to adopt a critical orientation to learning" (Canagarajah 1999, 17). Taking in the ideology of critical pedagogy is essential for English teachers around the world, because they themselves have to take a bird's eye view of the subject they are teaching and gain insight into the complex global package that comes with it. Only after teachers have understood the responsibility they have as "agents of language spread", can they encourage their students to think about the status of English critically. Resisting English linguistic imperialism is a task that today's English teachers will have to take into serious consideration in their teaching.

This can be done through the above-mentioned methods of teaching English as a truly international language so that the aspiration of native speaker competence is given up and students are encouraged to adopt a tolerant attitude towards different kinds of speakers of English and towards their different cultures. Also, encouraging students to learn and develop their skills in other languages is highly important – especially the very fact that this message comes from their *English* teacher is sure to make students see that English, although being *the* lingua franca of today's world, is still only one language among others.

3.2.5 Teachers in Pressure Conflict

Considering all the foregoing, it is more than fair to say that being an English teacher in today's world is not an easy task. An enlightened teacher will try to keep in mind a broader understanding of what she is doing, but at the same time she will have to cope with great pressure from outside: it is the question of whether to follow boldly one's own ideology of a broader conception of English or to go along with the market forces (and with what still

seems to be the general opinion) and convey the native speaker-centred idea of English the way most textbooks still do (see Seidlhofer 1999).

On the one hand, the choice is personal: the teacher is compelled to revise her own ideas of English and let go of the strict native speaker standards when, for example, marking her students' exams and essays. This is easier said than done for someone who has specially been educated to be an "expert" in the English language and to spot errors (see Nelson 1995, 277-278). But on the other hand, the choice of what goes on in EFL classrooms is rarely in the hands of individual English teachers themselves. Instead, teachers are bound to follow the national and school curricula and will have to decide on the teaching materials jointly with other teachers. The least individual choice have the teachers whose students are to take a certain type of standardized test in English at the end of their studies or who are to be evaluated according to certain criteria imposed by external authorities. In such cases, the requirements from outside strongly shape the goals for teaching and learning in class.

The latter-mentioned situation is what prevails in Finnish upper secondary schools. At the end of their (approximately) three years of studying, the upper secondary school students will participate in a nation-wide matriculation examination planned and authorized by The Matriculation Examination Board. Hence, what the Board consider relevant and important more or less dictates what individual teachers can and must emphasize in their classrooms in order to have their students pass the exam. Moreover, the new national curriculum for upper secondary schools in Finland has set specific target levels for the students' English skills in the four different skills of language (speaking, listening, reading and writing), and has established certain criteria for achieving particular levels. The goal for upper secondary school graduates is level B2, which in the words of the National Board of Education translates into: "managing regular communication with *native speakers*" (Opetushallitus 2003, Appendix 2; my translation, emphasis added). These criteria for evaluation will be taken into use in 2005, but it is an example of, not only how the traditional native speaker model still persist in official regulations in the 21st century, but also how such authoritative guidelines restrict teachers' ideological work space. An English teacher who ventures to defy such evaluation criteria will also defy the highest officials of education in the country.

In other words, it is not enough that *teachers* perceive the changed role of English. Also the language education planners and those responsible for compiling, for instance, English matriculation examinations have to become aware of the fact. As mentioned

above, teacher education programmes should also take in the idea of English as an international language and inform future teachers about the developments in the field.

However, the ignorance of the changed role of English by the authorities is no reason for individual teachers to throw up their hands in surrender and say there is nothing they can do about it. There is still plenty they *can* do for promoting EIL in the meanwhile. Raising general awareness of English as a lingua franca (and the aspects that follow from it) is a good starting-point. This does not even require any material – discussing the subject itself would be enough. Furthermore, today it is fairly easy to obtain material for introducing EIL from the mass media – for instance, the news is full of non-native speakers of English from all around the world talking about topical issues. Such video clips could easily be used as listening comprehension exercises in English classes. Also, along with the emergence of EU student exchange programs, the number of exchange students from different non-English speaking European countries has increased in Finnish schools, too. Taking these students' resources into use in English classes is a way forward as well.

On the whole, it is worth keeping in mind that reforms in different fields of life have often begun at the grassroots level. And since the English textbooks used in Finnish schools are usually compiled by Finnish teachers of English, the writers can also have a say what kinds of issues their students will deal with in English classes. Teachers' awareness of the latest developments in the field is the compulsory first step on the way towards a more versatile view of the English language.

4. English in Finland

Finally, because the actual study will focus on English instruction in Finland as an example of an Expanding Circle country, it is essential to take a brief look at the position English has in this particular country and its schools. Also, the curricula that have guided English instruction in Finland so far will be briefly discussed.

The country has two official languages, Finnish and Swedish, and according to the above-mentioned definitions (see Chapter 2.1), English is a foreign language in Finland. Still, in the past few decades its influence has been on the increase in this country, too. A great many TV shows running in Finland are produced in English-speaking countries (showed with their original soundtrack and Finnish subtitles), the media makes frequent use of English-based loan words, some large companies have chosen English as their official language of business, and for example, Maiworm and Wächter (2002) have found that Finland has the greatest number of higher education degrees taught in English among the non-English speaking European countries when proportioned to the population. Further, the fact that a great deal of research at universities world-wide is nowadays written in English is well-attested in Finland, too (e.g. Wilson 2002), and it seems that Finns' attitudes towards Anglicisms have also become more tolerating over the last two decades: in a survey by Sajavaara (1983) in the early 1980's, Finnish students regarded Anglicisms in job announcements and advertisements as "totally unacceptable" (p. 45), whereas today even the job titles in job announcements are often given in English (Taavitsainen & Pahta 2003, 8). Taavitsainen & Pahta (2003, 6-8) maintain that English seems to be displacing the use of Finnish in business and education in Finland.

Because of these phenomena, some critics have argued that today English in Finland has become the language of the élite who thus have power over the "lay people" who only know Finnish (Hiidenmaa et al. 2003), and Phillipson (1992, 25) even goes as far as to suggest that Finland – among the other Nordic countries – is shifting from EFL towards L2 use of English. But even though English has an influence on certain (international) domains of language use in Finland and even if Finns' knowledge of English was generally better than that of Swedish (the other official language) it is doubtful whether we can, therefore, say that English is a second language in Finland (as Phillipson seems to be saying). According to Graddol (1997, 11), the main distinction between an L2 and EFL speaker manifests itself in the fact that for an L2 speaker, English forms a part of his identity repertoire, whereas for an EFL speaker it does not. Even if English is learnt as

a compulsory subject at Finnish schools nowadays, it is still far from constituting identities for most Finns (perhaps excluding professionals in English). In addition, Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003) argue that despite the influence of English, Finns are not willing to give up their native language easily because it has been greatly fought for in the past while Finland was under Swedish and Russian rules and because "heightened awareness of language issues" is arising in Finland (2003, 12). Furthermore, Sajavaara (1983, 42) points out that Finnish has had its share of language influence before, whether it came from German or Swedish, but the language has not vanished. It has to be admitted that English does play a more significant role in Finland today than before, but with five million speakers, Finnish is sure to stand the test of English displacing it altogether.

What about English instruction at Finnish schools, then? As implied above, English has been a compulsory subject in the Finnish primary and secondary education since the comprehensive school reform in the 1970's (which also means that it is not only the language of the élite as suggested by the critics above). English was, of course, taught before that too, but in the past, German was much more prominent in Finnish schools – to such an extent that until World War II, German was practically the only foreign language taught in Finland (Karppinen 1993, 72). However, along with the comprehensive school reform, the Department of Education wanted to modernize the language curriculum, too. The committee assigned to plan this, finally proposed that in addition to their mother tongue, all comprehensive school pupils should learn the basics of the other domestic language (the one which was not the child's mother tongue, i.e. Swedish or Finnish) and also the basics of at least one foreign language. In addition to English, the committee suggested French, German or Russian as possible first foreign languages, but should a pupil choose any of the latter-mentioned languages, s/he was still compelled to learn English as well (Takala 1993, 60). The same rules still apply today. English was given a priority among foreign languages at school because it was considered a world-wide language even then and because it was regarded as an easy language to be learnt first (Numminen & Piri 1998, 7). Later, needs analyses from the work life indeed proved English to be the most often utilized foreign language in the Finnish industry and commerce (Sinkkonen 1998, 55). However, since the educational reform, Finland has prided on one of the most versatile language programmes in Europe. After World War II, the nation understood the value of knowing many different languages and cultures, thus the language planning committee also objected to the comprehensive school teaching only one world language – which was something that occurred to the other European countries only

twenty years later. Finland wanted to assure that it had its *own* professionals in a number of foreign languages (Numminen & Piri, 1998, 8-19).

Yet, despite the versatile language programme at schools – and the somewhat surprising fact that English was considered a useless subject by the first Finnish comprehensive school pupils in the early 1970's (Takala 1998, 75) – the domination of English in pupils' first language choices has been of constant concern for committees at the Department of Education ever since (Numminen & Piri, 1998, 19). Although attempts were made in the mid-1980's to *reduce* the number of pupils choosing English as their first foreign language from 86% to 81,5% (and to increase the number of learners of other foreign languages correspondingly), the percentages have remained approximately the same, or even increased in favour of English (see Table 1 for the situation in the past decade) (Numminen & Piri 1998, 15-19).

Year	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002
%	87,4	86,9	86,6	87,7	89,1	89,7

Table 1. The Percentages of Finnish Comprehensive School Pupils Choosing English as Their First Foreign Language in 1992-2002. (National Board of Education)

The greatest loser in pupils' biased first foreign language choices is said to be Swedish, the importance of which the pupils do not seem to recognize any more. Perhaps this is due to the fact that, as Sajavaara (1993, 45) notes, English is being used as a lingua franca even between the Nordic countries nowadays – instead of Swedish or so-called "Scandinavian". Also, the usefulness of English in a European context is said to be even overestimated by Finnish pupils, resulting in them refraining from aiming at the expected multilingualism (Björklund & Suni 2000, 201-203).

But if English is the most popular foreign language learned at Finnish schools, it is also worth asking what *kind* of English Finnish pupils have been taught. On the basis of the official English curricula from the 1940's to the present day, it is obvious that English teaching has focused on the native speaker ideal, as can be expected. In the curriculum from 1944 (see Opetusministeriö 1944, 96) the actual target variety (British, American or something else) is not mentioned, but the native speaker model is implicitly present as correct pronunciation and knowledge of the national characteristics conveyed by the

language are stressed. All through the 1960's until 1980's, on the other hand, the main target promoted by the curricula is British English (see Komiteamietintö 1964, 1970, 1977, and Kouluhallitus 1971, 1985a, 1985b), whereas again the curricula from the 1990's and the newest ones from 2003 do not specify any particular variety but still emphasize pupils' ability to communicate in ways that "are typical of the target language and its culture" (see Opetushallitus 1994a and 1994b) or apply evaluation criteria according to which the highest goal for learning English is to reach native speaker fluency (see Opetushallitus 2003a and 2003b). The introduction of American English is required in the curricula from the early 1970's onwards and it is given an equal status to British English in the curricula of 1985. The introduction of other native varieties of English (such as Australian English) is mentioned for the first time in 1977, but only for upper secondary school instruction – the same is true for the curricula of 1985. The guidelines for comprehensive school teaching in 1985, on the other hand, stress the importance of teacher using consistently only one type of pronunciation in his/her own speech. On the whole the curricula from the 1970's and 1980's also emphasize the significance of hearing native speaker speech on tapes or from native speaker visitors because a non-native English teacher can not fully act as a model of a native speaker. On the other hand, the native speaker culture(s) makes its first strong appearance in the curricula in the 1990's and this trend seems to continue to the present day. Yet, at the same time with the emphasis on the native speaker ideal, the international value or the lingua franca function of English is also stressed in the curricula from the 1960's onwards. For example, the curriculum from 1964 specifically states that English is useful with other non-native English-speaking foreigners, too, and the curriculum for the comprehensive school in 1994 emphasizes the importance of knowing English for "international relations".

Thus, by looking at the curricula and inferring from the priority given to English in foreign language education, it is obvious that the lingua franca role of English as such has not been ignored by the language education planners in Finland, but also that the implications of this awareness to the model of English taught at school seem to have gone unnoticed. As other foreign languages, English too, has been taught from the native speaker perspective in Finland from very early on. Such tradition are, of course, difficult to alter, but the present study will try to find out whether, in teachers' opinion, a change away from the native speaker-centred teaching could be possible in the future English instruction in Finland.

5. Study of Teachers' and Students' Attitudes towards EIL

The purpose of the present study was to gain insight into Finnish non-native English teachers' general awareness of the changing, global role of English: what are teachers' attitudes towards it, have they realized the implications that English as an international language will bring into teaching English as a foreign language, or are the teachers perhaps already using methods applicable to teaching EIL? In other words, the purpose was to find out how ready teachers would be to accept a shift from native speaker standards and ideologies towards a more pluricentric model of TEFL (i.e. a model that students are perhaps most likely to encounter in life after school). In relation to this, they were also asked how they felt about their own non-nativeness as teachers of English, and how they saw the role of English as regards linguistic imperialism. In addition to teachers, also Finnish upper secondary school students were asked about the same aspects of English in order to achieve triangulation for the results from the teachers.

My intention was not to test a particular hypothesis, but I did have certain assumptions as to what the results might bring forth. I expected the teacher to be well aware of the lingua franca role of English (as it has been a lingua franca for at least the past fifty years, as also noted in the national curricula), but at the same time I presumed they would, nevertheless, be inclined to prefer the native speaker model in teaching and have it as a goal for EFL students in Finland because the curriculum still require it and because through their own university education, the teachers themselves have most likely been instilled with the idea of the superiority and prestige value of the native speaker standard. Moreover, based on Seidlhofer's (1999) study on Austrian English teachers, I surmised that Finnish teachers of English might also show concern or insecurity about their own non-nativeness as teachers of English. Finally, as to English linguistic imperialism it seemed logical to expect that teachers would not see the spread of English as a threat but rather as a unifying, positive phenomenon – because, if the reverse was true, it would certainly place the teachers' own profession in unfavourable light, and would thus imply a conflict in their professional identities.

As for the students, on the other hand, I assumed that studying English approximately for ten years at school would have made them reflect the views of traditional English teaching and thus prefer the native speaker model. However, I expected students to be slightly more critical of the spread of English than their teachers, because many students regularly attend classes of various other languages, too, during their

schooling (as opposed to teachers teaching only English and perhaps one other language on a daily basis), and because students' identity would not be at stake here as much as that of English teachers'.

5.1 Materials and Methods

5.1.1 The Subjects and the Conduct of the Study

The study was carried out as a survey, for which Finnish upper secondary school English teachers and students were chosen as subjects. This was due to two main reasons: first of all, one could suppose that teachers and students at this educational level had more possibilities to take a deeper look at the language itself, because not so much time is spent on the basic language skills any more, as they have been acquired at earlier stages. Secondly, because I wanted to include students in the study, too, it seemed more rational to choose upper secondary school students, as they certainly have more experience with the language itself as well as with learning it, and their understanding of the position of English in the world is surely more developed than that of younger pupils. Second graders (aged 17-18) were chosen because they, again, would have more experience with learning English at school than first graders, and because, on the other hand, third graders would have been difficult to reach since the study spanned a spring semester but third graders left school as early as mid-February. Having chosen the subjects from the upper secondary school, I am, nevertheless, well aware of the fact that many teachers and students regard their (or their students') success in the national matriculation examination as the most important goal at this educational level, which is sure to have an effect on what is discussed in class as well as on the subjects' opinions about the goals of TEFL. However, this bias was taken into consideration when analysing the results, and because of the two main reasons mentioned above, the upper secondary school was considered the most suitable context for the study. Also, a pilot survey was carried out on 5 upper secondary school English teachers and 25 students in advance (in May 2003) to assure the appropriateness of the subject population as well as to test questionnaires for the actual survey (see Chapter 5.1.2 below for further information on the questionnaires).

The study was conducted in the upper secondary schools in Tampere. Tampere was considered a suitable area, because being the third largest city (and the second largest urban concentration) in Finland, its population was large enough for a statistical study, but also the bias of the metropolitan area of Helsinki was eliminated, probably resulting in a

more generalizeable result to the rest of Finland. Moreover, if we look at the rankings of Tampere upper secondary schools in a national comparison from 2003, in which all the 442 Finnish upper secondary schools were ranked by their overall success in the matriculation examinations, Tampere schools were evenly distributed along the listing, their positions ranging from number 7 to number 398 (see reference under *Internet Sources* in Bibliography). This would indicate that both the student population and the overall teaching in Tampere upper secondary schools reflect those of the rest of the country in a rather balanced way. Yet, two schools were excluded from the study: the Swedish-speaking upper secondary school of Tampere (*Svenska samskolan i Tammerfors*), because the study was directed to teachers and students with Finnish as their first language; and Rudolf Steiner school, because of their somewhat differing teaching methodologies as opposed to the mainstream upper secondary schools in Finland. Also, five teachers from Tampereen Normaalikoulu upper secondary school were excluded from the actual study, because they had participated in the earlier pilot study.

The research was carried out as a survey in order to gain a general overview of an issue not studied before in this country, and to receive as extensive results as was possible in the circumstances. The questionnaires were delivered in person to teachers at their schools during January, February and March 2004. Altogether 40 English teachers (in 13 different schools) were reached (out of the total of 43). Some of the teachers filled in the questionnaire immediately, the rest were allowed one to two weeks to return their answers by mail. In total, 34 responses were returned (raising the response rate up to 85%), which can be considered a very good result. The teachers were not told explicitly what the study was about in order to have them answer as truthfully as possible. What they *were* told was that the study concerned different speakers and varieties of English in upper secondary school English teaching.

The student subjects, on the other hand, were chosen from four different schools. The four schools represented different rankings in the national comparison of upper secondary schools, so that one high-ranking, one low-ranking and two average-ranking schools were chosen in order to make the body of subjects as diverse as possible, assuming the rank of the school would have an effect on the students' general school performance and through that on their opinions on, for example, English instruction. A group of second graders was randomly chosen from each school basically according to which group (and teacher) had the most time in their course schedule to participate in the study. In total, 108 students filled in the questionnaire – the number of respondents was considered sufficient

as it was treble the number of teacher respondents, and because the students came from different schools. The surveys on students were also conducted in January, February and March 2004, during the students' English classes. The subjects were not informed of the exact purpose of the study, either, but were simply told it looked into students' own use of English and also into their opinions on upper secondary school English teaching. The students were asked to answer as truthfully as possible, but on encountering a question they had never pondered on before, they were encouraged to rely on their intuition and "first impressions" without thinking too long. They were also explained the concepts "native speaker" (*natiivipuhuja*) and "non-native speaker" (*ei-natiivipuhuja*) as these were used in the questionnaire for the sake of limitations of space, but might be unfamiliar to Finnish upper secondary school students. Finally, the subjects were allowed 15-20 minutes to answer the questions, and the forms were collected back immediately after that in class.

5.1.2 The Questionnaires

In both questionnaires, the one for teachers and the one for students (see Appendix 1 and 2), the word "International English" was avoided intentionally. This was due to two reasons: as mentioned above (see Chapter 3.2), EIL cannot yet be taught as a variety of its own, thus it seemed irrelevant to directly ask questions about it since it could not have been defined clearly enough for teaching purposes. Also, being "international" has become the buzzword of today, especially at Finnish schools along with Finland's membership in the EU. Thus, using a term, the contents of which the subjects could not truly understand but that had very positive connotations, would probably have tempted the subjects to give answers that would only have been in line with their positive images of "internationality" as such, not knowing what was meant by it in relation to learning or teaching English. Instead of using the label "International English", the subjects were asked about their attitudes towards other non-native speakers of English (i.e. speakers of "International English"!) – which would hopefully reveal a more realistic conception of the respondents' ideas on the issues.

In the questionnaire for teachers, question number 5 was inspired by and reformulated following Seidlhofer's (1999) study on Austrian English teachers (see Chapter 3.1), and question number 6 was adapted after Tsui and Bunton's (2000) study on English teachers in Hong Kong (see Chapter 3.1). The rest of the questions were formulated by myself and mainly arose from the literature in the field.

The questionnaire for teachers included 25 questions of four different types (multiple choice, Likert scale, Osgood scale, and open-ended questions, i.e. both quantitative and qualitative types) about topics relating to EIL, but presented in a random order. The four sections that the questionnaire was divided into were constructed as a broad guideline for teachers, not so much for the study itself. Hence, questions 1-4 are meant to give background information on the teachers – on their own experience with English and other languages. Questions 5 and 6 relate to teachers' feelings about their own non-nativeness as teachers of English and their confidence in their own competence. Questions 7 and 22 test teachers' views on their students' future needs of English. Question 8 attempts to shed light on the teachers' fundamental conception of their role as "middlemen" in conveying English skills to the next generation. Further, questions number 9, 12, 16-20 and 23 all look from different perspectives into what teachers think about non-native varieties of English, and what they think should be the model for teaching English as a foreign language. Questions 10, 11, 15 and 21, on the other hand, probe into other aspects of teaching EIL; and questions 13, 14 and 24 test teachers' ideas about linguistic imperialism. Finally, item number 25 is meant to reveal how dependent teachers feel on the goals set by the national Matriculation Examination Board as far as setting their own goals in teaching English.

The questionnaire for students, on the other hand, comprised of 24 questions (of the same types as the ones in the teachers' questionnaire) but was more structured in order to be fairly easy and quick to fill in. Again, the first questions, items 1-3, were intended for gathering general information on the subjects – mainly on their language learning background. The purpose of questions 4 and 5 was to map out how often students had chosen English as the common medium with other non-native speakers of English, and how often they had made use of their other language skills. Items 6 and 18 concerned students' feelings of confidence when using English. Question 7 examined the purposes for which students use English currently, whereas questions 8 and 19 looked into the students' views of their future needs for English. (Question 19 also tested students' awareness of the lingua franca role of English.) Further, the purpose of items 9, 14 and 15 was to see whether students wanted to keep to one (native) variety consistently in their own speech, or if they did not want to follow any specific models. Items 10, 16, 17 and 20 all probed into their attitudes towards non-native accents in general, while question 22 asked them to evaluate whether they could identify other *native* varieties except for British and American English. Questions 11 and 12 hoped to find out about students' attitudes towards English

linguistic imperialism, and were exactly the same as presented to teachers on the topic. Finally, items 13, 21, and 24 tested students' opinions on English teaching at school, and item 23 was concerned with students' overall view on how important they considered native-likeness in their own use of English.

5.2 Results

As the questionnaires comprised of a number of questions, they also produced a large amount of data. In what follows, we will take a look at the results from the teacher and student surveys separately. The two sections, one for teachers and one for students are further divided into topic areas according to the above-mentioned groupings of the questions. To help make the findings clear, a brief summary and discussion of the main findings of each topic area are included in the last paragraph of the topic areas. A more profound discussion and comparison of the results is then carried out in Chapter 5.3 below. Because the questionnaires used in the survey were in Finnish, all quotes from the responses are translated into English by myself. The reader should also note that the total number of responses in the presented tables may deviate from the total number of subjects (34 for teachers and 108 for students) due to some subjects leaving certain questions unanswered.

As regards the technical processing of the data, the statistical analyses were run by Tixel software (version 8.14), based on MS Excel 2000. Due to the limited number of teacher subjects, for cross-tabulations they could only be classified into two groups by their years in the profession – i.e. those who had taught English 15 years or less, and those who had been teaching for 16 years or more – these two groups will be referred to as "younger" and "older" teachers respectively, the concepts denoting the teachers' years in the profession, not their age.

5.2.1 Teachers

Background Information

As for background information on the teachers, an average subject in the data had been teaching English for approximately 16 years (ranging from 1 to 34 years), and had studied three other foreign languages in addition to English during his/her life (ranging from two to

six). When asked about the variety of English that the teachers used in their own speech and writing, a great majority (79%), claimed to use British English, whereas 15% identified with American English. There were only 2 subjects who originally did not want to specify any particular variety, but when asked to give reasons for their answers, both subjects back-pedalled on their answer and said they would still use *more* British English. In other words, the two subjects had perhaps interpreted the question as: "which native speaker variety do you use the most?" The most common motivation for those who had chosen to use British English was the model from their own teachers or the fact that British English was preferred at the university when they themselves were students. Only two British English users motivated their choice by saying that British English sounds better or more "civilized" than other varieties. Also, one subject (who had been teaching English for 33 years), claimed that her use of the British standard in teaching English was due to an order from the Finnish National Board of Education in the 1960's and -70's, and that if there had been a change to the order since then, she had not been informed about it. On the other hand, only one of the respondents who chose American English as his own variety said the reason for this was his own teacher (in comprehensive school). For the other users of American English, the most common reason for their choice was their long stay in the United States. Further, in question 4 the teachers were asked to estimate whether they themselves had used English more with native speakers, non-native speakers or equally with both. Here the most frequent answer was "with both", followed by "with non-native speakers" (see Table 2). Those who claimed to have used English more often with native speakers were in a minority – they were younger teachers who indicated they had spent periods of time in Britain.

I have used English more with		
	Number	*%*
Native speakers	7	21
Non-native speakers	11	32
Both	16	47
Total	34	100

Table 2. The type of speakers English teachers have used English more with.

In sum, the subjects' background implies their inclination to follow and/or identify with one of the leading native varieties in their own use of English as practically none of the respondents reported *not* following any specific norm. Following a native norm seemed to be so self-evident to the teachers that, in the motivations for their choices, none of them

gave reasons for their choosing to use a native norm in the first place, but rather explained why they had chosen the British norm over the American one or vice versa. The teachers' preference of the British norm, on the other hand, seems to reflect the long tradition of British English prevailing as a model in the English instruction in Finland and not so much the subjects themselves regarding it better than other models as such. Yet, only a minority of the teachers had made use of their native(-like) accents more with actual native speakers. The majority had more contacts with non-native speakers or with both types, which suggests that teachers have a great deal of experience in the lingua franca use of English, too, and are familiar with non-native speech.

Teachers' Confidence in Their Skills

Questions 5 and 6 tested teachers' confidence in their own skills and competence as non-native teachers of English. A clear majority of 62% of the teachers was of the opinion that their non-nativeness was *both* an advantage and disadvantage in their work. A third of the subjects claimed their non-nativeness to be a sheer advantage, whereas only two subjects considered it a pure disadvantage (see Table 3).

I regard my non-nativeness in my work as		
	Number	*%*
Advantage	11	32
Disadvantage	2	6
Both	21	62
Total	34	100

Table 3. Teachers' conception of their own non-nativeness as teachers of English.

Those who said being a non-native teacher of English was both an advantage and disadvantage, rationalized their answer most frequently by saying that as speakers of both Finnish and English they were able to understand their students' problems in learning the language (e.g. problems due to interference from Finnish), and were able to compare the structural differences of the languages as well as teach grammar in the students' mother tongue. Two teachers also noted that some native teachers, in contrast, did not necessarily have any pedagogic education in teaching foreign languages and could not explain the structures of their own language to non-native speakers as analytically as a non-native teacher could. But on the other hand, the same subjects felt non-nativeness to be a disadvantage mainly because they regarded their pronunciation, vocabulary or knowledge

of idioms as inadequate in comparison to a native speaker. Also, three subjects thought that a native speaker would have more *cultural* input to offer to students. Those respondents who considered their non-nativeness a sheer advantage, gave the same kinds of reasons as the ones given by the first group. In their answers, they stressed their ability to better understand their students' difficulties because they have had to learn the language as a foreign language themselves. Also, one subject remarked that her strength, in addition to being familiar with English grammar, was that she also knew Finnish grammar thoroughly. Those, on the other hand, who regarded their non-nativeness as a mere disadvantage (2 subjects), emphasized their feelings of insecurity in pronunciation or word choice. One of them stated quite frankly that she felt she was not "good enough" at English.

On the other hand, in question 6, where teachers were asked if they trusted their own instincts or relied on grammar books or native speakers when faced with a difficult grammatical question from a student, the subjects were virtually unanimous: 91% said they would consult a grammar book after class as their first choice, as a second option 50% of the subjects would ask advice from a native speaker (41% went for the option to trust their own instinct), and the majority of the subjects (56%) chose trusting their own instinct about English grammar only as the last option. There were only two responses that rated relying on one's own judgment as number one choice.

What can be concluded from here is that Finnish teachers of English do realize their strengths as instructors for non-native students and do not suffer from inferiority complexes in relation to native teachers in this respect. Yet, in terms of trusting one's language skills, the feelings of inferiority to a native speaker were clear. Even those who considered their non-nativeness a pure asset trusted the grammar book and the native speaker more than their own instincts when it came to solving language-related problems. The comments from the teachers implied that a native speaker would be a better model of a speaker of the language than the teachers themselves, and one teacher even assumed that because of this Finnish upper secondary schools might start hiring more native English teachers in the future (Teacher 18). Nevertheless, it is worth noting that 11 teachers considered their ability to *teach* more important than their language skills since they saw their non-nativeness as a sheer advantage despite their possible insecurity as speakers of English. Also, 21 teachers considered their teaching skills and language skills equally important, whereas only two teachers stressed the importance of the language skills in teaching and based on that said they felt uncertain in their profession.

Teachers' Views on Students' Needs for English

As for teachers' views on their students' future needs and use of English (items 7 and 22), again, fairly unanimous opinions were expressed. The three most frequently suggested domains for students' probable future use of English were their tertiary education (both in Finland and abroad), their future work, and travelling. The next in line were students' personal contacts with foreigners and their use of different kinds of media (such as the Internet and TV). Only one subject predicted that reading English language fiction would be among the students' most important causes for needing English. Also, one subject even noted that reading instruction manuals will be a cause for students needing English after school. In connection with this question, one teacher even commented that "English has practically become the second official language in Finland". When presented with a statement that students would use English more often with other non-native speakers than with native speakers in the future (item 22), 82% of the teachers agreed with the statement. Only one subject thought the reverse was true, while five were undecided.

The teachers' assumptions of their students' future use of English are heavily biased towards instrumental uses of English – which is also the main feature of the use of International English (as opposed to sentimental motivations such as being interested in the "beauty" of the language itself or in the culture of its native speakers). There was only one teacher who emphasized the sentimental values in the form of English fiction. Although the teachers did not state it expressly, one can assume that as they mentioned studying, work and travelling as the three most important domains for students' future use of English, they did not have contacts with only native speakers in mind. In fact, many teachers noted specifically that students would need English for various purposes also inside the national borders during their lives, thus reflecting also the relatively strong status English has in Finland. This is further attested in their view that students will actually need English more with other non-native speakers than with native speakers in their life after school. Thus, the data suggests that teachers are well aware of the lingua franca role of English and believe that this is what their students will need English mostly for. As the vast majority was of this opinion, the correlation between this view and the teachers' own use of English with natives or non-natives was not very informative. The only subject who assumed students would speak more English with native speakers was a young teacher who indicated having worked long in English-speaking countries herself. It was also interesting that five teachers remained undecided as to who their students would use English more with. Even though it is fair enough to say that a teacher cannot actually *know*

what her students will do in their lives – whether they will, for example, move to live in an English-speaking country and actually need English more for communicating with native speakers – still, it can be speculated that not venturing an "educated guess" at this type of question can also be a sign of not realizing the fact that most speakers of English are actually non-native or having a rather vague idea of what students are being educated for. Nevertheless, the strong status that English has in Finland was also reflected in the responses.

Teachers' Most Important Message about English to Their Students

The question about the most important message that teachers wished to convey to their students about the English language or about its usage (question 8), generated the most heterogeneous set of answers of all the open-ended questions. In most cases, the teachers did not just state one important "message" but mentioned several. Hence, their answers were analyzed in parts by giving each of the mentioned "messages" one point. In this manner, 58 different answers could be distinguished. Based on the contents of the answers, five categories were then constructed, into which 55 of the answers fell. (In addition, three miscellaneous answers formed a category of their own.) The largest group (28%) of the suggested "messages" indicated that the most important thing the teachers wanted to convey to their students was to make them learn to use the language "correctly" or according to a certain norm. The answers stressed matters such as learning the right pronunciation and intonation, learning the politeness of English, or even "realizing that it is not enough that you make yourself understood and understand others yourself (in English)" (Teacher 24). Also answers that referred to English learning as a "life-long task" or suggested that there was always room for improvement in one's English skills were included in this category.

However, the next two categories came close in popularity with both comprising 26% of the answers respectively. In one of them, the answers stressed the internationality or lingua franca role of English, for example, by saying that English was a useful tool all around the world. The other comprised the views that the most important thing was to encourage students to speak and communicate in English, no matter how incorrectly they spoke, and to convey the idea that there is no one "right" way of using English. Yet, two subjects specifically emphasized in connection with this that writing, on the other hand, was a completely different matter, and in *that* one should not make mistakes. The last two

categories also comprised an equal share of the remaining answers (7% each), one of them including the answers that emphasized that the English language in itself was fascinating and that the beauty of it was as important as its instrumental value. The messages of the last category, on the other hand, wished to expand students' world-view through learning English or make them interested in other cultures in general.

Although at first glance it would seem that teachers' most important message about English to their students would be to learn the normative use of the language (as this group of answers corresponded to the largest single category of the five), when taking a closer look, the matter need not be so straight forward. If we want to see the results in the light of International English, groups 2 and 3 – one stressing the lingua franca role of English and the other emphasizing the importance of communication over "correctness" – could be merged. This way, the individual messages will weigh down the scales in favour of (fluent) international communication. These messages will then comprise a half (52%) of all the answers. So perhaps it is not, after all, the grammar rules and impeccable pronunciation that teachers wish to convey to their students, but a broader view of the language. Here, it was also interesting to note that the sentimental values of learning English came up as something teachers wanted to make their students aware of, although they did not believe students would need them later on in their lives (as was seen in the previous question).

The Model and Goal for Teaching English

A number of questions in the questionnaire dealt with teachers' ideas of a suitable goal and model of English for their non-native students. A vast majority, 79% of the subjects, was against conveying only one variety as a model of English in their teaching (see question 9). Five respondents (15%), on the other hand, were in favour of the British norm, and two (6%) said it was irrelevant which norm was taught, as long as the teacher was consistent with it (see Table 4).

Do you think one variety of English should consistently be conveyed
as a model in upper secondary school English teaching?

	Number	%
No	27	79
Yes, BrE	5	15
Yes, other	2	6
Total	34	100

Table 4. Teachers' opinion on conveying one variety of
English as a model in teaching.

The seven subjects who wanted to have one model for teaching were all older teachers with British accents as their own variety. Most (47%) of those who thought there should not be only one model, motivated their opinion by simply noting that there were so many different varieties of English in the world anyway. Five respondents (15%), on the other hand, referred to the lingua franca role of English by pointing out, for example, that when used as a lingua franca, the accent did not matter – instead, making oneself understood was the most important thing. (Each of the terms "lingua franca" and "International English" actually occurred once in these answers.) Further, two subjects gave as a reason for their opinion the fact that different varieties were already being mixed (for instance British English and American English) – even by the native speakers themselves. The five, on the other hand, who preferred conveying only British English as a model, defended their view with various external and internal motivations. External reasons were either that the use of the British English norm was an order from the National Board of Education, or it was the prevailing model in teaching materials. As an internal reason one teacher mentioned that she was unable to convey different models because she could not vary her own pronunciation, one thought that consistency brought self-confidence into students' pronunciation, and another one maintained that it was easier for students to start varying their own use of English if they had first learnt one variety thoroughly. Nevertheless, the seven subjects in favour of one standard still noted that other varieties should be introduced in class.

Despite the clear majority not wishing to convey just one model of English, when asked the same question from the students' point of view, in other words, whether *students* should learn to use consistently only one variety in their speech and writing (see question 16), the opinions were split in two (see Table 5). 50% thought this should *not* be the case, but almost an equal percentage, 47% of the subjects indicated that it was preferable. Although it is rather impossible to achieve statistically significant results in cross-tabulation with so few subjects, there was still a tendency that those who wanted their students to use one variety were more often older teachers and teachers who had studied fewer languages (i.e. three or less) themselves.

Students should learn to use consistently one variety of English in their speech and writing.		
	Number	*%*
Agree	16	47
Disagree	17	50
Undecided	1	3
Total	34	100

Table 5. Teachers' opinion on whether students should use only one variety of English in their speech and writing.

As there was some contradiction between the answers of the two above-discussed questions, the correlation between the answers was also checked. All those who advocated one model in teaching also advocated students' compliance with one model only. On the other hand, a third (33%) of those who did not want to convey only one model in teaching now indicated that they still wished students to comply with one. When taking another look at these teachers' motivations for not conveying one model in class, it became apparent that most of them emphasized the fact that students should receive practice in *listening* to other varieties and learn to *understand* many varieties as opposed to just one, so perhaps they mainly want to *introduce* different kinds of varieties of English in their class (instead of just one) in order to have their students perhaps then choose one of them, because – in the light of question 16 – they still wanted their students to follow only one variety in their own speech and writing. (In contrast, 63% of those who did not want to convey just one model, consistently did not require using one model from their students either.)

As regards evaluating upper secondary school students' pronunciation and spelling (see question 19), again a division into two was clear. Still, a greater number of subjects (56%) considered native speaker standards a suitable yardstick in evaluating students, whereas 44% of the respondents disagreed with the statement, as many as nine (26%) of them strongly disagreeing. Again, there seemed to be a tendency (although not statistically significant when tested with statistical methods) that older teachers were more in favour of comparing students to the native speaker than younger teachers. Also, the seven who wanted to convey only one model in teaching wanted all to evaluate students against a native speaker.

In contrast, when presented with the statement that mainly native speakers (or equally fluent non-native speakers) should be used as readers on tapes for teaching

materials (question 20), a great majority of 91% agreed with the idea. Only three teachers ventured to disagree (see Table 6).

Mainly native speakers or equally fluent non-native speakers should be used as readers for taped teaching materials.

	Number	%
Agree	31	91
Disagree	3	9
Total	34	100

Table 6. Teachers' opinion on the type of reader of recorded teaching materials.

The statement in item 23, again, probed into teachers' willingness to mix the two main varieties of English, British and American, in their teaching (so as to form so-called "Mid-Atlantic English") and have this "combination" as a model for students. 53% of the subjects thought it was a good idea, 26% disagreed, and as many as 21% could not say (some of them indicating in the margins of the questionnaire that they did not understand what was meant by a "combination" of the varieties), most of them being teachers who did *not* want just one model for teaching. Still, a majority (61%) of those who did not want to convey just one model in teaching accepted the combination as a possible model. On the other hand, one of those who opposed the combination commented on the issue further in the additional comments by saying that a combination would not be downright "pernicious" to students, but it should not be a goal because "it is also important to maintain the naturalness of expression" (Teacher 34).

Further, when asked, which English speakers, natives or non-natives, the teachers would prefer to have in their English classes as visitors (in order to have students practice their spoken English with them; see question 12), the answers were divided between "native speakers" (56%) and "both" (44%) meaning both native and non-native visitors would be equally welcome. None of the teachers went solely for non-native speakers. The subjects who preferred native speakers were mainly older teachers, or those who had studied fewer languages. As the main motivation for their choice, the subjects mentioned the "correctness" or "authenticity" of the native speaker model, or their impression that students already heard enough non-native speakers *outside* English classes. In other miscellaneous motivations it was stated that "while in the English class, isn't it natural that the students speak English?" (Teacher 23), "in the target language countries there will be many more of them (native speakers) around!" (Teacher 28) and that "according to my

own experience, non-natives often have worse language skills in English than Finns" (Teacher 20). In contrast, the ones who would welcome both types of speakers in their class referred to the fact that practising speaking and listening skills was of the greatest importance, not the type of speakers, but also, as many subjects noted in different formulations that the role of English as a lingua franca would require students to familiarize themselves with both types of speakers – one respondent expressed this specifically as: "Students should get acquainted with the lingua franca idea already at school. Native speakers are perhaps more valuable models for the teachers themselves" (Teacher 21). But also one teacher seemed to regret the fact that English was also spoken by non-natives as he noted that he would actually prefer native speakers but the lingua franca role required non-native visitors as well. Further, three subjects remarked that with non-native speakers the students would have to use even "more" English than with native speakers, in other words, they would have to take different communication strategies into use. Another teacher also pointed out a practical reason for her choice: in practice it was easier to find non-native visitors to classrooms than native ones.

In item 18, on the other hand, teachers' attitudes towards different non-native models from the media were tested in a form of a statement that stated it was a pity – considering the model students would receive – that, for example, MusicTV hired non-native speakers of English as their video jockeys or hosts. Here, most of the respondents (74%) expressed their disagreement with the statement. Only 20% thought it was a pity indeed, and 6% did not have an opinion of the issue. Again, no statistically significant correlations could be drawn, but the tendencies suggested that more often older teachers, teachers who wanted one model for teaching and teachers who had used English mainly with native speakers were among those who found non-native hosts on TV poor models.

Finally, as regards non-native versus native accents, teachers' own perception of Finnish celebrities speaking heavily accented English in the media were looked into. The statement in item 17 suggested that hearing such a person speak English in the media made the subjects feel uncomfortable or embarrassed. The views were split exactly in two. 50% of the teachers said it did not bother them, while 50% did feel embarrassed – of these older teachers constituting the largest proportion.

In this section, the results are manifold and rather complex. Many questions produced a clear division in two, but the difficulty was that not always one and the same teacher would answer consistently along the lines that would indicate support for or opposition to International English. That is why we cannot say that half of the teachers

would support the ideas of EIL and half not, because the answers were very much mixed. However, cross-tabulations show that the three questions on whether teachers promote only one model in teaching, whether students should use only one variety in their speech and writing, and whether students' skills should be compared to those of native speakers were the most differentiating of all, and consequently they are taken here as the most important indicators of teachers' attitudes towards different models for teaching. Those who said that there was no need for only one model in teaching, that students would not need to follow just one variety, and that students' skills should not be measured against a native speaker were grouped as supporters of the principles of International English. They corresponded to 32% of all teachers and were mainly younger generation teachers. On the other hand, those who thought that there should be one model in teaching, that students should comply with one model, and that students should be compared to native speakers in their skills were combined to form a group that was the most against the principles of EIL. They accounted for 21% of all subjects and were mostly older generation teachers. And finally, there was the largest group of all, 47% of teachers, whose opinions varied so much by the question that they could not be clearly classified into any specific group(s).

All in all, what we can conclude from the results in this section is that, first of all, teachers do not seem to have a very coherent idea of the issues related to International English as the answers of the majority were rather confused between being ready to accept more liberal norms and promoting native speaker norms. However, conversely, this would also indicate that the majority were not strongly for native speaker norms, either. Only a fifth of the teachers strongly supported the native speaker ideal in teaching – and as noted above they were mainly teachers of the older generation (had been teaching for 16 years or more). On the other hand, a third of the teachers expressed opinions very favourable to International English – these respondents were mainly teachers from the younger generation (had been teaching for 15 years or less). There was also a general tendency towards accepting the mixing of American and British models in teaching, but since many teachers left the question unanswered because they did not quite understand it, it is better not to draw any far-reaching conclusions based on it. However, another intriguing finding in the data was that *independent of teachers' norm-orientation*, almost all of them wanted to have native speakers as readers of recorded teaching materials, and also a slight majority preferred solely native speakers as visitors to their class-rooms. The motivations for the latter, apart from the "authenticity" of the native speaker model, were interesting, too: many teachers were of the opinion that students heard enough non-native speech *outside*

school already, and that was why they wanted to have native speakers in class. Still, teachers were not bothered by the non-native hosts on MusicTV as models of English speakers. Combining these findings seems to lead to one conclusion: it looks like most teachers see the English at school and the English outside school as separate matters. At school, most of them still want to promote native speaker models, but they do accept non-native models *outside* school. As for the Finnish accented English, it does not seem to be a differentiating factor: it is rather random (and thus based on purely personal intuitions) who is embarrassed by this type of pronunciation and who is not, so surprisingly enough being embarrassed or not when hearing clearly Finnish accented English does not correlate with teachers' attitudes towards conveying or not conveying a strict norm in English in general.

Teaching EIL

In addition to the appropriate model, teachers were also inquired about aspects relating to teaching EIL. A great majority (76%) claimed that also other native varieties of English apart from British and American English came up in the class *occasionally* (the scale ranging from "often", "occasionally" and "seldom" to "never"; see question 10), and another 12% said these were present *often*. However, when asked the same about *non-native* varieties of English, 53% answered *seldom* and 6% *never*. Still, over a third of the teachers claimed to use samples of non-native speakers *occasionally* (38%) or even *often* (3%) (see question 11). The only tentative correlation (although not statistically significant) could be drawn on those who had studied more foreign languages (from four to seven) presenting different varieties of English in their class more often.

The views on Communicative Language Teaching, on the other hand, were more homogeneous (see question 15). Most of the teachers (74%) were of the opinion that it actually is more important to teach the students how to get themselves understood in English instead of paying attention to their grammatical correctness. Only 26% thought the reverse was true (see Table 7). Again, older teachers as well as those who had studied fewer languages would more often emphasize grammar over communicativeness.

In English teaching it is more important to pay attention to students'
ability to communicate than to their grammatical correctness.

	Number	%
Agree	25	74
Disagree	9	26
Total	34	100

Table 7. Teachers' view of the importance of communicative language teaching.

Finally, the question of the importance of teaching the culture of English speaking countries gave the most unanimous answer in the entire survey (see question 21). No less than 100% of the teachers considered this important (76% agreeing strongly with the statement).

In sum, it seems obvious that various native speaker Englishes (in addition to British and American norms) are considered worth introducing in class as a majority of teachers did use samples of these occasionally or often, but non-native varieties are not regarded as important as they come up in class only seldom (and with some teachers never). Other *native* varieties seem to have made their way into teaching materials, too, as four teachers pointed this out in connection with this question (Teachers 7, 21, 28 and 36). Further, one teacher noted that these varieties also came up in the listening comprehension tests for the matriculation examination (Teacher 9), which obviously provides more motivation for using these types of samples in class, too. But non-native varieties seem to be less-fortuned in this respect, which would again point to the direction that teachers do not see them as something that should come up in the school context (as noted in the previous section). The fact that all teachers saw the promotion of the culture of English speaking countries important is yet another indication of native speaker oriented thinking. Of course it might also be the case that because culture-related issues have been so strongly emphasized in foreign language teaching in recent years, teachers feel that promoting these issues is something they are *required* to do – no matter how important they considered them themselves. The same goes for Communicative Language Teaching. It has been such a buzzword in foreign language teaching for so long that not many teachers venture to defy it. Here, too, the majority considered making oneself understood a more important goal in teaching than grammatical correctness.

Attitudes towards the Position of English in Finland and in the World

There were three items in the questionnaire that concerned teachers' views and awareness of English linguistic imperialism and related issues. In general, teachers did not regard English as a threat to the existence of the Finnish language (see question 13). A half of them (47%) did not see a threat at all, and another half (53%) regarded the threat as only minor – older teachers being somewhat more worried than younger. On the other hand, the views on the position that English holds globally (as opposed to other languages) were more mixed. On a seven-point Osgood scale the subjects were asked to indicate where they stand in relation to the two given extremes (see question 14) – one suggesting that the role of English as a global lingua franca was merely great, the other claiming that the dominance of English in the world was too strong. Their answers were interpreted as positive about the present position of English (+1 to +3), neutral (0), or negative towards the position of English (–1 to –3) according to how close to one end they had marked a cross. 67% saw the present position of English as positive (in varying degrees), whereas 27% took a critical standing, and 2% remained neutral (see Table 8). Older teachers and those who had studied more languages were more often critical of the role of English than others.

How do you perceive the status of English in the world?

	Number	%
Positive	22	67
Negative	9	27
Neutral	2	6
Total	33	100

Table 8. Teachers' attitudes towards the current role of English in the world.

Finally, in item 24, again a vast majority (88%) of the teachers claimed they often encouraged their students to study other foreign languages in addition to English, too.

What we can see from here is that, in general, teachers do not see English threatening either Finnish or other languages, but rather enjoy its unifying function. Yet, it is somewhat surprising that as many as 27% of the teachers *were* critical of the strong global status that English has. As mentioned above, most of the "critics" had studied more languages than the average, which is an indication of growing awareness of the domination of English as one's knowledge of foreign languages in general increases. Also, five out of the nine critical teachers were the same ones who generally accepted the idea of International English as described earlier (see section: The Model and Goal for Teaching

English), so perhaps these teachers have also realized – consciously or unconsciously – that one way to balance the linguistic imperialism is to let go of the native standards. Further research would shed more light on how the critical English teachers actually see their role as "spreaders" of the language they think is too strong in the world. Still, a majority did not see a problem in the role of English – either they did not realize that there could be a problem with it, or they do not care about the negative sides as long as English has its unifying power. Nevertheless, almost all teachers claimed they encouraged students to study other foreign languages, too, besides English. Here, it might be worth while to remain somewhat sceptical, though, as to whether teachers really express this encouragement in class or whether they only think this is what they *should* do, as some teachers specifically commented here, for example, that "I don't do it very often although I know I should" (Teacher 30). But either way, whether teachers do promote learning of other foreign languages in class or merely think they should do this, their answers are still a clear indicator that they are not blinded by the power of English but regard other foreign languages important as well. "Knowing only English won't take you far, you won't manage with it everywhere" commented one teacher (Teacher 19).

Pressure from Outside

The very last item on the teachers' questionnaire was intended to render teachers' own view as to how bound they felt by the goals set by the national Matriculation Examination Board (and thus, by the examination itself) when planning their own goals and teaching (see question 25). The statement in the item suggested that the goals from the Board would strongly direct the goals set by the teachers themselves. Almost all (94%) agreed with the statement (59% agreeing strongly), while only 6% (2 subjects) disagreed. The issue seemed to be important to the teachers as it was frequently commented further in the additional comments at the end of the questionnaire. All the comments brought forth teachers' regret and discontent with the fact that the matriculation examination tied their hands too much, in addition to which they also criticized the test itself for being too grammar-oriented and having little to do with actual communicative language skills. The grammar-centeredness of the test had also made teachers emphasize grammar over other elements in their class. The teachers wished the test would be developed to correspond to the "contemporary requirements for language skills" (Teacher 27) or to "support holistic

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knowledge of the language" (Teacher 13) and the introduction of an oral test as part of the examination was seen as crucial. One teacher further noted that even municipal and provincial authorities of education had emphasized the importance of observing the goals of the test in all upper secondary school teaching. Finally, one teacher expressed perhaps the bottom line in the issue by noting: "I try to keep in mind the reality behind the examination and fight back the idea of my professional esteem being tied to my students' success in the exam" (Teacher 21).

The results do not leave much to discuss or analyze. It is very clear that teachers feel very restricted by the goals of the matriculation examination and quite rightly follow them as their students' success in the examination is at stake. Teachers also imply that the possible grammar-orientedness in their teaching is due to the grammar-orientedness of the final test, and if it was not for the test, they would have more communicative practice in class. It is also significant that teachers feel that the test itself is out-dated with its focus on grammar. Still, it is of course difficult to say whether the changes that the teachers suggest would be towards the direction of International English or just shift the focus from native speaker grammar to, for example, native speaker oral skills.

5.2.2 Students

Background Information

As for the students' background information, 55% of the respondents were females, and 45% males. A majority of 80% had learnt English as their first foreign language ("A1"-language) at school while 17% had chosen German, and 3% French. On average, the students had learnt three foreign languages at school (ranging from two to six), the most common additional language to the two obligatory ones (English and Swedish) being German. When asked to indicate three instances from home and abroad where the students had had to communicate with a foreigner, and give the language in which the communication took place (questions 4 and 5), the result showed that 62% of all these instances had been so-called "lingua franca" situations, in which the students had used English as a vehicular language with another non-native speaker of English. In 25% of the cases, the students had spoken English with a native speaker of English, whereas in 13% of the instances they had used the mother tongue – other than English – of the foreigner in question (see Table 9).

Students' use of English and other languages with foreigners	
	%
Used English as lingua franca	62
Used English with a native speaker	25
Used other foreign languages	13
Total	100

(The total number of instances of language use: 376)

Table 9. The distribution of students' experiences of using English and other languages with foreigners home and abroad.

When asked whether the above-mentioned communication situations had been mainly positive, negative or neutral (question 6), a great majority of 78% considered the situations to have been successful, 21% neutral, and only 1% negative. Also, overall confidence in speaking English was shown in answers to question 18 where the students were presented with a statement suggesting they would feel uncomfortable expressing their ideas in English unless they were sure the expressions they used were grammatically correct. 58% disagreed with the statement, 37% agreed that they would feel uncomfortable, and 5% were undecided.

In sum, we can conclude that the subjects had already had a good deal of experience of the lingua franca use of English and also most often used English even when speaking with a foreigner whose mother tongue they actually were familiar with. In the additional comments, one student specifically stated that in his opinion English was the most useful language taught at school ("much more useful than, for example, Swedish") (Student 22). Also, the students' experiences had mainly been positive and most of them seemed confident speaking English – even though it is significant that more than a third also indicated that their fear of making mistakes *did* restrain them from communicating in the language. The distribution of the first foreign languages that the subjects had learnt diverged somewhat from the national average (see Chapter 4) as there were more students who had started with German compared to the whole Finnish pupil population, but still the tendency was the same: a vast majority had learnt English as their first foreign language.

Students' Current Use of English

Next, the subjects' current use of English was looked into by asking them to indicate three items of the given alternatives that they needed their English skills most for (question 7). Their number one choice was weighted by 3, the second choice by 2 and the third choice by 1. In this way, music came out as the most popular choice of the eight alternatives (24%), followed by the Internet and computers (23%), followed by TV programmes (22%). The next in line, in order of importance, were travelling (12%), foreign friends (11%), English fiction (5%), family members (2%) and other hobbies (1%).

The top three choices: music, the Internet and TV clearly gathered the strongest support of the alternatives and also indicate the sources where students receive influence for their use of English apart from English classes – as becomes apparent in one student's additional comment at the end of the questionnaire: "I have learnt most of my English outside school: from TV, music, movies etc." (Student 78). It is obvious that English is very much present in students' daily life and leisure time in this country – but also that their use of the language so far emphasizes more receptive skills (e.g. understanding lyrics, TV programmes or information on the Net) rather than productive or communicative language skills – although the Internet possibly gives practice in both depending whether it is mainly used for searching information or, for example, chatting.

Students' Future Use of English

On the other hand, students were also asked in an open-ended question what they would need their English skills for in the future (question 8). Here, the three most frequently mentioned causes were travelling (28% of all the mentioned causes), future work (27%) and future studies in Finland and abroad (11%). Other domains included the media (TV and computers, 9%), unspecified communication with foreigners (8%), family and friends (7%), hobbies (including music, 3%), communicating specifically with native English speakers (1,5%), and other miscellaneous or unspecified causes (e.g. "for my daily life", "it is general education", 4%).

When asked to estimate if they would use English more with native speakers or non-native speakers in the future (question 19), 56,5% opted for non-native speakers, 18,5% for native speakers, but as many as a fourth (25%) of all the respondents remained undecided.

The three most frequent future needs for English mentioned by the students are the same as the ones anticipated by their teachers, and again, they are very instrumental in nature. It is worth noting that among the top three are future work and studies, which indicates the students' realization of the importance of knowing English in their lives. Still it is interesting that the order of the three by teachers was "studies, work and travelling", whereas students rate the three needs in the reverse order and see leisure time use (travelling) as the most important cause for knowing English – which would indicate that they expect to use the language more abroad than in Finland. Nevertheless, most of them see their future use as lingua franca-oriented (with other non-native speakers), although it was, again, surprising that a fourth did not venture a guess in this question. As was the case with teachers in this particular question, it is, of course, justifiable to say that one cannot *know* what will happen in one's future and with whom one will eventually have more contacts with: native or non-native speakers, but still a fourth remaining "undecided" in their answers can, again, be interpreted as a sign of them not having realized the fact that English is being spoken by many more non-native than native speakers. This is intriguing also because 69% of students' language use situations so far had been so-called lingua franca situations with other non-native speakers of English – based on this one could have expected more students to go for non-native speakers here, too. As regards the subjects who opted for "native speaker", further analysis showed that they were mainly the same students that claimed to use a specific native variety themselves (see question 9 below). The result was also statistically significant which would indicate that those who believe (or know) that they will need English mainly to communicate with native speakers also wanted to acquire a native accent. However, the main tendency in the answers was clearly towards non-native speakers, and also towards instrumental use, which suggests that International English could probably be well suited for most students' purposes.

The Use of a Specific Native Variety

In items 9, 14 and 15, the subjects were tested on their own desire to follow a certain native model in their use of English. To the question "Do you keep to a specific variety of English in your own use of English" (question 9), the most frequent answer was "no" (70%), whereas those who claimed to follow the American norm corresponded to 23% of the answers, and 7% of the subjects identified with British English (see Table 10).

Do you keep to a specific variety of English in your own use of English?		
	Number	*%*
No	75	70
Yes, AmE	25	23
Yes, BrE	7	7
Total	107	100

Table 10. Students' compliance with specific varieties of English.

The students were also asked to give motivation for their choice. Those who did not use any specific variety most frequently (33% of the answers) motivated their choice in terms of not being "good enough" at English (yet) to be able to use just one variety or not being enough acquainted with different varieties. However, the second largest group of answers (30%) reflected the subjects' feelings that following a certain norm was irrelevant, needless or even "phoney". These answers manifested subjects' confidence in their "own, personal" variety, as becomes apparent from the following two answers: "I speak the way I want. Imitating certain varieties sounds artificial" (Student 26), "I speak English as well as I can. I'm fluent enough, so my speech is OK" (Student 62). The third most common motivation (10%) for not using one specific variety was that the variety that the subjects used was a "mish-mash" of American and British English, often due to the fact that school promoted British English but the subjects heard mostly American English in their free time (for example, on TV). However, it should be noted that as many as 34% of these respondents did not give any motivation for their choice at all – whether they could not specify any reason for not using a specific variety or felt it was irrelevant to give reasons remains a matter of guesswork. On the other hand, three most popular motivations for those who indicated using American English were that American English was the variety they heard most often in the media (62% of the answers), or that American English sounded better than British English (21%), or that the accent was due to their stay in North America (12%). Further, for the minority who claimed to use British English, the most important reason was that it sounded better than American English (4 answers), and the second reason was that the subjects had been taught by British teachers in Finland or abroad (3 answers). One subject further motivated her choice of accent by saying that British English was easier to pronounce than American English.

Even though 70% claimed they did not use any specific variety of English, when asked basically the same thing again separately – whether the subjects followed a certain

native norm in their pronunciation, and on the other hand, in their writing (questions 14 and 15) – 52% said that they did *not* follow a specific norm in their *speech* (whereas 40% said they did), but in the case of *writing* the division was narrower: 46% said they, indeed, kept to the spellings of one variety only, while 45% maintained they did not (see Tables 11 and 12).

I attempt to follow one norm in my **speech**.				I attempt to follow one norm in my **writing**.		
	Number	*%*			*Number*	*%*
Agree	43	40		Agree	50	46
Disagree	56	52		Disagree	49	45
Undecided	9	8		Undecided	9	8
Total	108	100		Total	108	100

Tables 11 and 12. Students' use of one variety of English in their speech and writing.

As there was contradiction in the answers to question 9 above and the two questions presented in Tables 11 and 12, the correlation of the answers was checked. The analysis showed that those who claimed to use one specific accent in question 9, also remained consistent in the latter two questions and said they would follow only one norm both in speech and writing. On the other hand, those who claimed not to have an accent in question 9, did not want to follow a norm in *speech*, but in *writing*, a number of them came round and said they, after all, did follow a norm in spelling.

Thus, what we can first conclude form here is that there seems to be a higher regard of the written form of the language among the students, too, as was also apparent in the teachers' comments earlier. The written form is still the main mode of language taught in foreign language education and it may well be that students' compliance with one variety in writing is due to teachers requiring it, for example, in tests. This is reflected in one student's rather frustrated note at the end of the questionnaire saying: "American English should be accepted as English in exams, too!" (Student 7). Still, it is rather peculiar that even if the students had *spoken language* primarily in mind when answering the earlier question ("Do you keep to a certain variety of English in your own use of English?"), the percentage for those not following a native norm in speaking went down in the latter question from 70% to 52%. There are really no clues in the data as to what this might be due to (if we exclude possible unreliability of the subjects), but inferring from the context of the questions in the questionnaire, it might be that the students' answers in question 9 (which came right after the questions of their daily needs for English) reflected their attitudes towards the use of one variety of English *outside school* in their free time,

whereas later the answers to questions 14 and 15 (which followed a question concerning English teaching at school) reflected their compliance with one variety *in the school context*. In other words, in their leisure time they did not pay attention to norms, but at school they did. That is, of course, only speculation and would require further research, but *if* this is the case then it is rather telling of the way in which students see English *at* school and *outside* school. Nevertheless, the motivations for not using one specific variety for those 70% who originally claimed not to follow norms were also interestingly divided in two main groups. On the one hand, there were those (33%) who said they could not use only one variety because they were not "good enough" at English yet – thus implying that they saw the use of one native variety still as a (attainable or unattainable) goal that one should strive for, whereas on the other hand there were those (30%) who did not see a point in using only one variety in the first place. Consequently, it means that 21% of all the student subjects would genuinely be *for* International English on the grounds that they did not consider a native variety as any kind of goal for their use of English.

Attitudes towards Different Varieties of English

Also in the students' questionnaire there were a number of items that dealt with the subjects' conceptions of and attitudes towards non-native accents of English. Students, too, were asked which speakers they would prefer to have in English class as visitors, native or non-native and why (question 10). Approximately a half (47%) of the students were ready to welcome both (see Table 13) – most of them saying that either way they would receive practice in speaking and listening no matter who the interlocutor was. The second most frequently given motivation was that it was important to learn to listen to different kinds of accents of English – native or non-native, and the third most important reason was that natives would be good or authentic models but that non-natives would be on the same level with the subjects in terms of their language skills. On the other hand, 36% of the respondents preferred native speakers as visitors, the majority of them emphasizing the fact that native speakers would be either good models (also as regards the matriculation examination) or that they would be more credible and more pleasant to listen to than non-native speakers. There was a tendency of these respondents being the ones who also claimed to use a specific native variety themselves. Only 17% of the students rated non-native visitors as their first choice. Here, most of the reasons given indicated that with other non-native speakers the subjects would not have to be afraid of making mistakes in

their speech and that non-natives would be on the same level skills-wise. Also, three answers indicated that it was more difficult to understand native speaker speech than that of non-native speakers. Most of the students in this group were the same who indicate that they felt insecure and were afraid of making mistakes when speaking in English.

Which visitors would you prefer in English class: native or non-native?

	Number	%
Both	50	47
Native speakers	39	36
Non-native speakers	18	17
Total	107	100

Table 13. Students' preferences of foreign visitors in English classes.

In item 20, the subjects were presented with the statement that it was difficult to make out what non-native speakers of English were saying, for example on TV, but in confirmation of the above, 72% of the subjects maintained this was not the case, in other words that they could understand non-native accents fairly well. Also as many as 75% accepted the non-native hosts on MusicTV as well (see question 17). Nevertheless, hearing heavily *Finnish* accented English on TV made most, 64%, of the student subjects feel uncomfortable or embarrassed (question 16). This group included the students who also found non-native speakers on MusicTV displeasing and who claimed to use a native variety of English themselves. Only a little less than a third (31%) of the students did not mind Finnish accented English. As regards native speaker accents, the statement in item 22 suggested that students could identify various other native speaker accents excluding British or American accents. 69% of the subjects claimed they could, 28% reported they could not.

In summary, it seems that students are both acquainted with and also have generally a positive attitude towards other non-native and native varieties of English. Although there is 1/3 who think that native speakers would be better visitors to English classes because of the correct model they can give, the majority of students seem to realize the importance of learning to communicate with both native and non-native speakers. But in contrast to teachers' choices, some of the students even preferred exclusively non-native speakers, but these students' motivation seemed to be rather their discomfort of expressing themselves in English in fear of making mistakes than their wish to learn to communicate with non-native speakers. What was interesting, though, was the fact that even though students seem to be open to different non-native varieties of English, they feel embarrassed about *Finnish*

accented English, in other words their "own variety" of International English. This would also mean that Finnish accented English is probably not what most of the students can content themselves with in their own pronunciation. In other words, this could be a sign of students still wanting to sound more native-like and efface the influence of their mother tongue in their spoken English in order to sound more "acceptable" as speakers of English.

Attitudes towards the Position of English in Finland and in the World

When tested on their attitudes towards the dominance of English in the world (see questions 11 and 12), the students' answers showed a similar tendency to that of teachers': 37% said that English posed no threat whatsoever on Finnish, while 44% considered the threat to be only minor. (However, unlike in the teachers' answers, 7% of the students' answers indicated the threat to be great, and 11% were undecided). Further, the general attitudes towards the position of English in the world were very favourable, too (see Table 14): 87% of the respondents thought the present position of English was positive – in various degrees, while only 8% were critical of its status (including mostly those who had started off with some other foreign language at school than English), and 6% remained neutral.

How do you perceive the status of English in the world?

	Number	%
Positive	92	87
Negative	8	8
Neutral	6	6
Total	106	100

Table 14. Students' attitudes towards the current role of English in the world.

In sum, it became apparent that students do not see English threatening the Finnish language (despite its rather strong hold in Finland). But it is interesting to note that contrary to my own expectations, students were actually more positive about the role of English in the world than their teachers were. Nearly all of them accepted the current global status of English without reserve. Even the majority of those who had studied other foreign languages as their first foreign languages, rated the position of English mainly positively. Yet, there was again a tendency of those who had studied more foreign languages being more critical of the role English plays in the world.

Opinions on English Instruction in Finnish schools

Finally, students were inquired about their opinions on the English instruction at Finnish schools. But first, it should be pointed out that an overwhelming majority of 89% of the students considered it more important to be able to communicate effectively in English than to sound native (see question 23). Yet, most of them (67%) maintained that school English actually puts more weight on teaching grammar than teaching how to communicate successfully (question 13) (see Table 15).

English instruction at schools pays more attention to students' ability to communicate messages than to grammatical correctness.

	Number	*%*
Agree	27	25
Disagree	72	67
Undecided	9	8
Total	108	100

Table 15. Students' view on the communicativeness of English instruction at school.

Along the same lines, a majority (60%) of the students thought school instruction did not give much information on other native varieties of English than British and American models (question 21). However, a clear majority (79%) of them were still of the opinion that the English instruction in Finnish schools provides one with good capabilities to use the language independently in life after school (question 24) as shown in Table 16. Those who thought that school promoted communicative language learning were more pleased with the instruction than those who thought school emphasized grammar.

English instruction in Finnish schools provides students with good abilities to use the language independently in life after school.

	Number	*%*
Agree	85	79
Disagree	19	18
Undecided	4	4
Total	108	100

Table 16. Students' overall contentment with English instruction in Finnish schools.

In brief, the results indicate that in students' opinion the school emphasizes grammar and is focused on British and American varieties of English, and although the students prefer communicativeness over grammar, they are still largely satisfied with the English instruction they receive at school. What does this imply? Even though it might be regarded as typical "student speech" to say that language classes have all too much grammar and do not teach real language skills, this might actually be true in upper secondary schools to a certain extent. After all, teachers, too, maintained that they had to spend too much time on grammar (because of the matriculation examination) although they wanted to have more, for example, oral practice in class. Also, a few additional comments from students at the end of the questionnaire pointed to this direction. "School instruction puts too much weight on 'textbook-English' and grammar – we should learn more English that makes us 'streetwise'. At the moment, you have to learn that kind of useful English on your own" said one student (Student 39). Another one maintained that "At school, I have gained the most from oral English classes where everyday communication is practised" (Student 17). So why is it then that most of the students are happy with their overall English instruction although it does not seem to meet their needs? One of the possible explanations is that students are so "indoctrinated" with the kind of English teaching they have received during their ten years of English instruction that they do not see any other way of teaching the language and hence accept the current teaching methods – in other words, they maintain that school does its job well in what it is supposed to do and teaches the kind of (normative) English it is supposed to teach. (This would also give support to the fact that there is a general tendency among people to defend the kind of education they have received.) If this is true, then it would again indicate that there is a difference in how students perceive "school English" and their "leisure time English". For example, even though the students say school does not give much information on other native varieties of English than British and American, most of them are still satisfied with the school English teaching, in other words, they think school does not have to promote other varieties. In connection with this specific question it is essential to bear in mind that although students felt that they did not hear other native varieties at school, 69% of them still said they could identify other varieties upon hearing them. This means that they must have learnt about other native varieties outside school but do not miss these varieties in the school context.

5.3 Discussion

As is obvious from the above, the study produced a vast amount of data. It was presented and analyzed in detail in the previous chapter, and in this section, only the main findings of the study will be summed up and discussed so as to obtain answers to the research questions presented in Chapters 1 and 5 above.

As expected, the data indicates that Finnish teachers are well aware of the lingua franca role of English, as they themselves have a great deal of experience in using English with other non-native speakers, believe that their students will also need English mostly for communicating with other non-natives, and see conveying lingua franca related ideas to their students as the most important message in their teaching. Still, this awareness and the consequences that English as an international language has (or can have) to the use and teaching of the language does not seem to show in practice, as teachers still prefer mainly native speakers as models in teaching materials and as visitors to their classrooms, and see the teaching of the culture(s) of English-speaking countries as highly important. There was also self-contradiction in some teachers' responses as one and the same teacher would say, for instance, that most of her students would only need "survival English" in their lives, but at the same time indicated that the message she wanted to convey to her students about English was that it was not enough that one was able to understand English and make oneself understood in English (which would obviously translate into "survival English") – but that something more was required in addition (Teacher 24). This type of contradiction in the answers makes one debate whether teachers have actually understood – on a more profound level – the implications that their realizations of their students' needs of English have for teaching the language, or if the contradiction is just due to the lack of opportunity to act upon one's realizations. We will return to this question later.

However, what is interesting to note in the responses is that only a minority, a fifth (21%) of the teachers supported strongly the native speaker goal in their teaching (as the curricula and higher educational authorities require), whereas a third (32%) of the subjects held attitudes very favourable towards the aspects of EIL and could even be classified as supporters of it. The rest, 47% of the subjects, on the other hand, took a standing in between these two extremes meaning that even though they were not completely ready to disregard the native speaker ideal, they were also not strongly and solely for it, either. So clearly there is awareness of a different, not native speaker-oriented but perhaps more international kind of English among Finnish teachers (even if this goes against the requirements from the authorities). One of the teachers expressed this by noting that

students should become acquainted with different varieties of English at school, because "there is no more English, but *many* English*es*" (Teacher 11), and another teacher pointed out that "there is no one right variety of English because English is mainly used as a lingua franca, in which case the accent is not important" (Teacher 18). Also, one teacher even referred to the rise of "International English" with this exact term (Teacher 29).

This awareness of the changed role of English shows more strongly among the younger generation teachers (1-15 years in the profession) who seem to be more willing to accept a broader concept of the language and more relaxed norms in teaching, as seen in their comments above. The older generation teachers (16-34 years in the profession), on the other hand, tended to be more in favour of one, strict native norm, because they thought, for example, that keeping to one variety of English maintained clarity in one's use of the language. But it looks like a tentative shift away from the native speaker goal is taking place along with new teacher generations – which is, of course, good news as regards the potentiality of EIL becoming a model in future TEFL. In addition, the data also suggested that the more teachers had studied other foreign languages themselves, the more sympathetic they were towards the aspects of EIL, which points to a broadening general view of the global role of English as one's knowledge of different languages increases.

Yet, as implied above, to the question whether practices suitable for EIL might already be present in classrooms, the answer is, for the most part, negative. Even though teachers are ready to introduce other *native varieties* of English in addition to British and American norms in their classrooms (which is of course a start), still, the varieties of the greatest importance for EIL, the non-native varieties, rarely come up in class. Further, students themselves maintain that school does not give much information even on the other native varieties of English, and see the instruction as centred on grammar, although teachers think that learning to communicate is actually more important than grammar. In addition, there must be a communication breakdown between teachers and students if a fourth of the teachers mention encouragement to speak English as their most important message about English to their students, but 37% of the students are afraid of expressing their ideas in the language (for the fear of making mistakes). The phenomenon of students not perceiving the teaching in class similarly as teachers, may be due to teachers not articulating their intentions clearly enough in class or them not actually acting out their thoughts which then remain only unspoken ideals in teachers' minds.

As for Finnish English teachers' confidence in their own skills as non-native teachers, they seemed to take a fairly realistic standing on the issue. Although it seems that

they feel insecure in terms of their language skills, as they compare themselves to native speakers as models of speakers of English – which is, of course, fairly natural for language professionals who strive to be as native-like as possible – most of them still see their teaching skills as either more important or equally important to their language skills and show general self-appreciation and confidence in their abilities as non-native instructors to non-native students.

Finally, as far as teachers' views on the global position of English are concerned, the data suggests that the majority of teachers do not perceive a threat from English either to Finnish or to other languages, but rather appreciate its unifying power. Yet, they also understand the value of knowing other foreign languages as well, as encouraging students to learn other languages in addition to English was considered important by the subjects.

The data from student questionnaires, on the other hand, shows that students reflected their teachers' attitudes to a large extent. They, too, understand the lingua franca role of English, see their future needs of English similarly as their teachers, feel that they will need English more with other non-native speakers, and do not see English as threatening other languages. Also, if we want to distinguish different extremes among students as to whether they could be seen as supporters of EIL or native models, based on their opinions on following norms, we can see that the proportions among students are approximately the same as those among teachers. Those who did not follow any native norms in their use of English because they felt it was needless (and thus could be seen as supporters of EIL) accounted for 21% of the students. On the other hand, those who wanted to keep to a native model corresponded to 30% of the subjects. The largest group (49%) could not be classified clearly into either extreme.

The students seem to be inclined towards EIL-type of thinking as they obviously realize the importance of learning to communicate with different types of speakers in English and widely accept different varieties of the language. But it is worth noting that many of them still consciously or unconsciously perceive native speaker-likeness as a goal or an ideal that they should strive towards, because as many as 37% of the students indicated that the fear of making mistakes in their speech (i.e. not achieving the fluency of a native speaker) kept them from using English, and a third of the subjects reported that they did not use any particular native variety in their speech, because they were not "*good enough*" at English to master one. Also, a majority (64%) found Finnish-accented English inappropriate – probably indicating that students would not content themselves with that type of English in their own speech. Thus, as with teachers, an undercurrent of the native

speaker model is still present in the students' thinking, too. As students' conceptions very much reflect their teachers' ideas of English, it suggests that the way English is taught and presented at school does, indeed, make a difference in how the next generation perceives the language and its use.

On the other hand, the study also shows that school is not the only quarter that students receive information on English from. They seem to learn about different varieties of English, for example, in the media, too. But as the studies by Dalton-Puffer (1997) and Chiba et al. (1995) presented in Chapter 3.2.1 above indicate, these other varieties should be present in the school context, too, in order to have students appreciate them as valid varieties of the language. Against this background, and because of students' comments that school does not teach useful, everyday language, it was interesting to find out that students were still largely satisfied with the English instruction at Finnish schools.

As regards students' future use of English, as mentioned above, most of them see the need for English in their lives as lingua franca-oriented: a majority assume that they will need English mainly for instrumental purposes and for communication with other non-native speakers, which means that for most students, EIL would probably be a relevant and appropriate model of English. However, there was also approximately a third of students who wanted to keep to the native speaker model and expected to be more in contact with native speakers in their lives.

For the most part, the outcome of the study was as expected. Even though there was no intention to test any particular hypotheses, most of the assumptions made about the results in advance were supported by the study. As expected, teachers were well aware of the lingua franca role of English, but in practice the native speaker model was still given priority. This was particularly interesting because the study shows that, still, most of the teachers very well understood the wide variety of English in "the real world". We will come back to the possible explanations for this below. As expected, teachers also saw the spread of English in the world (and in Finland) very much in a positive light – and did not perceive a threat there. What was unexpected, though, was the fact that Finnish teachers showed much more confidence in their skills than their Austrian colleagues in Seidlhofer's (1999) study, where she found that a majority of Austrian teachers actually indicated that their non-nativeness made them feel insecure rather than confident. Yet, the results are not exactly comparable because in Seidlhofer's study, the subjects had to choose between the two extremes: either that their non-nativeness was an advantage or disadvantage, whereas in this study also the option "both advantage and disadvantage" was given – which was the

most frequent answer, too. Still, it seemed that Finnish teachers could distinguish their teaching skills from their language skills, and often valued the former over the latter (the importance of which Seidlhofer, 1999, also stresses). This clear perception of separate linguistic and pedagogic expertise is probably due to the Finnish teacher education system, where subject teachers first study the substance – in this case, English – as their major at university, and only after that acquire qualification for teacher's profession separately by accomplishing one or two years' pedagogic studies, where the main focus is on teaching skills and not on language skills. That way future teachers learn to appreciate their know-how as instructors, too, and not only as models of English speakers. Also, the long tradition of Finnish- (or Swedish-) speaking teachers as teachers of English in Finland might give contemporary teachers confidence in their work, as they themselves have mainly seen and been taught by non-native teachers in primary and secondary education.

As regards the students' responses, the finding that was surprising was the fact that students were even more uncritical about the domination of English in the global scale than teachers. This may be due to the fact that students are not quite aware of the negative sides that the global status of English can bring with it – or simply do not care about them as long as they can benefit from the prevalence of the language. On the other hand, this might also indicate students' own preference of using English all around the world, and might give support to the assumptions made in Chapter 4 that Finnish students favour English even at the expense of learning other foreign languages.

But why is it that, generally speaking, both teachers and students do realize the lingua franca role of English but are still (consciously or unconsciously) inclined towards the native speaker model in practice? First of all, implications arising from the data seem to suggest that both teachers and students see the type of English taught at school and the kind of English used outside school as different matters. Although in general many teachers were for more relaxed norms, still almost all of them wanted to have native speaker models in teaching materials – but also most of them did not mind non-native models outside school, for example, in the media. It seems that for teachers the (native) model promoted at school is a kind of official, "on record" model (especially for writing), whereas (non-native) English speakers outside school may function as "off the record" models whose value is perhaps in motivating students to learn and use English. The same distinction applies to students, too. Even though they indicate that English instruction at school does not meet all their needs, they are still contented with it – which can be interpreted as students seeing that school does its job well at what it is supposed to do, i.e.

teaching "official" type of English, even though it does not correspond to students' immediate needs.

But what is it, then, that makes teachers promote (and thus students acquiesce in) the "official" native speaker norms, although the teachers realize that most students will use English for lingua franca communication? As an explanation one could say, of course, that teachers have simply not understood the implications of the changed role of English to the teaching of it as a foreign language – perhaps because the traditional model has been strongly native speaker-oriented, and because they themselves have had to invest a great deal in becoming as near native as possible. But as there definitely is willingness among the teachers to shift towards a more international type of English in teaching, this explanation does not seem to be enough. The study brings forth that the roots for teachers' methodological choices lie deeper than in their own views. In Finnish upper secondary schools, it is the goals set for the matriculation examination by the national Matriculation Examination Board that strongly guide both what aspects of language are stressed and what kinds or norms are promoted in classrooms. This became very clear in teachers' comments, as they regretted the fact that they had to follow these goals even if they felt the goals were not appropriate for their students. As one of the teachers put it: "The matriculation examination definitely ties a teacher's hands all too much. Moreover, the exam rarely has relevance to the skills that help you communicate (i.e. understanding and making yourself understood)" (Teacher 22). But naturally, teachers feel bound to train their students for the examination as the students' success and, along with that, the teachers' own professional pride are at stake. What is more, it is not just the examination but also the curricula for both primary and secondary education that still hold on to the strict, out-dated native speaker norms (as seen in Chapters 3 and 4 above) up to the point that new EU criteria for evaluating English learners at schools are introduced next year with the native speaker competence as the ultimate objective. Further, because the textbooks and teaching materials produced in Finland are written based on the requirements in the national curricula, it is obvious that they, too, favour the traditional models. Hence, developing teaching material suitable for promoting lingua franca type of English is left to individual teachers' own enthusiasm and would demand a good deal of extra work and effort from them.

What the study shows, in fact, is that compared to the official norms, the grassroots level of teachers and students is much more aware of the change that is taking place in the use and status of English than the authorities seem to be. In their work, teachers must have

noticed the impossibility (and even the inappropriateness) of the objective of "becoming a native speaker" (as they themselves have feelings of incompetence at times, too!) and know that less is enough. This was reflected in some teachers' responses as they pointed out in the additional comments that *of gifted students* they required more native-like competence but students with lesser talent they simply wanted to encourage to communicate in English (e.g. Teacher 21). However, the directions from the higher authorities (whether it be the national curriculum, the Matriculation Examination Board or the European framework) have a great deal of power over individual teachers (and thus students) as they define what can – and cannot – take place in the school English teaching. These bodies obviously affect teachers' and students' lives in very real terms as they can actually dictate "what students need" – whether these needs be real or not. Regrettably, it seems that the grassroots level does not have much say or much chance to decide what kind of English is taught at schools, even if they themselves noticed defects in the official requirements.

What is to be concluded from here is that raising awareness about new ways of looking at English among the highest authorities who plan the curricula or the criteria for evaluation as well as among the members of such institutes as the Matriculation Examination Board would be of greatest importance. It is only through their realization of the changed role of English that teaching foci and the goals in tests could change towards a more versatile and, so to speak, more realistic conception of English. Without their approval, on the other hand, even a teacher who is willing to accept the aspects of EIL in her teaching is unable to wholly act upon her interests as she will then defy the national guidelines and thus risk her reputation among her colleagues, perhaps among pupils, and even among her pupils' parents who may also launch complaints about their children not receiving proper education. Nevertheless, as pointed out in Chapter 3.2.5 above, there are still little things that an individual teacher can do in her classroom to promote wider conception of English (at least, the global role of English can be discussed in class) – hence, raising or rather strengthening the dawning awareness of EIL also among teachers, for example in teacher training programmes, would be crucial, too. The findings suggest that especially among the younger generation teachers there is potential to relax the strict native speaker requirements. Thus, helping future teachers gain a clearer picture of the issues that pertain EIL and encouraging them to adopt practices relevant to teaching it as early as in their training phase would give them confidence to work along these lines in their future classrooms, too, even if only in modest terms.

For teachers' part, EIL seems a potential future possibility in English classrooms in Finland *provided* that teachers are given the circumstances to act upon their realizations. And why would it not – after all EIL would also release teachers themselves from the constant feeling of inadequacy for not being able to act "as a native speaker". Still, it has to be remembered that changes in education often take a notoriously long time and nothing happens overnight. If currently different L2 varieties of English are making their way into classrooms and teaching materials, it probably means that non-native varieties along with EIL still have to wait some time for their turn. Be that as it may, students would surely benefit from this new standard as they could free themselves from the fear of making mistakes and not being as competent as native speakers. It is also probable that their future needs of English are the kinds that EIL could suffice. Of course, it must be kept in mind that there will always be students in classrooms who wish to acquire as native-like competence as possible in English, and they will have to be offered the opportunity to do so, but still for the most students EIL would surely provide an appropriate and economic goal for learning English.

As for the methods of this study, a survey was a natural choice for gaining an overall idea of teachers' and students' conceptions of the issues at hand. Nevertheless, the two questionnaires could have been more concise as they produced such a large quantity of data that, at times, it became difficult to handle. On the other hand, a good deal of valuable information was gathered and it shed light on the findings from different angles that might not have come up in a shorter questionnaire. Yet, the question to teachers about combining British and American norms in teaching (question 23) should have been formulated more accurately as a number of teachers did not understand what was meant by it (a feature that did not come up in the pilot study). And further, the questionnaires could perhaps have been compiled even more alike in order to make comparison between teachers and students more streamlined. As regards the subjects, both teachers and students consisted of such heterogeneous groups – for instance, in terms of their language use background or their years in the teaching profession – that, on these grounds, the results can be considered representative of and generalizeable to larger populations of students and teachers. The number of student subjects was also enough for statistical analysis, whereas the relatively small number of teachers somewhat restricted gaining statistically significant results in cross-tabulations. However, tendencies in both groups became clear, which is what a small-scale study such as this is intended to do. Additional interviews might have been of help, too, in gaining a deeper understanding of students' and teachers' views, but, on the

other hand, they would have expanded the quantity of data perhaps even too much for one study and are, therefore, suggested as something to be taken up in future work.

Also, what could be looked into in terms of attitudes towards EIL in the future, is how non-native speakers who use English as a lingua franca daily in their work see their use of English, and whether they feel that "school English" has benefited them at work – or whether they would suggest any changes to English instruction on the basis of their own experience as users of the language. Further, it would be interesting to ask teachers if their teaching would change in case there were no final exams or curricula restricting their choices of methods or substance – and if yes, how. This would probably give a more profound idea of teachers' own "hidden agendas" as conveyors of the language and of the values they wish to promote in connection with teaching English as a foreign language.

6. Conclusion

When discussing the future use and teaching of English all around the world, what really lies at the heart of the matter is the question of whether, in the future, English will fragment into many mutually unintelligible forms as it continues to spread or if its unifying power carries on its triumphal march. It is the question of divergence or convergence, and also of what ultimately affects the direction and shape English will assume.

It is difficult to make predictions of the development of any language as so many sociolinguistic and demographic factors play a role in defining it, but Graddol (1997) has attempted this with English. His view seems rather pessimistic, though, as he predicts that the future of English will be a very complex one and the rise of new local varieties will possibly blur mutual intelligibility between speakers of different varieties (p. 3). He also foresees the future world as not dominated by only one large lingua franca, but several local lingua francas (such as Chinese, Spanish and Arabic) (p. 59). To remedy the situation he suggests British ELT providers start practising more careful "brand management" and marketing of English in order to maintain their say in the world's linguistic power relations and in the use of English (p. 63).

Although it may be true that other world languages will be gaining in local domination, and it is not wise to stake everything on English (because, for example Flaitz 1988, reminds us that lingua francas can also die), still as far as English itself is concerned, EIL provides a reverse view to Graddol's predictions. Even if more and more local varieties of English emerged, the need for international communication will also motivate the need for common ground on which speakers from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds can converge. English as an International Language can provide this neutral plane and perhaps also stop different varieties from diverging too far from each other. In fact, it is perhaps more likely that different regional varieties of EIL (such as "Euro-English") emerge, too, but for example the global media and the need to be in contact with people from different parts of the world will surely see to it that these possible varieties of EIL also converge towards each other rather than diverge in isolation. Yet, for this to happen, the core of EIL needs to be found and formulated so that EIL could also be introduced at schools as a common international norm. And rather than give this task to the native speaker minority (as Graddol seems to be suggesting), non-native speakers should take over the reins as creators of a standard that best suits their needs.

McArthur (2001, 4) maintains that the gatekeepers of new trends in a language are really teachers, editors and proofreaders because they have the position to decide what is correct or incorrect in a language. But as the study brings forth, in teachers' case affecting their opinions may not be enough, but only through influencing the attitudes of, for example, language education planners and ELT material creators about alternatives for the native speaker goal in English teaching is it possible to bring about changes in a larger scale. It seems that at least Finnish teachers of English in the Expanding Circle would be ready to welcome such changes in their teaching.

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Pro gradu –tutkimus   Elina Ranta, TaY

Kysely englannin kielen opetuksesta lukion englanninopettajille

I. Vastaajan tiedot:

1. Olen toiminut englanninopettajana _____ vuotta.

2. Englannin lisäksi olen itse opiskellut (millä tahansa kouluasteella) seuraavia kieliä: _____

   _____

II. Oma suhde englannin puhumiseen

3. Käytän omassa englannin kielen ääntämisessäni ja oikeinkirjoituksessani pääasiassa jotakin yhtä englannin kielen natiivivarianttia (esim. britti- / amerikanenglanti tms.)?

     _____ Kyllä, mitä varianttia _____   _____ En (ainakaan tietoisesti)

Miksi juuri tätä varianttia? / Miksi ei mitään tiettyä varianttia?

_____

_____

_____

4. Itse käytän / olen käyttänyt englantia enemmän

     _____ natiivipuhujien   _____ ei-natiivipuhujien   _____ yhtä paljon kumpienkin

kanssa kommunikointiin.

5. Se, että olen itse ei-natiivi englanninopettaja on minulle opetustyössäni enemmän

     _____ etu   _____ haitta   _____ kumpaakin

Miksi?

_____

_____

_____

_____

6. Oletetaan, että oppilaasi esittää tunnilla englannin kielioppiin liittyvän kysymyksen, jonka vastauksesta et ole aivan varma. Oletetaan myös, että kaikki alla annetut apukeinot ovat tunnin jälkeen käytettävissäsi. Mitä teet? (Laita järjestykseen 1–3, 1=näin teen / tekisin useimmiten, 3=näin teen / tekisin harvoin tai en koskaan) :

_____ tarkistan asian kielioppikirjasta

_____ tarkistan asian natiivipuhujalta

_____ luotan omaan vaistooni

III. Englannin opettaminen

7. Mihin tarkoituksiin erityisesti luulisit oppilaidesi tarvitsevan englantia lukion jälkeen?

_____

_____

_____

8. Mikä omassa lukion englannin opetuksessasi on tärkein viesti, minkä toivot oppilaillesi välittyvän nimenomaan *englannin kielestä* tai sen *käytöstä*?

_____

_____

_____

9. Onko lukio-opetuksessa mielestäsi hyvä koettaa välittää oppilaille mallina johdonmukaisesti yhtä englannin kielen varianttia?

____ Kyllä, mitä varianttia _____   ____Ei

Miksi? / Miksi ei?

_____

_____

_____

10. Tulevatko **muut** englannin kielen variantit **kuin** britti- ja amerikanenglanti esiin oppitunneilla (esim. kuunteluharjoituksissa)?

___ usein   ___ silloin tällöin   ____ harvoin   ____ ei koskaan

11. Käytätkö tunneilla näytteitä *ei-natiivipuhujien* varianteista?

    ___ usein   ___ silloin tällöin   ____ harvoin   ____ en lainkaan

12. Jos lukion englannintunneille olisi toisinaan mahdollista saada ulkomaalaisia vierailijoita, joiden kanssa oppilaat voisivat käytännössä harjoittaa kielitaitoaan, toivoisitko vierailijoiden olevan:

   ____englantia äidinkielenään puhuvia   ____ei-englantia äidinkielenään puhuvia   ____kumpia vain

Miksi?

_____

_____

_____

_____

IV. Englannin kielen asema

13. Englantia puhuu maailmassa n. 750 milj. ihmistä ja sillä on myös suuri vaikutus Suomessa (vrt. televisio, mainonta, musiikki, korkeakouluopetus, liike-elämä jne.). Jotkut ulkomaiset tutkijat ovat jopa sitä mieltä, että englannista on tullut Pohjoismaissa "toinen kotimainen" kieli. Voiko englanti mielestäsi olla uhka suomen kielen säilymiselle tulevaisuudessa (seuraavina vuosikymmeninä)?

    ____ ei lainkaan uhka   ____ suuri uhka

    ____ vähäinen uhka   ____ en osaa sanoa

14. Miten näet englannin kielen aseman maailmassa? Merkitse rasti alla olevan asteikon **viivalle**, kohtaan, joka parhaiten heijastaa suhtautumistasi annettujen vaihtoehtojen kesken:

"On hienoa, että englanti toimii maailmanlaajuisena, kansainvälistä   __ __ __ __ __ __ __   "Englannin valta-asema muihin kieliin kanssakäymistä helpottavana nähden on huolestuttava. Muiden kielenä, jota puhutaan kaikkialla." kielten asemaa suhteessa englantiin, tulisikin kohentaa."

V. Väittämät

Ympyröi mielipidettäsi parhaiten vastaava numero: **4 = täysin samaa mieltä**, **3 = jokseenkin samaa mieltä**, **2 = jokseenkin eri mieltä**, **1 = täysin eri mieltä, 0 = en osaa sanoa**.

15. Lukion englannin opetuksessa on tärkeämpää keskittyä oppilaan kykyyn
saada viesti perille kuin hänen ilmaisunsa kieliopillisuuteen.   4 3 2 1 0

16. Lukion oppilaiden on hyvä oppia ääntämisessään ja kirjoittamisessaan
noudattamaan johdonmukaisesti yhtä englannin kielen varianttia.   4 3 2 1 0

17. Tiedotusvälineissä englanniksi esiintyvät suomalaiset julkisuuden
henkilöt, joilla on vahva suomalainen aksentti, saavat oloni vaivautuneeksi
(vrt. "mikahäkkis-englanti").   4 3 2 1 0

18. Nuorten saaman englannin kielen mallin kannalta on harmillista, että esim.
MusicTV palkkaa nykyään juontajia, joille englanti ei ole äidinkieli.   4 3 2 1 0

19. Lukiolaisten kielitaidon arvioinnissa (esim. ääntämisessä ja oikein-
kirjoituksessa) koulutetun natiivipuhujan taso on sopiva vertailukohde.   4 3 2 1 0

20. Lukion oppimateriaaliäänitteiden lukijoina tulee käyttää etupäässä englannin
natiivipuhujia tai ääntämistaidoiltaan heidän tasoaan vastaavia ei-natiiveja.   4 3 2 1 0

21. Englanninkielisten maiden kulttuurin opettaminen englannintunneilla on
tärkeää.   4 3 2 1 0

22. Oppilaani tulevat luultavasti käyttämään englantia enemmän ei-natiivien
kuin natiivien englanninpuhujien kanssa.   4 3 2 1 0

23. Brittienglannin ja amerikanenglannin yhdistelmä olisi hyvä malli englannin-
opetuksessa suomalaisissa kouluissa.   4 3 2 1 0

24. Kannustan oppilaitani tunneillani usein myös muiden kielten kuin
englannin kielen opiskeluun.   4 3 2 1 0

25. Lukio-opetuksessa opettajan oppilailleen asettamia tavoitteita ohjaavat
voimakkaasti ylioppilaskirjoitusten ja YTL:n asettamat tavoitteet.   4 3 2 1 0

Mikäli haluat perustella yllä antamiasi vastauksia, tai antaa muita kommentteja kyselyyn liittyen, ole hyvä ja kirjoita kommenttisi seuraavalle sivulle.

SUURKIITOKSET AVUSTASI JA VASTAUKSISTASI!

Pro gradu-tutkimus   Elina Ranta, TaY

Tutkimus lukiolaisten vieraiden kielten ja englannin kielen käytöstä

I. Vastaajan tiedot:

1. tyttö _____   poika _____

2. äidinkieli _____

3. Opiskellut seuraavia vieraita kieliä: **A1 (ala-asteella alkanut 1. kieli)** _____

   Huom! Vain tummennetut kielet   A2 (ala-asteella alkanut 2. kieli) _____

   ovat koulussa pakollisia, muut   **B1 (7. luokalla alkanut kieli)** _____

   valinnaisia.   B2 (8. luokalla alkanut kieli) _____

   B3 (lukiossa alkaneet) _____

   Muut (koulun ulkopuolella opiskellut) _____

II. Vieraiden kielten käyttö (koulun ulkopuolella)

4. Olen viettänyt ulkomailla pidempiä ajanjaksoja (esim. lomamatkat, vaihto-opiskelu tms.).

   kyllä _____   ei _____

   Jos kyllä, missä maissa, ja mitä kieltä käytit paikallisten kanssa asioidessasi? Listaa 3 maata, joissa olet oleskellut kauimmin.

	Maa	Kieli, jota käytin (listaa vain yksi, eniten käytetty!)
1.	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____

5. Olen ollut tekemisissä vieraskielisten ihmisten kanssa Suomessa (esim. neuvonut/ opastanut, "chattaillut" netissä, ollut kirjeen-/sähköpostin vaihdossa tms.)

   kyllä _____   ei _____

   Jos kyllä, mikä oli ulkomaalaisen oma äidinkieli ja mitä kieltä käytitte keskenänne? Listaa enintään 3 tapausta.

	Ulkomaalaisen äidinkieli	Kieli, jota puhuimme keskenämme (listaa vain yksi / viiva!)
1.	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____

6. Olivatko kohdissa 4 ja 5 mainitut kokemuksesi kielenkäyttötilanteista lähinnä:

_____ negatiivisia   _____ neutraaleja   _____ positiivisia

III. Englannin kielen käyttö ja siihen suhtautuminen

7. Mihin käytät englannin taitojasi koulun ulkopuolella? (Numeroi tärkeysjärjestyksessä **kolme** tärkeintä, 1 = tärkein)

_____ TV-ohjelmat   _____ ulkomaalaiset ystävät / tuttavat

_____ Internet / tietokoneet   _____ perheenjäsenet / sukulaiset

_____ musiikki   _____ ulkomaanmatkat

_____ englanninkielinen kirjallisuus   _____ harrastukset (esim. _____)

8. Mihin lähinnä arvelet tarvitsevasi englannin kielen taitojasi omassa tulevaisuudessasi, lukion jälkeen?

_____

_____

9. Käytätkö omassa englannin puhumisessasi jotakin tiettyä englannin kielen varianttia (="murretta"), kuten britti- / amerikanenglantia tms.?

___ Kyllä, mitä varianttia _____   ___ Ei mitään tiettyä varianttia

Miksi juuri tätä varianttia? / Miksi ei mitään tiettyä varianttia?

_____

_____

---

10. Jos koulun englannin tunneille saataisiin ulkomaalaisia vierailijoita, joiden kanssa voisi käytännössä harjoittaa omaa kielitaitoa, toivoisitko vierailijoiden olevan:

_____ englantia äidinkielenään puhuvia   _____ ei-englantia äidinkielenään puhuvia ulkomaalaisia

_____ kumpia vain

Miksi?

_____

_____

IV. Englannin kielen asema

11. Englantia puhuu maailmassa ainakin 750 milj. ihmistä (vrt. n. 5 milj. suomen puhujaan), ja sillä on myös suuri vaikutus Suomessa (esim. televisio-ohjelmat, mainonta, musiikki, tietokonepelit, liike-elämä jne.). Jotkut ulkomaiset tutkijat ovat jopa sitä mieltä, että englannista on tullut Pohjoismaissa "toinen kotimainen" kieli. Voiko englanti mielestäsi olla uhka suomen kielen säilymiselle tulevaisuudessa (seuraavina vuosikymmeninä)?

_____ ei lainkaan uhka   _____ suuri uhka

_____ vähäinen uhka   _____ en osaa sanoa

12. Miten näet englannin kielen aseman maailmassa? Merkitse rasti alla olevan asteikon **viivalle**, kohtaan, joka parhaiten heijastaa suhtautumistasi annettujen vaihtoehtojen kesken:

"On hienoa, että englanti toimii maailmanlaajuisena, kansainvälistä ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ kanssakäymistä helpottavana kielenä, jota puhutaan kaikkialla."

"Englannin valta-asema muihin kieliin nähden on huolestuttava. Muiden kielten asemaa suhteessa englantiin tulisikin kohentaa."

V. Väittämät

Ympyröi mielipidettäsi parhaiten kuvaava numero: **4 = täysin samaa mieltä**, **3 = jokseenkin samaa mieltä**, **2 = jokseenkin eri mieltä**, **1 = täysin eri mieltä, 0=en osaa sanoa**.

EOS

13. Koulun englanninopetuksessa kiinnitetään enemmän huomiota oppilaiden kykyyn saada viesti perille kuin kieliopin virheettömyyteen. 4 3 2 1 0

14. Pyrin puhuessani noudattamaan johdonmukaisesti yhden englannin kielen variantin ääntämistä (esim. britti- tai amerikanenglannin). 4 3 2 1 0

15. Pyrin kirjoittaessani noudattamaan johdonmukaisesti yhden englannin kielen variantin (esim. britti- tai amerikanenglannin) oikeinkirjoitussääntöjä (vrt. BrE→colour / AmE→color jne.). 4 3 2 1 0

16. Suomalaiset "julkkikset", jotka esiintyvät ulkomailla englanniksi, vahvasti suomalaisittain ääntäen, saavat oloni vaivautuneeksi (vrt. "mikahäkkis-englanti"). 4 3 2 1 0

17. On harmillista, että esim. MusicTV palkkaa nykyään juontajia, joiden äidinkieli ei ole englanti. 4 3 2 1 0

18. En mielelläni sano englanniksi ääneen ajatuksiani, jollen ole varma, että ilmaisuni on kieliopillisesti oikein. 4 3 2 1 0

19. Tulen elämäni aikana luultavasti puhumaan englantia enemmän toisten ei-natiivien kanssa kuin englannin natiivipuhujien kanssa. 4 3 2 1 0

20. Ulkomaalaisten, ei-natiivien englannin kielestä on usein vaikea saada selvää (esim. TV:ssä). 4 3 2 1 0

21. Koulun englanninopetus antaa tietoa muistakin englannin varianteista
   (=”murteista”) kuin britti- ja amerikanenglannista (esim. kuuntelu-   4 3 2 1 0
   harjoituksissa tai oppikirjoissa).

22. Tunnistan englannin eri variantteja (britti- ja amerikanenglannin lisäksi)
   niitä kuullessani.   4 3 2 1 0

23. Tärkeintä englannin puhumisessa ei ole natiivipuhujan kaltainen
   ääntäminen tai virheetön kieli, vaan viestin perille saaminen.   4 3 2 1 0

24. Suomessa koulun englanninopetus antaa hyvät valmiudet kielen
   itsenäiseen käyttöön maailmalla.   4 3 2 1 0

Jos haluat perustella yllä antamiasi vastauksia tai kirjoittaa muita kyselyn mieleen tuomia ajatuksiasi, voit kirjoittaa kommenttisi alla oleville viivoille.

Muita kommentteja:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

KIITOS AVUSTASI JA VASTAUKSISTASI!

Survey on English Teaching for Upper Secondary School English Teachers

I. Respondent's Background Information:

1. I have been teaching English for _____ years.

2. In addition to English, I have studied (on any educational level) the following languages:_____

   _____

II. Your Own Relation to Speaking English

3. In your own English pronunciation and spelling, do you mainly use one native variety of the language (e.g. British or American English etc.)

   _____ Yes, please specify _____   _____No (not at least consciously)

Why this variety? / Why no specific variety?

   _____

   _____

   _____

4. I use / have used English more to communicate with:

   _____ native speakers   _____ non-native speakers   _____ equally with both.

5. In my work, my own non-nativeness as an English teacher is rather a/an

   _____ advantage   _____ disadvantage   _____ both

Why?

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

6. Let us suppose that one of your students asks a grammar-related question in class, the answer of which you are not exactly sure of. Let us also suppose that all the facilities mentioned below are at your disposal. What will you do? (Please number 1–3 in order of relevance: 1=this is how I do / would do most often, 3=this is how I would do seldom or never) :

_____ I check the answer in a grammar book

_____ I check the answer with a native speaker

_____ I trust my own instincts

III. Teaching English

7. For what purposes do you think your students will mainly need their English skills in their future?

_____

_____

_____

8. What is the most important message about *the English language* or its *use* in your own upper secondary school English teaching that you hope to convey to your students?

_____

_____

_____

9. Do you consider it a good idea to consistently convey one variety of English as a model to your students in upper secondary school English teaching?

_____ Yes. What variety? _____   ____No

Why? / Why not?

_____

_____

_____

10. Do **other** varieties of English, **apart from** British and American, come up in class (for example, in listening comprehension exercises)?

____ often   ___ occasionally   ____ seldom   ____ never

11. Do you also use samples of *non-native* English speakers' varieties in class?

　　　___ often　　　___ occasionally　　　____ seldom　　　____ never

12. If it was occasionally possible to have foreign visitors to class with whom students could practice their English skills, which visitors would you prefer:

　____native speakers of English　____non-native speakers of English　____both

Why?

_____

_____

_____

_____

IV. The Position of English

13. There are at least 750 million English speakers in the world (cf. 5 million Finnish speakers), and English has great influence in Finland, too (cf. TV programmes, advertising, music, higher education, business, etc.). Some foreign researchers are even of the opinion that English has become a "domestic" language in the Nordic countries. Do you think English could be a threat to the existence of the Finnish language in the future (during the next decades)?

　　　____ no threat at all　　　____ great threat

　　　____ minor threat　　　____ cannot say

14. How do you perceive the status of English in the world? In the scale below, please indicate a cross **on the line** that best reflects where you stand in terms of the given alternatives.

"It is great that English functions as a global vehicular language in inter-　___　___　___　___　___　___　___　national communication and is spoken everywhere."

"The dominance of English as regards other languages worries me. The status of other languages should, therefore, be improved."

V. Statements

Please circle the number that best reflects your opinion: **4 = Strongly agree**, **3 = Agree**,
2 = Disagree, **1 = Strongly disagree, 0=Undecided.**

15. In upper secondary school English instruction it is more important to pay
    attention to students' ability to communicate than to their grammatical
    correctness.   4 3 2 1 0

16. Upper secondary school students should learn to use consistently one
     variety of English in their spelling and pronunciation.   4 3 2 1 0

17. Finnish celebrities who appear in the media abroad with heavily
    Finnish accented pronunciation of English, make me feel embarrassed   4 3 2 1 0
    (cf. Finnish "rally English").

18. As regards the model of English that students receive, it is a pity that
    nowadays, for instance, MusicTV hires non-native speakers of English as 4 3 2 1 0
    their hosts.

19. An educated native speaker is a suitable point of comparison in evaluating
    upper secondary school students' language skills (e.g. pronunciation and
    spelling).   4 3 2 1 0

20. Mainly native speakers of English or equally fluent non-native speakers
    should be used as readers for recorded teaching materials.   4 3 2 1 0

21. Teaching the culture of English-speaking countries in English classes is
    important.   4 3 2 1 0

22. My students will probably use more English with non-native English speakers
    than with native ones in their lives.   4 3 2 1 0

23. A combination of British and American English would be a good model for
    English teaching in Finnish schools.   4 3 2 1 0

24. In class, I often encourage my students to also study other foreign languages
    in addition to English.   4 3 2 1 0

25. In upper secondary school teaching, the goals set by a teacher to his/her
    students are strongly guided by the goals set by the national Matriculation
    Examination Board.   4 3 2 1 0

**If you want to give reasons for your answers or wish to express other ideas provoked by the
survey, please write them on the following page.**

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP!

Pro Gradu Research   Elina Ranta, University of Tampere

Survey on Upper Secondary School Students' Use of English and Other Languages

I. Respondent's Background Information:

  1. female _____   male _____

  2. mother tongue _____

  3. I have studied following foreign languages: **A1 (begins on 3rd grade)** _____

    Note! Only the bolded languages   A2 (begins on 5th grade) _____

    are compulsory at school, the   **B1 (begins on 7th grade)** _____

    rest are optional.   B2 (begins on 8th grade)   _____

                       B3 (begins at upper secondary school)_____

                       Others (studied outside school) _____

II. The Use of Foreign Languages (outside school)

  4. I have stayed abroad longish periods of times (e.g. on vacation or as an exchange student etc.).

         yes _____   no _____

    If yes, please indicate below in what countries, and what language you used to communicate with the local people. List 3 countries where you have stayed the longest.

         Country   Language that I used   (list only the one you used the most!)

    1. _____   _____

    2. _____   _____

    3. _____   _____

  5. I have communicated with foreigners in Finland (e.g. helped/guided in the street, chatted on the Net, have had foreign pen pals etc.)

         yes _____   no _____

    If yes, please indicate below the foreigner's mother tongue and the language you used to communicate with each other. List three cases at most.

      Foreigner's mother tongue   Language that we used (list only one per line!)

    1. _____   _____

    2. _____   _____

    3. _____   _____

6. Were the experiences of foreign language use mentioned in items 4 and 5 mainly:

____ negative   ____ neutral   ____ positive

III. The Use of English and Attitudes towards It

7. For what purposes do you use your English skills outside school? (Please indicate **three** in the order of importance, 1 = the most important)

____ TV programmes   ____ foreign friend

____ Internet / computers   ____ family members / relatives

____ music   ____ travelling

____ English fiction   ____ hobbies (e.g. _____)

8. What do you think you will need your English skills for in the future after school?

_____

_____

9. Do you keep to a specific variety (=”dialect”) of English, such as British or American etc. in your own use of English?

___ Yes, please specify: _____   ___ No specific variety

Why this variety? / Why no specific variety?

_____

_____

10. If foreign visitors came to English class, with whom you could practice your English skills, which kinds of visitors would you prefer:

____ native speakers of English   ____ non-native speakers of English

____ both

Why?

_____

_____

IV. The Position of English

11. There are at least 750 million English speakers in the world (cf. 5 million Finnish speakers), and English has great influence in Finland, too (cf. TV programmes, advertising, music, computer games, business, etc.). Some foreign researchers are even of the opinion that English has become a "domestic" language in the Nordic countries. Do you think English could be a threat to the existence of the Finnish language in the future (during the next decades)?

_____ no threat at all   _____ great threat

_____ minor threat   _____ cannot say

12. How do you perceive the status of English in the world? In the scale below, please indicate a cross **on the line** that best reflects where you stand in terms of the given alternatives.

"It is great that English functions as a global vehicular language in inter-national communication and is spoken everywhere."   ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___   "The dominance of English as regards other languages worries me. The status of other languages should, therefore, be improved."

V. Statements

Please circle the number that best reflects your opinion: **4 = Strongly agree**, **3 = Agree**, **2 = Disagree**, **1 = Strongly disagree, 0=Undecided**.

13. The English instruction at schools pays more attention to students' ability to communicate than to their grammatical correctness.   4   3   2   1   0

14. In speaking English, I consistently attempt to follow the pronunciation norms of one variety of English (e.g. British or American English).   4   3   2   1   0

15. In writing, I consistently attempt to follow the spelling norms of one variety of English (cf. BrE→colour / AmE→color etc.).   4   3   2   1   0

16. Finnish celebrities who appear in the media abroad with heavily Finnish accented pronunciation of English, make me feel uncomfortable (cf. Finnish "rally English").   4   3   2   1   0

17. It is a pity that nowadays, for instance, MusicTV hires non-native speakers of English as their hosts.   4   3   2   1   0

18. I would rather not express my ideas in English if I am not sure that my expression is grammatically correct.   4   3   2   1   0

19. In my life, I will probably speak more English with other non-native speakers than with native speakers of English.   4   3   2   1   0

20. The pronunciation of non-native English speaker is often difficult to understand (e.g. on TV).   4   3   2   1   0

21. The English instruction at school also provides information on other varieties of English than British and American English (e.g. in listening comprehension exercises or in textbooks).   4   3   2   1   0

22. I can recognise different varieties of English (in addition to British and American English) on hearing them.   4   3   2   1   0

23. The most important thing in speaking English is not native speaker-like pronunciation or flawless language but getting your messages across.   4   3   2   1   0

24. The English instruction in Finnish schools provides students with good abilities to use the language independently in life after school.   4   3   2   1   0

If you want to give reasons for your answers or wish to express other ideas provoked by the survey, please write them on the lines below.

Other comments:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP!